

# State Pilgrims and Sacred Observers in Ancient Greece

A Study of *Theōriā* and *Theōroi*



IAN RUTHERFORD

CAMBRIDGE



## State Pilgrims and Sacred Observers in Ancient Greece

For at least a thousand years Greek cities took part in religious activities outside their territory by sending sacred delegates to represent them. The delegates are usually called *theōroi*, literally ‘observers’, and a delegation made up of *theōroi*, or the action of taking part in one, is called *theōriā*. This is the first comprehensive study of *theōroi* and *theōriā*. It examines a number of key functions of *theōroi* and explains who served in this role and what their activities are likely to have been, both on the journey and at the sanctuary. Other chapters discuss the diplomatic functions of *theōroi*, and what their activities tell us about the origins of the notion of Greek identity and about religious networks. Chapters are also devoted to the reception of the idea of *theōriā* in Greek philosophy and literature. The book will be essential for all scholars and advanced students of ancient religion.

IAN RUTHERFORD is Professor in the Classics Department, University of Reading. He works mostly on Greek poetry, Greek religion and relations between Greece and other cultures: chiefly the Hittites and Egypt. He has published extensively on ‘pilgrimage’ in the ancient world (e.g. *Seeing the God: Patterns of Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity*, co-edited with Jaś Elsner, 2005) with a related interest in travelling poets (*Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture: Travel, Locality, and Pan-Hellenism*, co-edited with Richard Hunter, 2009). He has also published a full commentary on Pindar’s Paeans (*Pindar’s Paeans: A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre*, 2001) and has another volume forthcoming on Hittite and Greek religion.





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*In memory of my father Charles Simmers Rutherford*  
*1925–1999*



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## Preface

In ancient Athens, the time for the dispatch of the sacred embassy to Delphi known as the *Pūthaīs* was determined by people who on certain days of the year watched for the sign of lightning over a place called Harma ('Chariot') on Mt Parnes. The sign appeared so seldom that ὅταν δι' Ἄρματος ἀστράψῃ ('When the lightning flashes across Harma') became a proverbial expression for something happening rarely or late.<sup>1</sup> The same expression could perhaps be used for books that have taken a very long time to gestate.

I started thinking about this subject as long ago as the late 1980s, at a time when I was working on Pindar's *Paeans*, many of which were performed by choruses accompanying sacred delegations sent to national sanctuaries. I remember being struck then by the absence of a comprehensive study of *theōriā*, and in a youthful way that now makes me smile wondering whether this meant that there wasn't much of a subject there. Undeterred, I began the project when I was a Junior Fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies in 1992–3, under the nurturing supervision of Debbie Boedeker and Kurt Raufflaub. The fact that it has taken so long to complete is partly to be attributed to my having not infrequently become distracted by other commitments, but mainly it is because the scope turned out to be far greater than I had originally anticipated, requiring familiarity with more periods, subdisciplines and theoretical paradigms than I had bargained on. Looking back on it now, the fact that I have learnt so much in the process of writing it is some compensation for the length of time it took.

Adequately to acknowledge, still less to pay back, all the debts I've incurred would be impossible, and to do it systematically would mean distinguishing debts of different sorts. I have to admit that in general I learn most from people who disagree with me, which means that some of the people listed below may be surprised to be included. For many years Barbara Kowalzig's intellectual interests have seemed to run parallel with, and occasionally intersect with, my own, and if writing this book has been my *agōn*, she deserves credit as the *theōros*. I owe a great debt also to Jas Elsner, with whom I shared the happy task of editing a volume of essays on

<sup>1</sup> See §11.1, pp.176–7 below.

ancient pilgrimage a decade ago, and who has always gone out of his way to convince me that this was a project worth completing. Above all, I'd like to express my thanks to the late Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, my colleague at Reading from 1995 till 1998, but who was a sort of intellectual *arkhitheōros* for me from when we met in 1985 till her death in 2007. Christiane enthused me with her passion for ancient Greek culture, tried to communicate to me something of her own exacting methodological rigour, and, above all, gave me the confidence to believe that maybe I too could make a contribution.

The most appropriate order for the names of my other thankees would probably be a sequence of broad geographical trajectories, like the Delphic *Theōrodokoi* List (see pp.74–5), but in the end it seemed easier to use the conventional, alphabetic method. In different ways and for different reasons I am indebted to Sanna Aro, Emma Aston, Lukia Athanassaki, Sandra Blakeley, Ewen Bowie, Jan Bremmer, Felix Budelmann, Miriam Carlisle, Paola Ceccarelli, Angelos Chaniotis, Elena Chepel, Willy Cingano, Bruno Currie, Giambattista D'Alessio, John Davies, Matthew Dillon, Stephen Durnford, Elena Chepel, Arnold Enklaar, Lucy Fletcher, Fritz Graf, Julia Griffin, Theodora Hadjimichael, Albert Henrichs, Liz Irwin, Vicky Jefferson, Theodora Jim, Christopher Jones, Athena Kavoulaki, James Ker, Julia Kindt, Troels Myrup Kristensen, Leslie Kurke, Robin Lane-Fox, Jane Lightfoot, John Ma, William Mack, Paraskevi Martzavou, David Mitten, John D. Morgan (to whose careful reading of the proofs I am much indebted), Fred Naiden, Andrea Nightingale, Dirk Obbink, Jacques Oulhen, Robert Parker, Elena Partida, Natasha Peponi, Georgia Petridou, Ivana Petrovic, Verity Platt, Lucia Prauscello, Tessa Rajak, Kent Rigsby, Peter Rhodes, Scott Scullion, the late Charlie Segal, Michael Sharp, Julia Shear, Amy Smith, Philip Smither, Sari Takacs, Rosalind Thomas, Ken Walton and Peter Wilson. I'd also like to thank all my colleagues at the University of Reading for putting up with me during the final stages. Thanks also to the readers of Cambridge University Press, who improved the book and saved me from some serious mistakes.

Long ago, Harvard's Loeb Fund made it possible for me to engage in practical *theōriā* of some relevant sites, the most exotic of which was the oracle of Ammon in the Siwa Oasis (I recommend this trip to anyone who doubts whether there was such a thing as pilgrimage in the ancient world). The AHRC (or AHRB as it then was) gave me a fellowship to work on the project some more in 2000–1, and I also received two awards from the University of Reading, the more recent one in 2011, engineered by Peter



Kruschwitz, *vir versutus*, when the penultimate draft was written. Florida State University were also generous in their support when I was a visiting professor there in 2004. I owe a huge debt too to the Sackler Library at Oxford and its long-suffering staff, and ultimately to the Sackler Foundation.

Over the years, I have published a number of papers on *theōriā* and related subjects, often as the result of contributions to conferences. Some of these were points of punctuation in the otherwise even evolution of my thinking on the subject (the ‘Music and the Muses’ conference at Warwick in 1999, organised by Peter Wilson and Penny Murray stands out in my mind). However, comparing my articles with the book, I am surprised how few of them overlap with it significantly. In retrospect, some of these pieces turn out to have been merely thought-experiments to see how far I could push one particular approach, and now I find I’ve changed my mind. Not everything stands the test of time, though with any luck some of it will.

Despite all the acknowledgements, I am entirely responsible for all errors. I doubt whether I’ve said the last word on *theōriā* (in fact, I *hope* I haven’t), but it’s a wonderful subject which deserves a lot more attention than it has hitherto received. If the book stimulates the imagination of students of the subject in the future, I’ll think it was well worth the effort.



## Abbreviations

Abbreviations of journal titles follow *L'Année Philologique*. Readers should notice in particular the conventions in use for several recent works which contain corpora of inscriptions: Aneziri for the Dionysiac Artists, Clinton for Eleusis, Dimitrova for Samothrace, LhôteL for Dodona, PerlmanEC for the *theārodokoi* of the Peloponnese, RigsbyA for *asylia* inscriptions.

Agora 16	A. G. Woodhead ed., <i>Inscriptions. The Decrees (The Athenian Agora 16)</i> ; Princeton, 1997
Agora 19	G. Lalonde, M. K. Langdon and, M. B. Walbank eds., <i>Inscriptions. Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Lands (The Athenian Agora 19)</i> ; Princeton, 1991
Aneziri	S. Aneziri, <i>Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft</i> ; Stuttgart, 2003
App.	Appendix of Texts
BE	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i> , published yearly in <i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
Carie	L. Robert and J. Robert, <i>La Carie. Histoire et géographie historique avec le recueil des inscriptions antiques. II. Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs</i> ; Paris, 1954
CEG	P. A. Hansen, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> (2 vols.); Berlin, 1983–9
CID	<i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes</i>
CID1	G. Rougemont, <i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes. I. Lois sacrées et règlements religieux</i> ; Paris, 1977
CID2	J. Bousquet, <i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes. II. Les comptes du quatrième et du troisième siècle</i> ; Paris, 1989
CID4	F. Lefèvre, <i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes. IV. Documents amphictioniques</i> ; Paris, 2002
CIS	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i> ; Paris, 1881–

Clinton	K. Clinton, <i>Eleusis, the Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme</i> (3 vols.); Athens, 2005–8
CPG	E. von Leutsch and F. W. Schneidewin eds., <i>Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum</i> ; Hildesheim 1808–87
DELG	P. Chantraine, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots</i> (4 vols.); Paris, 1968–80
Didyma	A. Rehm and R. Harder, <i>Didyma. II. Die Inschriften</i> ; Berlin, 1958
Dimitrova	N. M. Dimitrova, <i>Theōroi and Initiates in Samothrace: The Epigraphical Evidence</i> (Hesperia Supplement 37); Princeton, 2008
DTL	Delphic <i>Theōrodokoi</i> List; citations follow the unpublished doctoral thesis of J. Oulhen (1992); see §5.2.1
EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale</i> (7 vols.); Rome, 1958–66
EM	T. Gaisford ed., <i>Etymologicum Magnum</i> ; Oxford, 1848
FD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i>
FD 1	E. Bourguet, <i>Fouilles de Delphes. III. Épigraphie. 1. De l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens</i> ; Paris, 1929
FD 2	G. Colin, <i>Fouilles de Delphes. III. Épigraphie. 2. Trésor des Athéniens</i> ; Paris, 1909–13
FD 3	G. Daux and A. Salac, <i>Fouilles de Delphes. III. Épigraphie. 3. Depuis le trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon</i> (2 fascs.); Paris, 1932–43
FD 4	G. Colin and others, <i>Fouilles de Delphes. III. Épigraphie. 4. La terrasse du temple et la zone nord du sanctuaire</i> (4 fascs.); Paris, 1930–76
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> ; Berlin, 1923–58
FHG	C. and T. Müller eds., <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (5 vols.); Paris, 1843–70

- Fontenrose (1988:R) Response of Didyma as listed in J. Fontenrose, *Didyma. Apollo's Oracle, Cult and Companions*; Berkeley, 1988: 179–231
- GD (Musée) *Guide de Delphes. Le Musée (École Française d'Athènes, sites et monuments VI)*; Paris, 1991
- GD (Site) J.-F. Bommelaer and D. Laroche, *Guide de Delphes. Le site (École Française d'Athènes, Sites et monuments VII)*; Paris, 1991
- IACP M. H. Hansen and T. Nielsen eds., *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*; Oxford, 2004
- IClaros J. Robert and L. Robert, *Claros. I. Décrets hellénistiques*; Paris, 1989
- ICret M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae Opera et Consilio Friederici Halbherr Collectae, I–IV*; Rome, 1935–50
- ID F. Durrbach, P. Roussel, P. Launey, M. Couprie and A. Plassart eds., *Inscriptions de Délos*; Paris, 1926–
- I.Ephesos H. Wankel, C. Börker, R. Merkelbach, H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, R. Meric, S. Sahin and J. Nollé, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos (IK 11–17)*; Bonn 1979–84
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*; Berlin, 1873–
- I.Gonnoi B. Helly, *Gonnoi. II. Les inscriptions*; Amsterdam, 1973
- I.Iasos W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos* (2 vols. *IK* 28.1–2); Bonn, 1985
- I.Ilion P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion (IK 3)*; Bonn, 1975
- IK *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*; Bonn, 1972–
- I.Kaunos C. Marek, *Die Inschriften von Kaunos*; Munich, 2006
- I.Magnesia O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*; Berlin, 1900
- I.Mylasa W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa* (2 vols., *IK* 34–5); Bonn 1987–8. (I (1987): nos. 1–761; II (1988): nos. 801–962)
- I.Olympia W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Olympia: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung. V. Die Inschriften*; Berlin, 1896

IPArk	G. Thür and H. Taeuber, <i>Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien (IPArk)</i> SBAkad. Wien. 607; Vienna, 1994
I.Pergamum	M. Fraenkel, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon. VIII 1–2. Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> ; Berlin, 1890–5
I.Priene	F. Hiller von Gaertringen, <i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> ; Berlin, 1906
I.Strat.	N. Çetin Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia</i> (3 vols., IK 21–2, 68); Bonn, 1981–2010
I.Tralles	F. B. Poljakov, <i>Die Inschriften von Tralles und Nysa (IK 36)</i> ; Bonn, 1989
LGPN	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> ; Oxford, 1987–
LGPN I	P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews eds., <i>The Aegean Islands, Cyprus Cyrenaica</i> ; Oxford, 1987
LGPN II	M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne eds., <i>Attica</i> ; Oxford, 1994
LGPN III.A	P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews eds., <i>The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily, Magna Graecia</i> ; Oxford, 1997
LGPN III.B	P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews eds., <i>Central Greece: From the Megarid to Thessaly</i> ; Oxford, 2000
LGPN IV	P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews eds., R. W. V. Catling asst ed., <i>Macedonia Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea</i> ; Oxford, 2005
LGPN V.A	T. Corsten ed., <i>Coastal Asia Minor. Pontos to Ionia</i> ; Oxford, 2010
LGS	H. T. A. von Prott and L. Ziehen, <i>Leges Graecorum Sacrae e Titulis Collectae</i> (2 vols.); Leipzig, 1896–1906
LhôteL	The Dodona tablets as presented in E. Lhôte, <i>Les lamelles oraculaires de Dodone</i> ; Geneva, 2006
LIMC	L. Kahil ed., <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> ; Munich, 1981–2009
LSAG	L. H. Jeffrey, <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C. with a supplement by A. W. Johnston</i> ; Oxford, 1990
LSAM	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> ; Paris, 1955

LSCG	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> ; Paris, 1969
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>A Greek–English Lexicon, a New (9th) Edition by Sir H. Stuart Jones</i> ; Oxford, 1940; Supplement by E. A. Barber; Oxford, 1968
LSS	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> , Supplément; Paris, 1962
<i>Milet</i> I, 3	A. Rehm ed., ‘Die Inschriften’ in G. Kawerau and A. Rehm eds., <i>Das Delphinion in Milet</i> ; Berlin, 1914, 162–442 (nn. 31–186)
<i>Milet</i> VI, 1	P. Hermann, <i>Nachträge und Übersetzungen zu den Inschriften n.1–406 in Milet VI. Inschriften von Milet. Teil I</i> ; Berlin, 1997
Minon	S. Minon, <i>Les inscriptions éléennes dialectales</i> (VIe–IIe siècle avant J.-C.) (2 vols.); Geneva, 2007
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> ; Oxford, 1969
Nachtergaele.A	Actes as collected in G. Nachtergaele, <i>Les Galates en Grèce et les Soteria de Delphes: recherches d’histoire et d’épigraphie hellénistiques</i> ; Brussels, 1977
<i>Nomima</i>	H. van Effenterre and F. Ruzé, <i>Nomima: recueil d’inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l’archaïsme grec</i> (2 vols.); Rome, 1994–5
NP	H. Cancik and H. Schneider eds., <i>Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> (19 vols.); Stuttgart 1996–2003; translated as <i>Brill’s New Pauly</i> (2002–), from which the citations come
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OMS	L. Robert, <i>Opera Minora Selecta: épigraphie et antiquités grecques</i> (7 vols.); Amsterdam, 1969–90
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyrus</i>
<i>Paeans</i>	I. C. Rutherford, <i>Pindar’s Paeans. A Reading of the Fragments with Survey of Genre</i> ; Oxford, 2001
PCG	R. Kassel and C. Austin, <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> (8 vols.); Berlin, 1983–2001
PEP	Princeton Epigraphical Project

PEP (Priene)	D. F. McCabe, B. D. Ehrman and R. Neil Elliott, <i>Priene Inscriptions. Texts and List</i> (printout from computerised list, given limited circulation, 1986)
PEP (Teos)	D. F. McCabe and M. A. Plunkett, <i>Teos Inscriptions. Texts and List</i> (printout from computerised list, given limited circulation, 1985)
PerlmanEC	Epigraphic Catalogue in P. Perlman, <i>City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: the Theorodokia in the Peloponnese</i> (Hypomnemata 121); Göttingen, 2000: 171–245
PerlmanPC	Prosopographical Catalogue in id.:247–85
PMG	D. L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> ; Oxford, 1962
Pūth1	<i>Pūthais</i> 1, i.e. the first revived Athenian <i>Pūthais</i> to Delphi sent in 138/7 BC
Pūth2	<i>Pūthais</i> 2, i.e. the second revived Athenian <i>Pūthais</i> to Delphi sent in 128/7 BC
Pūth3	<i>Pūthais</i> 3, i.e. the third revived Athenian <i>Pūthais</i> to Delphi sent in 106/5 BC
Pūth4	<i>Pūthais</i> 4, i.e. the fourth revived Athenian <i>Pūthais</i> to Delphi sent in 98/7 BC
PW	H. Parke and D. Wormell, <i>The Delphic Oracle</i> (2 vols.); Oxford, 1956
RAC	<i>Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum</i> ; Stuttgart, 1950–
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
RigsbyA	Asylia decrees according to the enumeration of K. J. Rigsby, <i>Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World</i> ; Berkeley, 1996
RO	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> ; Oxford, 2003
SECir.	G. Pugliese Carratelli and D. Morelli, ‘Supplemento epigrafico cirenaico’, <i>Annuario</i> 39–40 (= N.S. 23–4), 1961–62:217–375
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> ; Leiden, 1923–
SERod.	G. Pugliese Carratelli, ‘Supplemento epigrafico rodio’, <i>ASAtene</i> 30–2 (= N.S. 14–16), 1952–4:247–316.
SGDI	F. Bechtel et al. eds., <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> (4 vols.); Göttingen, 1884–1915



SGO	R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> (5 vols.); Munich, 1998–2004
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> ; Berlin, 1983
SIG <sup>3</sup>	W. Dittenberger and F. Hiller von Gaertringen eds., <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> <sup>3</sup> ; Leipzig, 1915–24
STG	J. Elsner and I. Rutherford eds., <i>Seeing the Gods. Patterns of Pilgrimage in Greco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity</i> ; Oxford, 2005
ThesCRA	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> ; Basel, 2004– ThesCRA I (2004): <i>Processions. Sacrifices. Libation, Fumigations, Dedications</i> ThesCRA III (2005): <i>Divination. Prayer. Gestures and Acts of Veneration. Hikesia. Asyilia, Oath, Malediction, Profanation, Magic Ritual</i> ThesCRA IV (2005): <i>Cult Places Representations of Cult Places</i> ThesCRA VI (forthcoming) <i>Stages and Circumstances of Life. Work, Hunting, Travel</i> ThesCRA VII (2011) <i>Festivals and Contests</i>
TitCal	M. Segre, ‘Tituli Calymnii’, <i>ASAtene</i> 22–3 (= N.S. 6–7), 1944–5
TitCam	M. Segre and G. Pugliese Carratelli, ‘Tituli Camirenses’, <i>ASAtene</i> 27–9, N.S. 11–13 (1949–51), 141–318.
TGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. L. Radt eds., <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> (5 vols.); Göttingen, 1971–2004
VS	H. Diels, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , edited with additions by W. Kranz, 5th–6th–7th eds.; Berlin, 1934–54



# 1 | Approaches to *theōriā*

## Preliminary definitions and issues

### 1.1 Polis religion and Panhellenic religion

A general consensus has grown up in the last few decades that ancient Greek religion owes a great deal to the emergence of the Greek polis in or before the eighth century BC. The city-state did not create the religious system, elements of which are attested already in Mycenaean texts, but it adapted it to its own purposes, stamped its authority on it and gave it a new shape. Greek city-states promoted themselves as independent and self-sufficient political units, and religion clearly played an enabling role in that ideology by providing cults and festivals to which all citizens had access and which were in some cases unavailable to non-citizens. Thus, the predominant assumption has been that we come closest to Greek religion if we study it within the territory of the individual city-state, examining its cults, festivals, religious topography, and the intricate relationships between these and its political and social institutions.<sup>1</sup>

Although this model has been criticised recently for being simplistic, for example in omitting the role of individuals,<sup>2</sup> it remains the best interpretative tool we have for understanding the subject. However, even in so far as Greek religion is structured by the polis, it is not confined to the inner workings of the individual polis. One of the main ways religion works in ancient Greece is by facilitating connections with the broader world through networks that connected individuals and cults in different locations, and through a framework of common sanctuaries, where polis-identity comes up against the larger identity of being Greek.<sup>3</sup> Even contact between Greek and non-Greek is negotiated in part by the translation of religious ideas between cultures.<sup>4</sup> None of this means that we have to

<sup>1</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (1990:297 = id. (Buxton 2000:15)): ‘the *polis* anchored, legitimated and mediated all religious activity’; Burkert (1995); Hansen (2006); Hansen and Nielsen (2004b). On the process of transformation from Late Bronze Age to Iron Age, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1978).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the criticisms of Kindt (2009).

<sup>3</sup> This point has been made recently, for example by Kindt (2009) and Eidinow (2011).

<sup>4</sup> For religion as enabling cultural translation between groups, see M. Smith (2008).

abandon the idea that Greek religion is structured at the level of the polis, but it requires that we attach much more emphasis than has often been allowed to interaction between one polis and another. The inter-polis is at least as important as the intra-polis, or to put this in Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's terms, 'openings' are as important as 'closures'.<sup>5</sup>

The subject of this book is participation by the polis in extraterritorial cults, festivals and sanctuaries via the sending of sacred delegates (usually called *theōroi*) and delegations (usually called *theōriai*). The surviving evidence strongly suggests that the average Greek city was heavily involved in religious activities abroad. The stage for extraterritorial religious activity was a vast network of sanctuaries, some of them Panhellenic in reach, others particularly cultivated by people from a certain geographical region, larger or smaller, or from an ethnic group. As far as we can tell, Greek sanctuaries did not make it a condition on visitors that they had to be a Greek (although you had to be Greek to compete in the Olympic Games, perhaps in other athletic competitions as well),<sup>6</sup> so we may expect that many sanctuaries were visited by non-Greeks as well.

Extraterritorial religious activity took many different forms.<sup>7</sup> The most widespread reason for religious travel was (i) to take part in common festivals, as sacred delegates, individual worshippers, athletes or spectators. Another reason (ii) was to announce an upcoming festival, in which case, uniquely, the sanctuary would send out visitors rather than receiving them. Other important motivations were (iii) consulting oracles, (iv) making dedications at common sanctuaries, or (v) visiting mystery sanctuaries such as Eleusis and Samothrace for the purpose of initiation. In some cases (vi) regular cultic relations existed between cities and distant sanctuaries that were realised in the form of regular offerings (such as the *Pūthaiis* sent from Athens to Delphi). A special case of this (vii) is the regular sending of offerings by colonies to their mother-city. In some cases (viii) a number of states shared in the administration of a sanctuary, and sent delegates to a common council – these were known as 'amphiktionies'. Some sanctuaries (ix)

<sup>5</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (1988:227 = reprint 47–8) incorporated outward-facing religion into her model of polis-religion model via the concept of 'openings': 'In so far as religion defines and plays a considerable role in giving identity to the group – the *polis* and each of its subdivisions – there are closures in *polis* cults. But other factors, among them the perception of common Greekness and the Panhellenic dimension of religion, create pressures towards openings. Similar pressures were also created by religious activities which involved worship at sanctuaries other than those of one's *polis*, such as the consultation of oracles, pilgrimages, and the dedication of votives at particular sanctuaries, already attested in the eighth century.'

<sup>6</sup> See §16.1, p.265.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. fuller survey in STG 9–30; Rutherford (2000c).

promoted themselves as places where the sick had a chance of being healed by divine intervention – sanctuaries of Asclepius are particularly important here. Finally, (x) extraterritorial sanctuaries might also be visited by displaced persons or fugitives from justice seeking protection with the status of suppliants.<sup>8</sup>

Taking all of these together, the total volume of extraterritorial religious activity must have been very great. Any one city must have had relations with a large number of remote sanctuaries, and, conversely, any city, by organising and announcing its own festivals, might become a magnet for visitors from elsewhere. The practice is attested throughout Greek history: city-states were sending delegations to sanctuaries from the sixth century BC, and probably considerably before then; it continues through the fourth century BC, and is reinvigorated in the Hellenistic period, when many new festivals were established in Asia Minor and elsewhere; and it survives into first three centuries of the Roman Empire, albeit somewhat reshaped.

Some of these activities arise from the belief that certain sanctuaries offered potential for contact with the divine not available at home. For example, the appeal of major oracles such as Delphi, Dodona or Ammon is rooted in a shared assumption that the gods were more accessible there. It seems to be something of a universal in human religious practice that certain places are given special sacred significance in this way.<sup>9</sup> In other cases, although the activity takes place under the sign of religion, the major factor driving it is political: common festivals provide a way for different cities, and their citizens, to liaise and interact, to negotiate their differences and communalities, to create or affirm alliances. A common festival can also serve as a platform for a city to present itself to the outside world. In the limiting case, the Panhellenic religious network probably played a significant role in the evolution of common-Greek identity.

The agents who participated in extraterritorial religious activity could be either individuals acting on their own behalf or city-states or other political

<sup>8</sup> For (i) see §4; for (ii) see §5; for (iii) see §6; for (iv) see §7; for (v) see Dillon (1997a:60–73); for (vi) see §13.4 on the *Puthais*; for (vii) see §4.3.3; for (viii) see §4.4.3; for (ix) see Dillon (1997a:73–86); for (x), instances include Demosthenes' supplication at Kalauria (see Strab. 8.6.14; Naiden (2006:202–5 and 325)) and that of Perseus at Samothrace (Livy 45.5, 3–12; Plut. *Aem.*23.6; Naiden (2006:257)).

<sup>9</sup> See Rigsby (1996:6); Morinis (1984:282) says, *à propos* of pilgrimage in India: 'It is not difficult to formulate the explicit meaning of pilgrimage as expressed and held by participants. They believe that the divine is more accessible at certain locations on earth, that these sites are continually infused with divine energy, and that whatever interaction one desires with a deity is more likely to reach fruition when pursued according to proper ritual and behavioural formulae in the hallowed place where the deity lives.'

units who send sacred delegates to sanctuaries or other places to represent them. Most of the forms of activity I listed above could be carried out by either individuals or civic delegates, though two of them can only be carried out by individuals: being initiated into the Mysteries, or seeking divine intervention at a healing sanctuary. Even here there is a grey area, because one of the sanctuaries with the most celebrated Mystery cults, Samothrace, also hosted a festival to which cities sent *theōroi*, and it was possible, at least in the late Hellenistic period, for someone to be honoured jointly as a *theōros* and a *mustēs eusebēs* (a ‘pious initiate’), which presumably implies that state-delegates underwent initiation.<sup>10</sup>

The most common term for a sacred delegate is *theōros*, literally ‘spectator’, and the associated term for a sacred delegation is a *theōriā*. Other related terms are *arkhitheōros* for the leader, *theōris* for a ship regularly used by *theōroi*, and the verb *theōreō*, which usually means ‘observe’ but has the specialised sense of ‘act as a sacred delegate’. These are not the only words used for sacred delegates: alternatives are *theopropos*, *hieropoios*, *hieragōgos*, *sunthūtēs* or *presbeutēs*, and many texts just talk about ‘those sent to the sanctuary’, or some similar periphrasis. However, *theōros* and *theōriā* are the closest thing to a standard vocabulary, used particularly when the purpose of the delegates and delegations was attending a festival or consulting an oracle, but in the case of other religious missions such as making dedications or announcing festivals.

The theme of this book is all forms of extraterritorial religious activity in which a city-state or other political entity sends sacred delegates to act on its behalf. Its aims are to give an account of the types of mission *theōroi* were sent to perform, who they were and what they did, and the political and cultural implications of their activities. Its scope is the full chronological and geographical range where Greek cities practise Greek religion, from the Archaic Hellas through the broader horizons of the Hellenistic world down to the festival culture of Roman Anatolia.

## 1.2 Defining *theōriā*

My main focus will thus be *theōroi* and *theōriā*, defined in the sense of ‘religious delegate’ and ‘religious delegation’. These words are widely attested in Greek texts, and in inscriptions they occur in a number of dialectal

<sup>10</sup> Dimitrova: no. 13ii–17; see §17.2.1. For Eleusis, the best evidence for *theōroi* is IG2<sup>2</sup> 992 from the Hellenistic period (pp. 319–22); *theopropoi* to Roman Claros may also have undergone a form of initiation: see §6.4.

variations, of which forms in *theōr-* are Ionic and Attic.<sup>11</sup> The most reasonable explanation for how *theōros* developed this specialised application is that the festivals that were the primary destination of these delegates were regarded as spectacles in which the default form of participation was by watching. *Theōros* thus becomes the perfect term for the civic delegate who ‘observes’ on behalf his city, which is the true spectator. The word *theōriā* itself seems to have sometimes meant ‘spectacle’ or ‘festival’, and it was also probably an advantage to this semantic development that *theōros* was sometimes felt to be related to the Greek word for ‘god’ – *theos*.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, modern linguists are still divided about whether *theōros* should be analysed as ‘sight-watcher’ (*theā* + (e.g.) *\*wōros*) or ‘god-watcher’ (*theos* + (e.g.) *\*wōros*).<sup>13</sup>

*Theōros* and its derivatives also have a number of other, related senses, and it may be useful to distinguish these at the outset. To begin with, there is the general sense of ‘observer’ (*theōros*), ‘observe’ (*theōreō*) and ‘observation’ (*theōriā*) – a set of meanings synonymous with *theātēs*, *theāomai*, and *theā*. The evangelist Luke (23.48) uses *theōriā* and *theōreō* of miraculous events surrounding the crucifixion of Christ and the crowd's reaction to it:

καὶ πάντες οἱ συμπαραγενόμενοι ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην, θεωρήσαντες τὰ γενόμενα, τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη ὑπέστρεφον.

And all the crowds who were present at this sight, watching what happened, beat their breasts and returned.

Despite the highly charged context, there is no reason to interpret *theōriā* in a religious sense here.

Secondly, *theōriā* and *theōreō* can be used of spectacles and festivals watched by private individuals, without any suggestion of the idea of

<sup>11</sup> Other attested forms are: *θιαωρία*: Boeotian, *θεαρός*, *θεαρός*: Arcadian, *θεαρός*, *θιαρός*: Doric, *θεουρός*: Thessalian, *θεορός*, *θευρός*: Paros, Thasos. For dialectal forms, see Buck (1955:§41, p.38); Bader (1972:222–3).

<sup>12</sup> See passages cited in §9.1, p.145.

<sup>13</sup> Bader (1972:227) favours the etymology in *θεά-*, though thinks that a doublet from *θεό-* may also have existed. *θεά* has been thought to go back to an Indo-European root meaning ‘think’ or ‘contemplate’: *dheyH<sub>2</sub>*, a root also seems to be responsible for *σῆμα* (from the vocalisation *dhyeH<sub>2</sub>-*): see Nagy (1983); id. (1990:62); Sihler (1995:191), and notice the collocation of *θεωρός* and *σημαίνω* in Theognis 805–10 (see §6.1). Beekes (2010:1.545, 536) sees the first element as *θεά* */\*thāwā*), but for him this is ‘preGreek’ (p.536). An obvious problem with the etymology from *θεός* is to explain how it was generalised to mean ‘watch’: Becker (1940:63–4) argued that the intermediary was the idea of *θεωρία* as a festival or spectacle, Koller (1957–8) that the key idea was religious travel, and that an original accusative of space was reinterpreted as a direct object. The alternative etymology from *θεά* seems more appealing, except that this form of the noun presupposes quantitative metathesis, which occurs only in Attic, whereas all dialect forms of *θεωρός* share a short first vowel. (Has an originally Attic form been generalised, perhaps precisely because speakers of those dialects falsely assumed it was related to *θεός*? See Kretschmer (1892:289 n. 2), Buck (1951)).

representing political authority.<sup>14</sup> The translation ‘attend’ (a festival) often seems appropriate. The ‘Theoric Fund’ (*to theōrikon*), used in Athens to pay for attendance at festivals, presumably owes its name to this sense. Here too there is an overlap with *theāomai* and *theā*.

Thirdly, *theōros* and *theōriā* seem sometimes, particularly in later texts, to have the meaning ‘sightseer’, ‘sightseeing’, yet another sense it shared with *theātēs*. This runs parallel to the ‘sacred delegate’ sense in that sightseers may well be found in religious centres and sanctuaries, but sightseeing is always carried out by individuals for their own sake, not by delegates for the sake of their city.<sup>15</sup>

Fourthly, in a very limited number of cases – roughly the accounts by Herodotus and others of the journeys of the wise men Solon and Anacharsis – *theōreō*, *theōriā* seems to mean something like ‘travel on a voyage of exploration’.<sup>16</sup>

Fifthly, *theōros* was the name for a type of magistrate, presumably understood as an ‘overseer’, attested particularly often in Arcadia, but at other places as well, including Thasos.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, another important sense of *theōriā* is ‘philosophical contemplation’, an activity explicitly contrasted with action or practical reasoning.<sup>18</sup> This sense, attested from the fourth century BC, is manifestly the ultimate origin of the word ‘theory’ in modern English.<sup>19</sup> There is no reason to think that this sense originates with the religious sense of the word, but ancient philosophers often make explicit or implicit references to the religious sense.

The activities of the sacred delegate-*theōroi* who are the primary subject of this book were in general distinct from the six categories just listed. Two differences are particularly important. First, delegate-*theōroi* act on behalf of the political authorities who appoint them, and that is not true for any of the other categories, with the exception of magistrate-*theōroi*. Second, although delegate-*theōroi* owe their name to their being thought of as official spectators at sanctuaries, our sources tend to emphasise other activities, depending on the purpose of the mission, including arranging animal sacrifice, taking part in processions, consulting oracles and transporting dedications.<sup>20</sup>

### 1.3 Cities, sanctuaries and networks

*Theōroi qua theōroi*, were always on the move, continually in transit between the cities that sent them and the sanctuaries or festival-organising

<sup>14</sup> See §4.1.    <sup>15</sup> See §9.2, pp.150–5.    <sup>16</sup> See §9.2, pp.149–50.    <sup>17</sup> See §8.    <sup>18</sup> See §19.1.

<sup>19</sup> According to *OED* online: ‘In mod. use probably < medieval Latin translation of Aristotle.’

<sup>20</sup> See §9.1.



cities that were their destinations. In a perfect world, research in this area would begin by mapping out their movements for a given geographical zone and time period. Questions to be asked would include: How many delegations did any particular city send, and to where? How many delegations did any particular sanctuary receive, and from where, and how do these numbers vary over time? Additionally, since it is unlikely that all contact between cities and sanctuaries was mediated by *theōroi*, it would be desirable to figure out what factors governed their involvement. Unfortunately, time travel would be needed for us to be able to access data of sufficient quality and quantity to support this sort of analysis. The evidence that survives is patchy, and allows us to do no more than discern rough patterns for a few sanctuaries in certain periods.<sup>21</sup>

In principle, a city could send a *theōros* to represent it at any sanctuary, with the condition (usually) that it was outside its territory.<sup>22</sup> The most common destinations for them were the great sanctuaries, which had acquired, by being visited so much, the informal status of being national or Panhellenic. The most important venues were the festivals at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea and the Isthmos, which were widely advertised through the proclamation of the truce.<sup>23</sup> It is likely that many Greek cities sent a delegation to every enactment of these, and most of them sent one to at least some of the enactments. On a less regular timetable, *theōroi* were also sent to the oracles at Delphi, Dodona and, from the fifth century, also to Ammon in Libya (see [Map 1](#)).

These sanctuaries draw *theōroi* from all over the Greek world, but *theōroi* may also be involved when the clientele is more limited geographically. Most of the *theōroi* who visited Delos in the Hellenistic period came from the south-east Aegean, and earlier on they may have come from Ionia. Again, the mystery cult of Samothrace had a Panhellenic reputation, but Hellenistic records reveal that cities that sent *theōroi* were confined (mostly) to the northern and eastern Aegean.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, in some cases a festival network functioning through *theōroi* was used as a framework for a political organisation, and some Hellenistic ‘leagues’ seem to have operated in this way. Ptolemy Philadelphos encouraged cities under Egyptian influence in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean to send *theōroi* to the Ptolemaia

<sup>21</sup> See further §17.      <sup>22</sup> See §4.3.4.

<sup>23</sup> These festivals, and the sanctuaries associated with them, are often called ‘Panhellenic’, but it seems to me better to reserve the latter term for cases where religious activity is an explicit expression of a common-Greek identity; in most ‘national’ festivals, the element of ritual that was truly ‘Panhellenic’ was at most quite small; see further §16.1–2. For the notion of Panhellenism, see most recently Mitchell (2007) and Scott (2010:256–73).

<sup>24</sup> Delos and Samothrace: §17.2.



Map 1. The principal destinations of *theōroi* in the Greek world

festival at Alexandria, and the model for this may well be Athenian use of the framework of a festival network to administer its empire two centuries before.<sup>25</sup>

On the face of it, the number of festivals to which *theōroi* might have been sent increases dramatically in Hellenistic period, not just because of the activities of kings and leagues, but also because many cities established new festivals as a way of bolstering their claim to be recognised as ‘inviolable’, a status much valued in this war-torn period. Our sources inform us

<sup>25</sup> Leagues and Empires: §15.2–3.

about the invitations sent to cities all over the Greek world to recognise such festivals and to send *theōroi* to them, but they tell us much less about how great the uptake really was, or how long it lasted.<sup>26</sup>

Geographers and historians of religion working on pilgrimage have traditionally used the term ‘catchment area’ (a term originally coined, it would seem, by geographers with reference to the collection of rainfall) for describing the reach of a given sanctuary.<sup>27</sup> More recently, the vogue has been to describe patterns of connection and the associated movements between places in terms of ‘networks’, making use of the related concepts of ‘social network theory’ and ‘connectivity’. The former gives us a vocabulary of ‘hubs’ (i.e. the sanctuaries), ‘nodes’ (i.e. cities that send delegations), and ‘links’ between the two.<sup>28</sup> This development has coincided with an increased interest among ancient historians in ‘connectivity’ between communities, brought into focus by Horden and Purcell in *The Corrupting Sea* (2000), but going back to Fernand Braudel’s work on the Mediterranean half a century earlier.<sup>29</sup> If ‘connectivity’ is the quality, ‘networks’ are the patterns of links between operators which facilitate it. The ‘network’ approach has a lot to recommend it, but it also has one major limitation, at least in its current form, namely that it is too abstract and schematic to capture the power-relations and hierarchies which often seem to exist between participants in religious networks, and which the ritual framework itself often seems designed to disguise.

## 1.4 History of the subject

As far as I know, this book is the first attempt to provide a comprehensive survey of *theōriā*. There have been shorter surveys before,<sup>30</sup> and 1997 saw the appearance of a substantial and insightful survey of ‘pilgrimage’ in the Greco-Roman world by Matthew Dillon which deals with *theōriā* among other varieties.<sup>31</sup> One factor holding up the appearance of a synthesis is that so many of the primary sources are inscriptions from different periods

<sup>26</sup> The evidence for these new festivals is set out conveniently in Parker (2004b).

<sup>27</sup> An excellent example of this methodology is Bhardwaj (1973), who studies contemporary pilgrimage in India. For the first use of ‘catchment area’, OED online gives the year 1885.

<sup>28</sup> Barabasi (2003); Strogatz (2003); Watts (2003). I sketched out how this might work in Rutherford (2007c).

<sup>29</sup> Horden and Purcell (2000); Braudel (1949).

<sup>30</sup> For example Ziehen (1934b); (Ziehen 1934c); Bill (1901); Wachsmuth (1975); Siebert (1973). I have not seen Meier (1837).

<sup>31</sup> Mention should also be made of the useful volume by Kötting (1950).

and regions. Some of these had been published already a century ago, and early attempts to deal with groups of them are Paul Boesch's path-breaking survey of *theōroi*-announcers (1908, facilitated by Otto Kern's edition of the inscriptions of Magnesia on the Maeander in 1900) and Axel Boethius' monograph on the Athenian *Pūthaïs* (1918), both of them still indispensable today. Another attempt to synthesise the Delphic material of the late Hellenistic period was Georges Daux's monograph of 1936. However, much of the epigraphy was not published until the mid-twentieth century, and some important documents have become known only in the last few decades. Some of the pioneering contributions of the twentieth century are in fact shorter pieces by epigraphers grappling with the new texts: several articles by Louis Robert, for example on the *theōroi* of Pergamum (1927), on the women *theōroi* of Roman Ephesos (1974), and, with Jeanne Robert, on documents from Hellenistic and Roman Claros (1989); several also by Georges Daux, e.g. his *editio princeps* of the convention between Delphi and Andros regulating the sending of an Andrian *theōriā* (1949a).

In recent decades, definitive studies of dossiers of text-corpora have begun to appear. For example, for Delos we have Philippe Bruneau's study of the Hellenistic period (1970), and now Véronique Chankowski's for the Classical period (2008). For Delphi, we have Georges Rougement's commentary of the earlier sacred laws from Delphi (*CID1*, 1977b), Georges Nachtergaele's study of the Delphic Soteria (also from 1977), and Jacques Oulhen's unfortunately still unpublished thesis (1992) on the List of *Theārodokoi*, and the complex history of the Delphic Amphiktion is now understood much better thanks to new editions of the inscriptions and other studies.<sup>32</sup> For Olympia, the difficult early documents, some of them relatively new discoveries, have been elucidated by Sophie Minon's recent study (2007). Susan Cole (1984) and now Nora Dimitrova (2008) have examined the records of *theōroi* from Samothrace. New studies of the material from Claros have recently appeared (Busine (2005); Ferrary (2005)), which supplement the earlier work of the Roberts (1989), although a detailed overview is still a desideratum. The new edition of Greek inscriptions of Kos (2010) has made available in a single volume one of the largest dossiers bearing on Hellenistic *theōriā*. Relevant topics that have received recent treatments are decrees relating to the proclamation of *asūliā* (inviolability) which often involved *theōroi*, brought together as a corpus by Kent

<sup>32</sup> Roux (1979); F. Lefèvre (1998); Sánchez (2001).

Rigsby, and *theōrodokoi* (officials appointed to host *theōroi*) studied by Paula Perlman (2000).

There have also been a number of attempts to situate *theōriā* in its religious and cultural context. A pioneer here was the Hungarian scholar Karl Kerényi, who saw *theōriā*, defined simultaneously as the human vision of the gods and the gods' vision of their worshippers, as a key part of Greek religious experience.<sup>33</sup> However, the impact of this on mainstream scholarship on Greek religion was limited, presumably because Kerényi's later work on Greek religion was not taken seriously by scholars who viewed with suspicion his intellectual engagement with Carl Gustav Jung's theory of archetypes.

An importance source for the understanding of *theōriā* in the Classical period are fragments of songs performed at major festivals by choruses accompanying *theōroi*. These became better known in the twentieth century through the discovery of fragments of Pindar's *Paeans* and other texts, and recently Barbara Kowalzig has written extensively about the role of enactments of choral dance in the formation Greek communities (2007). Another special area of interest has been the relationship between religious *theōriā* and *theōriā* in the sense of philosophical contemplation, a subject already examined by Franz Boll (1920) and Otfried Becker (1940), but taken further by Hannelore Rausch (1982) and above all by Andrea Nightingale in several recent studies (2004, 2005).

Two recent trends in the study of ancient social history bear directly on the subject, and make this an appropriate time to work on *theōriā*. The first is recent interest on the origins of Hellenism, as we see it in the work of Jonathan Hall and in the response which that has produced.<sup>34</sup> This is relevant because, at least synchronically, the great festival networks which *theōriā* facilitates, are a major vehicle for common-Greek sentiment. The second trend is interest (already mentioned) in connectivity and networks as central mechanisms for the creation and maintenance of culture, an approach generally thought to have been introduced into the study of the ancient world in Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* (2000) but to some extent anticipated, at least as far as the study of early Greece is concerned, by the work of Irad Malkin, who has for some time been stressing the importance of networks in the formation of early Greek culture and the role of *theōriā* in this process, most recently in his monograph *A Small Greek World* (Malkin 2011).

<sup>33</sup> Kerényi (1942:100–121); see §9.1.

<sup>34</sup> Hall (1997), Hall (2002); cf. the papers in *Ancient West and East* 4 (2005).

### 1.5 Terminology and the ‘pilgrimage’-issue

In the Greek texts, *theōros* is the term most commonly used for ‘sacred delegate’, though there is considerable variation, and texts often use a periphrasis such as ‘those sent to the sanctuary’. In this book, I usually use the terms *theōros* for delegate and *theōriā* for delegation; *theōros* and *theōriā* also have other senses, and when there is ambiguity about the sense of *theōros* being used, I use the term ‘delegate-*theōros*’ for those representing cities in extraterritorial religious activities. Alternatively, I sometimes use the formulations ‘sacred/religious delegates’, or ‘sacred/religious delegation’. The terms ‘sacred envoys’ or ‘sacred ambassadors’ could have been used as well. Some aspects of the phenomena could also be described by the term ‘cultic journey’, which is occasionally used by scholars of the Ancient Near East in analogous contexts.<sup>35</sup>

It would also be possible to use the term ‘state pilgrim’, as I have done in the title, the implication being that ‘pilgrimage’ is a broader term, covering all cases where people visit sanctuaries for a religious reason. This is a somewhat controversial use of the term ‘pilgrimage’, in so far as some have recently questioned whether it is appropriate to use ‘pilgrim’ or ‘pilgrimage’ either for *theōroi* and their activities or for any other group of visitors to sanctuaries in the ancient Greco-Roman world. Obviously, the answer one gives to that depends to a large extent on how one understands ‘pilgrimage’. If we understand it as ‘Christian pilgrimage’, with the implication that it is always performed by an individual, often as a penance, sometimes with a deeply spiritual significance, then nothing in ancient Greco-Roman paganism qualifies.<sup>36</sup> But not everyone defines pilgrimage in such a narrow and loaded way; for many historians of religion and anthropologists, ‘pilgrimage’, understood in a broader and weaker sense, is something found in all cultures and religions, and any journey undertaken for religious reasons, whether by an individual or a group, can qualify.<sup>37</sup> Speaking for myself,

<sup>35</sup> For example by Archi (2002:25).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. so Graf (2002:195), reviewing Dillon (1997a): ‘The problem is obvious: Dillon (and he is not alone, the fashion has infected others too) takes a term from a very specific phenomenon of Christian worship (*peregrinatio*) and exports it rather thoughtlessly into a very different religious culture. This procedure has, as we all are aware, a prominent and long tradition in ethnological writing of the nineteenth century. We know what happened to terms like ‘shamanism’ or ‘taboo’ when used as universal categories, and we teach our graduate students to avoid such pitfalls; such terms make sense only as heuristic tools, and then in order to highlight not so much the similarities as the specific difference.’ I find myself in sympathy with most of that, but I do not see why we have to avoid the term entirely; it is enough to use it with caution.

<sup>37</sup> This is the approach taken in Chelini and Branthomme (1987a); cf. Morinis (1984:202) cited above; Sallnow (1987) on e.g. the delegations (*naciones*) sent by villages to Christian shrines in the mountains of the Cuzco region of Peru.

while my upbringing was at least loosely Protestant Christian, I do not consciously feel the need to view other cultures through the lens of Christianity, and since I began working on the subject it has seemed natural to me to see pilgrimage as a general and universal phenomenon with many specific forms and manifestations, of which Christian pilgrimage is merely one (or several at once).

Various differences between 'pilgrimage' and the forms of extraterritorial religious activity in ancient Greece have recently been alleged, not all of them in my view very significant.<sup>38</sup> For example, Scott Scullion claims that whereas a key part of the modern concept of pilgrimage is that the divine is more accessible at certain holy points, in ancient Greek religion the divine is equally accessible at every point.<sup>39</sup> The Greek evidence, however, suggests exactly the reverse: there is reason to believe that many sanctuaries were regarded as places where divine presence was more immediate, as Strabo describes Epidauros as celebrated through the '*epiphaneia* of Asclepius', which seems to mean something like 'tendency to reveal himself'.<sup>40</sup> Cities setting up new festivals in the Hellenistic period routinely claimed that there had been a manifestation of a divinity there.<sup>41</sup>

Another aspect of *theōriā* which some would probably see as difficult to reconcile with pilgrimage is that it is often carried out by a group and by delegates who represent their city rather than by an individual who acts on her or his own behalf. Thus, the term might be appropriate for an individual going to Eleusis to be initiated or to Epidauros to be cured by Asclepius, or even to Delphi to consult Apollo on some life-changing matter, but it could never be appropriate for a delegation acting on behalf of a city, whatever the delegation does. Certainly, there are some missions of state-sponsored *theōriai* that it would be very odd to call pilgrimages, such as announcing forthcoming festivals, or engaging in blatantly (to our sensibility at least) political activity such as sending a delegation to a festival in honour of the late king of Egypt, with the secondary purpose of conducting

<sup>38</sup> See Scullion (2005). Graf (2002).

<sup>39</sup> Scullion (2005:29): '... Dillon's claim that "the healing power of the god was felt to be more efficacious at a major sanctuary" is not sustained by the evidence... Delphi's pre-eminence was surely based not on specifically religious grounds but on its antiquity and high repute, its powerfully impressive setting and rich mythology, and above all on the political capital it had amassed.' Scullion also claims that in pilgrimage the journey is part of the ritual as well, whereas in the case of *θεωρία* it is not. Notice, however, that *theōroi* wear garlands on the journey to indicate their sacralised state (see §11.1, p.174).

<sup>40</sup> Strab., *Geog.* 8.6.15; the term also occurs at Lindian Chronicle A3, for which Higbie (2003: 264–5), who translates it 'visible presence'. In the late third century, Miletus promotes Didyma on the grounds of the union of Leto and Zeus that took place and the oracles of the god: *IG*12.4.153, 9–11 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup>590, Rigsby (1996:174–5).

<sup>41</sup> See §16.2, p.271.

high-level diplomacy there. But what if the object of the delegation is to perform sacrifices and other rituals at the sanctuary in honour of the god? What if the aim is something of deep cultural and/or religious significance to the city, such as the island-polis of Aegina sending a *theōriā* to Delphi to honour the tomb of the Aiakid hero Neoptolemus with whom they believed their island had an ancestral connection? My feeling is that the term ‘pilgrimage’ is appropriate in cases like these, even if the *theōroi* involved are acting as agents of a political authority (of which they are also part).<sup>42</sup>

In the end, however, it should be realised that what is at stake here is simply the issue of how one chooses to use the term ‘pilgrimage’: whether in a narrower, more specific sense known from Christianity, or in a broader, more general sense, such as we find in anthropological literature.

## 1.6 Plan of book

The book is divided into twenty-one chapters. The first three, including this introduction, provide a general context. Chapter 2 is a survey of the principal primary sources, which in this subject are mostly epigraphical. Chapter 3 is an historical overview, offering a sketch of the key phases in the development of *theōriā* over the seven centuries when it is attested, as well as some speculations about its early development.

The following four chapters set out to deal with the four principal functions of *theōroi*. The first function is that of attending festivals (Chapter 4), and here one of the main problems is to determine whether delegates called *theōroi* are found in the context of all festivals or only of festivals of a certain type or types. The second function, covered in Chapter 5, is the related one of announcing festivals and proclaiming truces, where, exceptionally, the *theōroi* are sent out by the political authority who controls sanctuaries or is organising an upcoming festival. The third function is the consulting of oracles (Chapter 6), and the fourth is that of the conveyance of offerings to or from sanctuaries (Chapter 7).

Chapters 8 and 9 are concerned with the relation between delegate-*theōroi* and two other applications of the word-family *theōros*–*theōreō*–*theōriā*. In Chapter 8, I look at *theōros* in its special sense of a member of a

<sup>42</sup> Discussing precisely this issue four decades ago, Siebert (1973:39) drew attention to the language used in one of Delphic decrees relating to the great Athenian *Pūthais* (FD 2.50, 3–4), where the purpose of Athens’ decision to send the delegation is described in apparently religious terms as ‘for the health and salvation of all the Athen[ians, their children], wives, friends [and allie]s (.. ἐφ’ ὑγίαιαι καὶ σωτηρίαι πάν[τ]ων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τέκνων] καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων [καὶ συμμάχων]). For the *Pūthais*, see §13.4.



class of civic magistrates in some parts of Greece; their responsibilities are little understood, but it is possible that they had originally included representing the city at sanctuaries or attending festivals, so that investigating this area might illuminate the origins of *theōros*-delegates. In Chapter 9, I focus on ‘*theōros*’ in its ordinary sense of ‘viewer, sightseer’, and raise the question of to what extent the activities of delegate-*theōroi* may at any point in their development have involved viewing, and if so, what the objects of that viewing are likely to have been.

The next three chapters deal with major aspects of the duties of the *theōroi*. Chapter 10 offers a survey of the agents and participants who represent cities and other communities in *theōriā*. In Chapter 11, I discuss the journeys of *theōroi* to and from the sanctuary by land and sea, as well as the dangers they faced and truces put in place to protect them. The subject of Chapter 12 is the activities and experience of *theōroi* at the sanctuary, including ways in which they liaise with the authorities in charge of the sanctuary, and rituals they perform there.

The following five chapters aim to isolate key aspects of interstate religion as revealed by the operation of *theōroi*. Chapter 13 deals with the central issue of the role of *theōriā* in the city-state: funding, the degree to which it was embedded in civic rituals, and above all the ways in which sanctuaries are a stage where the cities use *theōroi* to make a statement about themselves and to communicate. I focus on two cases studies: the *Pūthais* from Athens to Delphi, and the *theōriā* from Kos to Delos. The next chapter (Chapter 14) addresses the role in *theōriā* of song, particularly as performed by choruses accompanying the delegations. In Chapter 15, I tackle the complex issue of the relationship between *theōroi* and interstate politics, looking at cases where the festivals attended by them have a political function, where *theōroi* serve as diplomats, or where they combine a religious duty with private business. In Chapter 16, I examine the ways that festival *theōriā* serves as a facilitator or expression of Greek identity or, in some cases, Panhellenic sentiment, and how this role changes between the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. In Chapter 17, I look at the evidence for the networks constituted by the home-cities of the client cities who are known to have sent delegations to specific sanctuaries, and I try to set out some general patterns suggested by these patterns of data.

Chapter 18 addresses the special case of Athens, giving a sketch of the evidence for Athenian *theōriā* at different times and drawing attention to some key and distinctive features. The last two chapters look at the impact of *theōriā* on the Greek imagination. Greek philosophers (Chapter 19)

regularly use religious *theōriā* and initiation-pilgrimage as a model for philosophical *theōriā* (i.e. ‘contemplation’); Plato in the *Phaedrus* even imagines the human soul before birth as engaged in a process of cosmic *theōriā*. More generally, Greek poets and prose-writers seize on *theōriā* as an effective symbol of carnivalesque celebration (Aristophanes), or of religious tradition (Philostratus’ *Heroicus*) or use it as an effective plot-vehicle for allowing two young people to fall in love (the Greek novel, Chapter 20). In the brief epilogue (Chapter 21), I examine the afterlife of *theōriā* in the Roman Empire, and suggest reasons for why it seems to have come to an end in that period.

The book is completed with an appendix comprising a selection of about a hundred primary sources (including both Greek text and translation) to which reference is made in the main text. Almost all of these are inscriptions, in some cases excerpts of longer texts. These are arranged chronologically, in seven categories, from the sixth century BC to the second century AD.

The range and volume of religious travel are impressive, far exceeding expectations based on the occasional references in the literature.

Sopher (1968:398) (on pilgrimage in Gujarat)

In the end, what we can say about *theōriā* is entirely dependent on the primary sources that survive; to put it another way, the activities of *theōroi* are invisible to us, unless they happen to have been recorded in a medium durable enough to survive, which (probably) only happened in exceptional circumstances. Almost all of the primary sources are texts: literary texts by Greek poets and prose authors, but particularly contemporary documents, the vast majority of them inscriptions, as well as a few papyri. Inscriptions on coins may also shed indirect light on the movement of sacred delegations in the Roman period.<sup>1</sup> Archaeology, while providing invaluable evidence about sanctuaries, makes surprisingly little independent contribution to this specific subject, apart from providing context for inscriptions. Relevant iconography is, regrettably, almost non-existent.

## 2.1 Documents

Documents recording the activities of *theōroi* are attested from the sixth century BC to the second or even third centuries AD. Most of them are inscriptions on stone, though a few are written on bronze, and there are also a few papyri. They come from all over the Greek world, but the most significant dossiers are from Athens and Eleusis, Delphi, Delos, Olympia, Samothrace, Kos, Magnesia on the Maeander and Claros. They fall into various types, of which three are particularly important: first, records and commemoration of various sorts; second, regulations; and third, honorific decrees. There are far more inscriptions from the Hellenistic period than from the Classical or Roman periods, and this fact reflects general trends in epigraphic practice as much as anything else. Many of the relevant

<sup>1</sup> Coins of the *homonoia*-type, discussed by Weiss (1998); see §21.

inscriptions have been known for over a century, but some have been discovered and published comparatively recently, and almost every new volume of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* brings something new.

### 2.1.1 Records and commemoration

The simplest type of data are records left by members of *theōriai* commemorating their visit. One type of record is the dedication, for example one made by five Athenian *arkhitheōroi* at Delos in the late fifth century, or that of the *hieropoioi* of the *Pūthais* at Delphi in the fourth century.<sup>2</sup> Equally, inventories in sanctuaries may register dedications from *theōroi*, as the temple inventories from Hellenistic Delos, compiled every year as part of the annual accounts, record dedications under the name of the *arkhitheōros* and his city.<sup>3</sup> At Hellenistic Samothrace, lists of *theōroi* from different cities were displayed, some of them, from the second century BC, if not before, registering their appointment as *proxenoi* for Samothrace in their cities,<sup>4</sup> while others, probably from the next century, recorded visitors with the double status of ‘*theōroi* and *mustai*’. The excavations of Roman Claros have yielded several hundred inscriptions commemorating the participants in sacred delegations visiting the sanctuary, and from Roman Delos we have records of sequences of Athenian *theōriai*.<sup>5</sup> One might have expected a contribution to be made by graffiti, i.e. improvised inscriptions scratched or painted onto buildings. These are an important source for pilgrimage in other parts of the ancient world, particularly Greco-Roman Egypt. However, no graffito known to me identifies the writer as a sacred delegate.<sup>6</sup>

Some sanctuaries also kept records of *theōrodokoi* appointed in cities to act as hosts for delegates (also called *theōroi*) sent out by them to announce

<sup>2</sup> Athenian *arkhitheōroi* at Delos: IG1<sup>3</sup>.1468 (App.#B5); *hieropoioi* at Delphi: FD 1.511 (App.#C10).

<sup>3</sup> See Bruneau (1970:93–114); Hamilton (2000); Linders (1987:116n.4). The inventories cover a number of treasuries on Delos for several centuries. Most of the relevant dedications were stored in the Poros Temple (Hamilton's ‘Treasure B, D’; he uses A, B, C, D to indicate successive phases), and temples of Apollo (Treasure B) and Artemis (Treasure D), though theoric *stlēngidia* are found in Treasure D from the Temple of the Athenians. For the temples, see Bruneau and Ducat (2005:128–33, 154–9 (nos. 11–13, no. 46)).

<sup>4</sup> See §17.2.1. A similar practice may be implied by the stone plaque from Thebes, SEG 37.388 (see Bardani (1987)), which records men appointed *proxenoi* and *euergetai* in the context of a festival, listing them from different places.

<sup>5</sup> Claros: §17.3.3; Roman Delos: ID2535 (App.#G1), ID2536, ID2538.

<sup>6</sup> For pilgrim-graffiti from Egypt, see Geraci (1971), Rehm (1940); summary in Rutherford (2012a); graffiti from Sounion in Snell (1926). For an Egyptian graffito from the statue of Memnon which has been claimed to contain θεωρός in the sense of ‘oracle delegate’ see §9.2.

upcoming festivals or to proclaim the truce. It was standard practice to register the names of these in long lists, which follow the routes taken by the festival announcers. The most complete example is the Delphic *Theōrodokoi* List (DTL) from the 220s, which displayed the names of over 600 appointees, and seems to have been regularly added to and updated.<sup>7</sup>

Information can also be gleaned from the financial accounts of sanctuaries such as those for the period of Athenian control of Delos in the fourth century BC; the more or less complete accounts 378/7–374/3 BC are particularly useful.<sup>8</sup> Equally, the accounts of the Delphic officials called *nāopoioi*, appointed to rebuild the temple of Apollo after the earthquake of 374–3 BC, give us unusually comprehensive data about contemporary visitors to Delphi, many of whom look as if they may have been part of official *theōriai*.<sup>9</sup>

### 2.1.2 Regulations of various sorts

Some of the most useful information comes from treaties and conventions between cities, such as the convention between Delphi and the Cycladic island of Andros, dating from some point in the fifth century BC – estimates vary from the first quarter to the last – which sets out the conditions under which the Andrians were to send sacred delegations to Delphi.<sup>10</sup> The text is damaged, but we can make a fair bit of detail. On the first side, we find a list of privileges for officials, followed by clauses about various taxes, and the second side contains a clause applying to discipline.<sup>11</sup> This must have been a huge *theōriā*, with ten officials, and probably many other participants. We know that a *khōros* accompanied it on at least one occasion in the early fifth century, because Simonides wrote a paeon which appeared in Hellenistic editions under the title ‘For the Andrians for Delphi’.<sup>12</sup>

From the second half of the fifth century BC we have fragments of one or more sacrificial tariffs which seem to concern relations between Athens and local Delphic *proxenoi*, and also a convention between Delphi and Phaselis

<sup>7</sup> On the *theōrodokoi*-lists, the standard treatment is now Perlman (2000); for the DTL, see §5.2.1, pp.73–5 and for an excerpt, see App.#D16.

<sup>8</sup> RO 28 = IG<sup>2</sup>.1635, ID 98. Fragment a of this, now displayed in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, is the so-called ‘Sandwich Marble’, so named because it was brought to London by the Earl of Sandwich in 1739.

<sup>9</sup> Delphic *nāopoioi*: §17.3.4; a recently published set of accounts for a festival in Late Hellenistic Tanagra published in 2009 gives us new insights into the role of *theōroi* there: SEG 57, 452; Brélaz, Andriomenou, Ducrey (2007).

<sup>10</sup> CID1.7 (App.#B3); for discussion, see §12.3, pp.198–200; Rutherford (2005c).

<sup>11</sup> See §12.7, p.211. <sup>12</sup> See §14.3, p.241.

in East Lycia. From the fourth century we have an agreement between the Delphians and the little island of Skiathos, and another between them and the *koinon* of the Asklepiadai of Kos and Knidos. An Argive decree from the late fourth century awarding privileges to the Pamphylian city of Aspendos, which is henceforth treated as a colony of Argos, includes clauses covering Aspendian *theōroi*. It is a pity that so few of these highly informative documents survive.<sup>13</sup>

Although many regulations and administrative documents are known from Greek sanctuaries, and although some of these refer to the behaviour expected of *xenoi*, *theōroi* are rarely singled out specifically.<sup>14</sup> The exceptions are two bronze plaques from the sanctuary at Olympia, which seem to mention the *theāros* as a concomitant of the athlete, apparently held liable for his transgressions.<sup>15</sup> Some civic decrees refer to the sending of *theōroi* to sanctuaries, such as a law from Kos which gives a detailed script for a local festival, which includes the dispatch of a *theōriā* to Delos. Similarly, fragments of the Athenian sacred calendar from the late fifth century (the ‘Nicomachus Calendar’) refer to Athenian *theōriai* going to Delos, Delphi and possibly also Nemea. A short sacred law has recently been discovered from Cyrene which seems to refer to a festival preceding the dispatch of *theōroi*, the *Protheāria*.<sup>16</sup>

Occasionally a city or other political authority published a decree announcing its intention of sending a *theōriā*. One of the earliest documents relating to the Ptolemaia in Alexandria, set up in 283/2 BC, is a decree to send a collective *theōriā* there passed by the League of the Islanders, whose individual traditions in theoric matters were long established. In the first century BC one of these islands, Keos, announced on Delos that it wanted to resume the practice of sending sacred delegations there.<sup>17</sup> Sometimes a decision to send is articulated as a dialogue between city and sanctuary: the sanctuary may extend an invitation to the city, which then accepts, as, for example, Orkhomenos in late Hellenistic decree acknowledged an invitation from Akraiphia to send a delegation to the Boeotian festival of Apollo Ptoios. Alternatively, the sanctuary may accept a request from a city, as in the case of the decree from Hermione in which the city of

<sup>13</sup> Athens and *proxenoi*: CID1.4–6 (App.#B4); Delphi and Phaselis: CID1.8 (App.#B6); Delphi and Skiathos: CID1.13 (App.#C1); Asklepiadai: CID1.12; Aspendos: SEG 34.282 (App.#C9).

<sup>14</sup> Cultic regulations mentioning foreigners: see §12.4, pp.201–2.

<sup>15</sup> Olympia: Minon: nos. 4–5 (App.#A2–3).

<sup>16</sup> Koan Dalia: IG12.4.332b (App.#C7); Nicomachus Calendar: §18.3 (cf. App.#B7); Cyrenean Law: SEG 57.2010 (App.#D5).

<sup>17</sup> IG12.7.506; Keos: ID2539.

Asine requests to be allowed to send a delegation to honour Demeter Chthonia.<sup>18</sup>

Information of a different sort comes from decrees which record punishment of people who commit crimes against *theōroi*. Another bronze tablet from Olympia from around 500 BC records judgement against a man who had assaulted and robbed two *theōroi*, and a much discussed decree from fourth-century Ephesos recording judgement against a large group of Carians who were alleged to have disrupted a *theōriā* between Ephesos and Sardes.<sup>19</sup>

The terms of the Peace of Nikias as reported by Thucydides guarantee various forms of visitation of sanctuaries, including *theōriā*, and later treaties make similar provisions. From the fourth century BC we have a synoecism treaty between Mantinea and the little city of Helisson which provides that the Heliswasioi continue to have the symbolic religious right of receiving *theōriai*, and also that they will send a *theōros* to Mantinea, the latter apparently a symbol of the political relationship between the two cities. In the treaty between Praisos, a city of eastern Crete and two smaller cities of Seteia and Stalai on the north and south coast, arrangements are made for the provision of ships in the context of Praisian delegations to Delphi or Olympia.<sup>20</sup>

### 2.1.3 Honoric decrees

In the Hellenistic period cities pass decrees honouring *theōroi* for carrying out their duties. Sometimes the honouring agent is the state that sent them, as, for example, the Athenians thank the *theōroi* who were sent out to the Thespian Erotideia (early first century BC).<sup>21</sup> But in most of the preserved examples the initiative comes from the sanctuary, thanking them for their *epidēmia* (presence) and *anastrophē* (behaviour), and for having shown themselves worthy of both cities. For example, Mytilene thanks the Thessalian League for sending a *theōriā* to the festival of Asclepius there (early second century BC); Tenos rewarded *theōroi* from Knidos with the status of *proxenoi* and *euergetai*, as well as citizenship, possession of land and houses, and honorary membership of a Tenian phratry (second century BC).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Orkhomenos: IG7.4138; Hermione: IG4.679; for the latter, §4.3.1, p.57.

<sup>19</sup> I.Olympia13; App.#A4; Ephesos and Sardes: I.Ephesos 2 (App.#C8.1); see §7.4.

<sup>20</sup> Mantinea: SEG 37.340; Seteia and Stalai: ICret3.6.7.b.

<sup>21</sup> IG2<sup>2</sup>.1054. IG11.4.1037 seems to be the beginning of a decree of the Nesiotic League thanking the same *theōroi* whose dispatch to Alexandria is arranged in the Nikouria decree, IG12.7.506; this allows the restoration of the name Kallias as the Naxian θεωρός; see Paschidis (2008:419).

<sup>22</sup> IG12.5.828, 26–31. For the date, Étienne (1990:186).

Delphi thanks the ‘*theōroi* of the *Pūth[ai]s*’ sent out by the Marathonian Tetrapolis; and Samothrace thanks Iasos for sending a large *theōriā* around 240 BC.<sup>23</sup> The medium for expressing gratitude can also take the form of a letter, such as that sent by Ptolemy III to Xanthos on behalf of Xanthian *theōroi* visiting Alexandria.<sup>24</sup> The latest case attested seems to be an early Roman decree enacted by Samothrace in honour of *hieragōgoi* from Kaunos.<sup>25</sup> In one anomalous case, the *theōroi* themselves thank the man who organised the festival.<sup>26</sup>

Some long honorific decrees from the Hellenistic period include incidental references to the performance of *theōriā*. These include: the Athenian decree for Kallias of Sphettos, who assisted with the Athenian *theōriā* to Alexandria; decrees from Priene for Moskhion and Herodas; that from Kolophon for Polemaios; and the Hellenistic decree from Mylasa for an unknown man who is said to have performed a sacrifice at a festival on the island of Kos, distributing the meat to members of *theōriai* from different cities.<sup>27</sup>

One part of the institution of *theōriā* that gets a disproportionate representation in the evidence is that of the office of *theārodokiā*, which usually means acting as host for the *theōroi* who announce the festivals. Cities organizing festivals passed decrees commending *theōrodokoi* for successful performance of their duties. Athens decreed that all *theōrodokoi* for its festivals should receive handsome rewards. The first reference to the practice of receiving a *theōriā* in this context is the recently published bronze disc from Olympia, where citizens of Euboea and Sparta are rewarded for their service.<sup>28</sup>

### 2.1.4 Documentary papyri

Administrative documents from Egypt (which are better preserved there than anywhere else in the ancient world) occasionally mention *theōroi*

<sup>23</sup> Mytilene and Thessalian League: *IG12Supp.3*; Delphi and Marathonian Tetrapolis: *FD 2.21* = App.#E2; Samothrace and Iasos: *SEG 43.715* (Habicht (1994), formerly *I.Iasos72* = App.#D3).

<sup>24</sup> *SEG 36.1218*; Bousquet (1986) (App.#D12). <sup>25</sup> Marek (2006:no. 28).

<sup>26</sup> *SEG 36.1280*: a decree from Antioch on the Orontes (198/7 BC) thanking Theophilos, who organised a festival in honour of Antiochus III: see Kraehling (1964); Piejko (1986b:433n. 1).

<sup>27</sup> Kallias of Sphettos: *SEG 28.60*, 55–70 (App.#D2); Moskhion of Priene: *I.Priene 108*; Herodas of Priene: *PEP (Priene) 51* (= *I.Priene 109*), 42–62 (App.#E4), Polemaios of Kolophon: *SEG 39.1243* (App.#E3); for these, see §10.3.3, p.165.

<sup>28</sup> See §5.2.4. Examples are the Olympian decree for Damokrator of Tenedos (*I.Olympia39* = PerlmanEC:O2) or the Delphic decrees for Biaios of Naupaktos (*FD 1.152*) and for Dionysios of Elea (Nachtergaele.A35). The Athenian decree is preserved in *I.Gonnoi 109* (App.#D13). The Olympic disc is Minon: no. 16 (App.#B2).



visiting the country. The voluminous archives of the Ptolemaic official Zenon of Kaunos turned out to contain two relevant documents. One was a letter from 254 BC, in which Zenon's boss, the Ptolemaic finance minister Apollonius, gives him instructions on preparations for a visit by a delegation comprising among others *theōroi* from Argos, probably festival announcers; and the other, from 247 BC, is a letter written by a certain Theopropos of Kalynda in Caria, in which he explains how he secured appointment as *theōros* to Alexandria in order to settle a financial dispute.<sup>29</sup>

### 2.1.5 Problematic cases

Some other forms of inscription may refer to *theōroi* indirectly. We saw that at Samothrace *theōroi* were routinely appointed *proxenoi*, or at least the men appointed *proxenoi* had routinely served as *theōroi*. At Delphi, while none of the numerous decrees awarding *proxeniā* refers to the awardee as a *theōros*, we may nevertheless suspect that they often were. Hans Pomtow, in his edition of the great Delphi proxeny-collection covering the years 197/6 BC to 165/4 BC, argued that when a group of men from the same place are given proxenies together, it may be inferred that they were members of a *theōriā*, and that the first mentioned is the *arkhitheōros*. On this basis he suggested eight *theōriai*:<sup>30</sup>

- in 196/5 BC from Massalia: Theodoros son of Heronax, Kleodamos son of Kaikos, Krinas son of Puthias, Puthias son of Krinas
- in the same year from Lamia: Sokrates son of Epikrates, Lukon son of Sosandros, Boethos son of Ameinokles
- in 194/3 BC, a Pythian year, from Acarnania: Alexandros son of Antiokhos and his sons Philippos and Antigonos
- in 189/8 BC from Thespiiai: Torteas son of Phaeinos, Petagenes son of Kharias, Kallikrates son of Theophanes
- in 186/7 BC, another Pythian Year, from Lebadeia: Kaphisodoros son of Mnaseas, Xenotimos son of Philippos, Thrason son of Muton
- in 182/1 BC, another Pythian Year, from Koroneia: Olumpikhos son of Eumelos, Epikhares son of Kallippos, Philokrates son of Dexiaros

<sup>29</sup> The first is Skeat (1974:62–6, no. 1973) (App.#D7); see Bergmans (1979), §9.2, pp.151–2; the second is Zenon Papyrus 59341(a) (App.#D8); see §15.2, pp.257–8. A third, Zenon Papyrus 59627, refers to *theōroi* in the context of a petition alleging that the writer, Inaros, has been treated unjustly. Both Ptolemais and Philadelphia are mentioned. It cannot be ruled out that these are sightseers, however, for which see §9.2.

<sup>30</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup>585. See commentary on ad loc.

in 178/7 BC, another Pythian Year, again from Koroneia: Olumpikhos son of Eumelos (again), Mikkon son of Dionusodoros, Athanias son of Epainetos and in 176/5 BC from Sicyon: Admatos son of Aristomenes, Somenes son of Somenes, Kallikrates son of Neon

Olumpikhos, who led the two hypothetical *theōriai* from Koroneia seems to be the same as a politician mentioned in historical sources.<sup>31</sup> If the criterion for what counts as a *theōriā* were to be two men rather than three, the list would be much longer. Pomtow may be right about some of these cases, but it is worth remembering that there may be other explanations; thus, the four citizens of Massalia honoured in 196/5 also appear together in the Delphic list of *theārodokoi* (dated about two decades earlier, but their names may well be additions to the list), and it seems simplest to assume that they were given the *proxeniā* in connection with the *theārodokiā*.<sup>32</sup>

Similarly, Christian Marek in his book *Die Proxenie*<sup>33</sup> suggested that several Delphic *proxeniā*-decrees are for *theōroi*, among them:

FD 4.383 for Athenian politician Demades, who we know visited Delphi as one of the ten *hieropoioi* in 326 BC.<sup>34</sup>

FD 3.207 for seventeen delegates, mostly from different cities, many in Macedonia, Thrace and the Black Sea region, between 290 and 280 BC; one of the seventeen, Glaukon of Kuthnos, could be identical to the Glaukon of Kuthnos who served as a *theōros* for the League of the Islanders at Alexandria according to the decree from Nikouria (279–278 BC?).<sup>35</sup>

FD 4.225 (SEG 18.187), heavily restored, apparently renewing *proxeniā* and *theārodokiā* for Diaitos of Tenos, 228/7 BC, and giving him other awards; a Diaitos of Tenos is known to have served as a *theāros* at some point in the third century BC, visiting Elateia to request recognition of *asūliā* the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tenos from the Phocian League. The exact date of Phocian decree is uncertain, as is the relationship between one Diaitos and the other.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Plb. 27.1.9; Livy 42.44.4

<sup>32</sup> Massilians: SIG<sup>3</sup>585, 10–2; DTL 4, 64–7: So Dionysius of Elea appears in both lists (SIG<sup>3</sup>585, 229–30, DTL 4, 68) and also has his own decree commemorating the award of both *proxeniā* and *theārodokiā* (Nachtergaele.A35), from 178/7 BC).

<sup>33</sup> Marek (1984:203). <sup>34</sup> App.#C10, §18.1, p.307.

<sup>35</sup> Daux ad FD 3.207; Nikouria decree: IG12.7.506, 61. See now Paschidis (2008:427).

<sup>36</sup> IG9.1.97, 16 = RigsbyA53; Rigsby ad loc. has an excellent discussion. On FD 4.225, Bousquet (1958:84–5).

FD 2.211: for Aglaokritos, Sosinikos and [ ]tos of Keos, end of third century BC.

In the case of FD 2.211 the grounds for the inference seems to be simply the presence of three men from the same city (cf. Pomtow's argument). In the other cases, the argument is of the form: if the awardee of a *proxeniā* can be shown on other grounds to have been involved in extraterritorial religious activities, or is closely related to someone who does, then the chances are that the *proxeniā* is a reward for serving as a *theōros* to Delphi. This cannot be proved in any particular case, and we should note that even if they were visiting Delphi it could have been for some entirely different reason, such as serving as a judge or arbitrator, or performing as a poet, musician or public declaimer. Nevertheless, the chances are that many of these were indeed *theōroi*.<sup>37</sup>

Another case where we might want to infer the presence of *theōroi* even though they are not explicitly mentioned is the records of the Delphic *nāopoioi*. These date from the 360s till the 330s BC, with a break during the Third Sacred War (356–346 BC).<sup>38</sup> They were published twice a year, corresponding to the meetings of the Amphiktiony (*Pūlaiai*), and they record two types of contributions:

- i) official contributions, known as the first and second *oboloi* (imposed in 367 BC and 362 BC), required of members of the Amphiktiony, who were obliged to pay within five years.
- ii) Voluntary contributions from states and individuals, described by the word *eparkhai* (or the verb *eparkhesthai*), which is apparently a synonym of *aparkhai*. There seem to be two types of *eparkhai*: those made in the name of states, conveyed by individuals; and small contributions made in the name of individuals, who we must assume were visiting Delphi (sometimes delegates who brought a contribution on behalf of a city-state also made individual contributions in their own name).<sup>39</sup> Before the war, those who make individual *eparkhai* tended to belong to states that were not in the Amphiktiony, and that hence did not pay the *obolos*, but after the War, *eparkhai* come from many of the Amphiktionic states as well.

<sup>37</sup> On visitors to Delphi, see C. van Liefferinge (2000).

<sup>38</sup> See Roux (1979:137–71); Pouilloux (1949); Davies (1998) is an excellent guide.

<sup>39</sup> Thus, Nikolokhos in CID2.4.III.50–7 brings an *eparkhē* made in the name of Megalopolis, and also makes a contribution in his own name; and in the record of the Naxian delegation in CID2.4.I.14ff., Naxos makes a contribution of 300dr., brought by Telesekrates and Aristodemos, while four citizens all make smaller individual contributions.

Table 1. *Groups of three or more individual contributors from the same city mentioned together in the records of the Delphic nāopoioi*

CID2.1	362 BC	Karystos (4 visitors, members of the same family)
CID2.4	Spring 360 BC	Naxos (4 visitors, accompanying an offering by the city)
	Autumn 360 BC	Messene (4 visitors) Phleious (3 visitors, all women) Samos (3 visitors)
CID2.5–6	Spring 358 BC	Megalopolis (10 visitors) Nisuros (at least 3 visitors)
	Autumn 358 BC	Keos (at least 9 visitors)
CID2.12	Autumn 341	Keos (at least 4 visitors) Magnesia (at least 3 visitors)
	Spring 340	Syracuse (3 visitors)
	Autumn 340	Keos (7 visitors)
CID2.22		Andros (at least 8 visitors)
CID2.23	334–323 BC	Andros (at least 20 visitors)
CID2.24	336 BC	Lakedaimon (at least 5 visitors)
CID2.26	334 BC (autumn)	Cyrene (5 visitors); Euesperides (4 visitors)

This data bears on *theōriā* in two ways. First, in principle any offering made in the name of a city could have been brought by a *theōros* or *theōroi*, though in the case of the *oboloi* from the Amphiktionic states, we might expect the carriers to be the official Amphiktionic delegates, the *pulāgorai* or *hieromnāmones*. States outside the Amphiktion that make contributions include Stratos and Phoitai in Acarnania, Naxos, Messene, Naukratis, Megalopolis, Anaia in Ionia, Herakleia in Lucania and Apollonia in Illyria. Second, and more problematic, are cases where we have a number of individual contributors from the same city, but no contribution in the name of the city itself. In the accompanying table, I list groups of more than three individual contributors from the same city (see also [Map 20](#) on p.294).

It seems possible that these groups correspond to *theōriai* from these cities, though not ones sent with the specific purpose of making a contribution to the temple. A group of ten or twenty might represent two or three *theōroi* and the rest an official cortege or entourage, in which case the presence of members of the same family in the same group perhaps indicates

that *theōroi* were sometimes accompanied by family members.<sup>40</sup> The presence of large delegations from Keos and Andros probably indicates that these islands were keeping alive the traditions of visiting sanctuaries that were already established in the previous century.<sup>41</sup>

### 2.1.6 Limitations of epigraphy

Epigraphic data survives in comparatively large quantities, but it must be used with caution. One obvious drawback is that, with the exception of the records of the Athenian *Pūthais*, epigraphy usually gives us little detail about the participants or their activities *en route* or at the sanctuary. Another problem is that the 'epigraphic habit' is not equally practised in all places and at all times. Very little comes from the fifth century BC or before. Equally, for any one sanctuary, the epigraphic record is likely to under-represent the chronological range of the *theōriā* that takes place. Some sanctuaries leave little record of *theōriā* at any time, that of Artemis at Ephesos, for example, which we know to have been extremely popular in Asia Minor and possibly beyond,<sup>42</sup> or that of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tenos, for which a solitary decree survives relating to a *theōriā* from Knidos.<sup>43</sup> The cases of the island-polities of Kos and Rhodes make an interesting comparison. Koan *theōriai* is well documented, particularly from the Delian inventories, but also from Koan inscriptions, which attest both rituals performed when Koan *theōriai* leave the island, and also the proclamation of Koan *asūliā* and the festival of Asclepius in the mid-third century BC. The Delian inventories attest many Rhodian *theōriai*, but there is very little relevant epigraphy from Rhodes itself, and the Rhodian Halieia festival, held in honour of the god Helios, which must have been of great importance in the region, is not well documented epigraphically.<sup>44</sup>

Where we do have evidence, it is often indirect and dependent on aberrant local epigraphic habits. Regular commemoration of *theōriā* at any time happens only, as far as can be seen, at Samothrace and Claros. For Hellenistic Delos it is indirectly attested *via* inventory lists, and there are similar offering lists for Didyma. Another problem is that unusual phenomena

<sup>40</sup> The best case is that of Klearistos and his family from Karystos: see §10.3.1, pp.161–2.

<sup>41</sup> See §17.4.2.

<sup>42</sup> The best survey is still that of Kötting (1950:32–57); for background, Picard (1922a:68–87) is still useful; and some remarks in Debord (1982:17). See §17.4.6. Evidence of festival delegations to Ephesos in 211AD has been inferred on the basis of *I.Ephesos* 2053–6: see §21.

<sup>43</sup> Tenos and Knidos: *IG*12.5.828; Étienne (1990).

<sup>44</sup> See §15.1, p.253.

have a greater chance of being recorded in inscriptions, whereas the run-of-the-mill tends to be ignored. Thus the Delian inventories record only states that paid expenses for the Delian chorus, whereas *theōroi* who did not pay expenses must be assumed to have left no record. Again, Kharmion's *theōriā* from Kudonia in Crete to Delphi (193/2 BC) is recorded only because he made a stop in Athens *en route* (and that was only because his father, Eumaridas, happened to have earned the gratitude of Athens a generation earlier by acting against a pirate-gang who had been raiding the coast of Attica), but how many *theōriai* from Cretan cities to the Panhellenic sanctuaries went unrecorded during this period?<sup>45</sup>

## 2.2 Literary sources

*Theōriā* is a theme in Greek literature for almost a thousand years – much longer, if we include its reception in the Byzantine period.<sup>46</sup> The earliest explicit reference is usually said to be a passage in the corpus of elegiac poetry ascribed to Theognis, the gist of which is that a man appointed as a *theōros* (i.e. an oracle delegate) should be honest.<sup>47</sup> A reference to an *arkhitheōros* in a text attributed to Stesichorus of Himera is usually discounted.<sup>48</sup> However, Homer may already allude to the practice at the point in the *Odyssey* where Odysseus boasts to Nausikaa that he once visited Delos ‘and many people followed me’.<sup>49</sup> In later centuries, there are references to *theōriā* in comedy (e.g. Sicilian mimes) and in tragedy (e.g. Euripides’ *Ion*, the plot of which revolves around an Athenian religious delegation visiting Delphi).<sup>50</sup> Attic orators often have cause to mention it (for example, the vivid account of Alcibiades’ contribution to the Athenian *theōriā* to Olympia in 416 BC in the *Against Alcibiades*, attributed to

<sup>45</sup> IGI2<sup>2</sup>844, 49–70; for Kudonia and Athens: Papazarkadas and Thonemann (2008).

<sup>46</sup> See §20 and for the Byzantine period p.354n. <sup>47</sup> See §6.1

<sup>48</sup> The *Rhadine* (PMG278), which, according to Str. 8.3.20, mentioned that the brother of the heroine Rhadine travelled as an ἀρχιθεωρος from ‘Samos’ (which Strabo thinks is a lost city of the Peloponnese, though Paus. 7.5.13 thinks it is the island). Against authenticity: Rose (1932); in favour: Lehnus (1975), D’Alfonso (1994:89–103).

<sup>49</sup> *Od.*6.164: ἦλθον γὰρ καὶ κείσε, πολὺς δέ μοι ἔσπετο λαός; this is usually taken as a reference to visiting Anios the Archegete; see Rutherford (forthcoming.d). Ziehen (1934b:2228) points to the seaborne offering Odysseus leads to Chryse in *Il.*1.430–45. According to Hdt. 4.179 the maiden voyage of the Argo was supposed to be to Delphi, laden with a hecatomb and tripod, but Jason was driven off course to Cyrene. Relevant here too is the tendency for primeval travelling gods, such as Apollo in the *Homeric Hymn*, to be represented like pilgrims, for which see Motte (1992).

<sup>50</sup> See §20.2.

Andocides), as do historians, such as the Athenian Atthidographers.<sup>51</sup> Philosophers seem to have been drawn to *theōriā* because the same word was used to refer to ‘contemplation’, the philosophical activity *par excellence*.<sup>52</sup> But for the most elaborate literary accounts of *theōriā* we have to wait for the Greek novel of the Roman period, and in particular the ekphrasis of a Thessalian *theōriā* at Delphi by Heliodorus of Emesa in his *Aithiopika* (probably fourth century AD).<sup>53</sup>

As well as being a theme, it could also be the context. Some Greek literature was performed, or purports to have been performed, at Panhellenic and regional sanctuaries and festivals. Pindar, Simonides and other poets of the Classical period wrote songs to be performed by choruses accompanying *theōroi* to sanctuaries. Songs were also performed in the context of *theōriā* in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, though by this stage the performers tended to be professional Dionysiac Artists.<sup>54</sup> Another genre which seems to have thrived in the carnivalesque atmosphere of the Panhellenic festivals is epideictic oratory, which at Olympia took on a special form, the ‘Olympiac Speech’, apparently a vehicle for the idealisation of Panhellenic sentiment; we hear of examples by Gorgias and Lysias.<sup>55</sup>

Literary sources are also problematic, however. Factual accuracy is not the primary concern of most Greek writers, and not a concern at all for many, and, like inscriptions, they tend to emphasise the unusual at the expense of the ordinary. Take, for example, Plutarch's account of the Athenian *theōriā* to Delos organised and led by Nikias, with its sparkling description of the bridge of boats traversed by the chorus. How, one might ask, did Plutarch know about this, five centuries after the event? Was he perhaps influenced by contemporary festival culture? And is this account shaped to suit its literary context, implying a contrast between the theatrical spectacle on Delos and Nikias' tragic downfall a few years later in Sicily?<sup>56</sup> Plutarch at least purports to be describing an historical event, but the problem is even more acute for an overtly fictional text, such as that of Heliodorus. The issue of whether we are dealing with fact or fiction or a combination of both also arises in the case of the arch-sophist Flavius Philostratus, who is the only source for two colourful *theōriai*: that of the Thes-salians to the tomb of Achilles in the Troad, and another from Delos to Lemnos, bringing sacred fire.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Against Alcibiades*: §10.3; Atthidographers: see §18.1.

<sup>52</sup> See §19.2. <sup>53</sup> See §20.4. <sup>54</sup> See §14.

<sup>55</sup> Gorgias: p.266; Lysias: p.267. The *Olumpikos Logos* (12) of Dio Chrysostomos (97AD?) has a more religious theme: see D. A. Russell (1992:14–16).

<sup>56</sup> Plut. *Nik.*3.6. See further §20.1. <sup>57</sup> See §20.3, §7.5.

Mention should also be made of para-literary texts, such as lexica, encyclopedias and scholia to literary works. These offer many relevant nuggets of information, but it is not unknown for them to be misleading or mistaken. The views of ancient lexicographers about the difference between a *theōros* and a *theâtēs*, for example, may not predate the Atticist controversies of the early Roman period.<sup>58</sup> Some ancient scholia which purport to explain references to the subject in ancient literature seem to be based on guesses, and not very plausible guesses at that.<sup>59</sup> Collections of proverbs also provide many interesting aperçus, but usually without any sign of context or provenance; a good example is the information that written oracles given to consultants at Delphi were protected with a seal, which is known to us only through proverb collections and encyclopedias.<sup>60</sup>

### 2.3 Material culture

It might be thought that archaeology would provide useful evidence about the experience and activities of *theōroi* at sanctuaries, for example in respect of processional routes, animal sacrifice, dedications or accommodation. However, although we learn a good deal about sanctuaries in general, it is much harder to make specific inferences from archaeology about *theōroi*. Usually, such evidence becomes useful only after we have other reasons to believe that *theōriā* took place.

The only building which we have reason to believe was specifically intended for use by *theōroi* is the so-called Theārion on Aegina, mentioned by Pindar and his ancient commentators, and tentatively identified with a square structure whose foundations have been excavated next to the temple of Apollo in Aegina-town. Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions found on the walls preserve lists of names and refer to a *pentapolis* and common feasts, though the word *theōros* is not used. Even if the identification with the Theārion is right, we still do not know what the building was for: was it

<sup>58</sup> For which, see §9.1, p.145.

<sup>59</sup> Examples include the scholia to Pi. *Nem.* 3.67–70, who seem to have been guessing (see §8.4, pp.131–2), or the scholia to Ar. *Wasps* 1188–9, which give an implausible explanation for a reference to a *theōriā* to Paros (see §10.1, p.157n).

<sup>60</sup> See §6.5, p.108; other relevant proverbs are ‘When the lightning flashes across Harma’ (see §11.1, p.177), ‘the road to Delphi again’ (see §6.4), and ‘Amyris is crazy’, told of a *theōros* who brought back an oracle that Sybaris would be destroyed when it honoured men more than gods, and when he saw the Sybarites ignoring this warning, faked madness so he could get away: Diogenianus Gramm., *Paroemiae* 3.26; Paus. Att. α 99; cf. Timaeus *FGrH* 566F50 = Athen. 12.520ab.



an office for local magistrates called *theōroi*, a massing-point for Aeginetan *theōroi* going abroad, or even an embassy for foreign *theōroi* visiting Aegina?<sup>61</sup>

How little we know for sure about accommodation used by early visitors to Greek festivals was made clear in 2002 when Peter Siewert published a bronze document from Olympia dated to around 500 BC which mentions a hostelry (*xeneōn*), something which it had always been assumed developed later. Permanent ‘houses’ are also sometimes referred to in inscriptions, but it is difficult to find definitive matches for these in the archaeological record. The most common form of accommodation, however, was the ephemeral tent.<sup>62</sup> For feasting, use would have been made at least sometimes of the formal dining room or *hestiātorion*. The Skiathos-Delphi convention refers to a *hestiātorion*, and Herodotus mentions a Keian one on Delos, which may owe this designation to its having been dedicated by the island, or to its being intended to be used by *theōroi* from there, or to both.<sup>63</sup> Georges Roux identified the Keian *hestiātorion* with a mid-fifth-century building situated near the Artemision, with two chambers, each big enough for two dozen diners, but this remains a conjecture.<sup>64</sup>

Dedications brought to sanctuaries by *theōroi* are well documented, but few items in the archaeological record can be identified as having been so dedicated. One of the possible exceptions is the well-known Akanthos-Monument at Delphi, which is known to have been dedicated by Athens, possibly in connection with the *Pūthais* of 326 BC.<sup>65</sup>

The evidence from visual culture is also disappointing. The abstraction *Theōriā* (= ‘Festival’, ‘Spectacle’), which appears as a mute character in

<sup>61</sup> See §8.4. Sokolowski found an ‘open air *theō[rion]*’ (ὑπαίθριον θεω[ρίων) in a Delian inscription (IG11.4.1030, 9 = LSS51) but Feyel and Prost (1998:459) revert to the earlier suggestion of Vallois (ἐν τόπῳ] ὑπαίθριον). For the ‘Pseudo-Theorion’ at Thasos, see Picard and Avezou (1913:373–8).

<sup>62</sup> For the Olympic hostelry, see Minon: no. 8, 8 (=App.#A5) For accommodation, see the brief discussion in §12.3, p.200n.

<sup>63</sup> CID1.13, 26–7; Hdt. 4.35.

<sup>64</sup> Roux (1973); Bruneau and Ducat (2005:no. 48), with reservations; U. Sinn in *ThesCRA* IV.38–46 s. *hestiātorion*, no. 41; ignored by Bergquist (1990:58) in her survey; G. Reger in *IACP* 748. For examples at Delphi, see Bookidis (1983:153, n. 13). In general, Dillon (1997a:160); Goldstein (1978). Other references: a *hestiātorion* of the Eleans at Olympia, available to victors, is mentioned by Paus. 5.15.12; a dining room in the Nemean sanctuary: Miller (1975:166); *hestiātoria* at the *Poseidonia* on Tenos: Str. 10.5.3.

<sup>65</sup> See Bousquet (1964) with *FD* 4.462. Bousquet identified the dancers on the Monument with the Athenian Aglaurids, though Kron (1981:292–3, no. 42) disputes that. For the *Pūthais* of 326 BC see *FD* 1.511 = App.#C10, itself an inscription written on a tripod-base, which would be another theoric dedication. Yet another example would be the remains of Nikias’ palm tree, for which see p.340.

Aristophanes' *Peace*, has sometimes been detected in Athenian iconography.<sup>66</sup> In 1843, Ludwig Ross suggested that a large statue from the Imperial period found at Porto Raphti (ancient Prasiai) represented 'eine Personifikation der heiligen Theorie... welche die Athenäer von hier nach Delos zu senden pflegten'. This view is generally rejected today.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, the label on one of a number of processing figures on a round altar from Brauron has been read as [ΘΕΩΡ]ΙΑ, and *theōriai* have been identified among the female figures on a fourth-century calyx krater from Athens that seem to represent processions and months, and also among the draped figures on a calendar-frieze from the first century BC. None of these cases is certain.<sup>68</sup> Besides this, a few dedications to Apollo by *Pūthaištai* from Ikaria in Attica have accompanying images of figures at Delphi in the presence of Apollo (for one of these see Figure 4),<sup>69</sup> and the act of dedication of offerings to Ammon in Libya by Athenian *theōroi* seems to be represented in a relief at the top of a badly damaged inscription from the mid-fourth century BC which was salvaged from a shipwreck off Mahdia; sadly, the seawater has not been kind to the image (see Figure 1).<sup>70</sup>

In view of the importance of inscribed documents, archaeology is at its most useful when used in conjunction with epigraphy. For example, it may shed light on the structures used to display inscriptions. In Hellenistic Samothrace, it seems likely that a single building was the source for many stones bearing records of *theōroi* (though unfortunately there is still no agreement on what sort of building it was).<sup>71</sup> At Delphi, most of the records of Athenian *theōriai* were recorded on the South Wall of the Athenian Treasury, offering a clear view to anyone ascending the sacred way. Another striking example of archaeology and epigraphy working together are the

<sup>66</sup> §20.2, pp.343–4.

<sup>67</sup> Ross (1840–3:2.11); accepted by O. Höfer in Roscher's *Lexicon* (V:633) and by C. Saletti in *EAA* VII.819. For more recent discussion, see Vermeule (1962) who conveniently lists earlier interpretations, Miller (1972), Vermeule (1976) and Goette (2005:223). The statue has also been interpreted as Erusikhthon, whom Pausanias says had a monument at Prasiai: see §10.5, p.168n.

<sup>68</sup> See Smith (forthcoming a). Brauron altar: Smith: no. 1; Fuchs and Vikelas (1985); calyx krater: Smith: no. 2; Simon (1965:105–13, 116–23); calendar-frieze: Smith: no. 3; Deubner (1932: 250 supported originally by Simon (1965:119–20); but in Simon (1983:6, n. 14 and 101), she changed her mind and suggested that they represent *Pompai*.

<sup>69</sup> See §18.3, pp.315–16. A krater by the potter Kleophon, which illustrates two young men bringing a goat to Delphi to be sacrificed, has been thought to represent the *Pūthais*: see Miro (1968).

<sup>70</sup> *SEG* 46.122 (App.#C3). See Meyer (1989:282, with Tafel 19.1); Petzl (1994:381); Leclant and Clerc (1981), 671, no. 14. See Plate 2.

<sup>71</sup> Dimitrova:16–17, 72 argues for building in the city rather than the sanctuary; Cole (1984:55, nn. 456–7) identified it with a building known from *IG*12.8.229 to have been dedicated by a woman of Miletus in the Hellenistic period.



**Figure 1.** Athenian Decree from Mahdia (App.#C3) with relief depicting Athenian *theōroi* approaching Ammon. Bardo National Museum D1139

Hadra vases, a group of funerary vases of a characteristic size and shape that were unearthed at Hadra, to the east of Alexandria, containing the remains of men who died during visits there in the third century BC, and recording their names and in some cases their occupations. A handful of these are specified as *theōroi* or *arkhitheōroi*.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Theōroi* coming to grief: §11.4; Hadra vases: App.#D15; Enklaar (1992); Cook (1966); first published by Merriam (1885). A fragmentary inscription from Delphi may be an epitaph for a *theoros* (App.#B1). A decree perhaps from Samos honours the doctor Philistos of Kos for inter alia helping those sent out *κατὰ θεωρίαν* to the Koan festival: IG12.6.151, 15, with Hallof's commentary.

A son of Tharsuphas, a *theōros* from Apollonia in Crete, who died in late 234 BC

Hieronides, an *arkhitheōros* from Phokaia in Ionia, who died in the summer of 226 BC

Anaxilaos, titled 'Achaean *arkhitheōros* from Dyme', died in summer 216 BC

Damatrios, a Boiotian *theōros*, died in spring of 213 BC

'Sotion, son of Kleon, Delphian, *theōros*, announcing the Soteria', died in 214/13 BC

The only one whose mission we know for sure was Sotion. Since the Ptolemaia and Theadelphia festivals are usually thought to have taken place on a four-year cycle, with enactments in 231/0, 227/6 and so on,<sup>73</sup> Anaxilaos will probably have died when attending it, and Hieronides too, if illness prevented his return. Damatrios and the son of Tharsuphas are less likely to have been attending festivals in Alexandria, and more likely to have been announcing festivals soon to be staged in their own communities. All these vases come from one particular site, which also yielded vases for ambassadors; other vases from the same site that do not specify an occupation may perhaps be for *theōroi* or *arkhitheōroi* as well.<sup>74</sup>

To sum up: the most abundant and useful data is clearly the epigraphy, but even that is unevenly distributed, both geographically and chronologically. Someone wanting to investigate *theōriā* in the Classical period will inevitably make use of Hellenistic evidence, at least to some extent, and that strategy is unlikely to be completely misleading, because there must have been a high degree of continuity from the Classical period to the self-consciously imitative Hellenistic period. However, there were also changes, and some aspects of Hellenistic festival culture, such as the promotion of festivals to support claims of inviolability, are unlikely to have any Classical precedent. In other cases, Hellenistic practice may have standardised and generalised something which is already present in earlier periods, such as the systematic announcement of festivals and the hosting of festival announcers with designated *theōrodokoi*, which, though best attested from the mid-fourth century, can already be traced in the fifth. In such cases we must proceed with caution, using the Hellenistic evidence as a source for clues, while remaining alert to the possibility that there were significant differences between the two periods.

<sup>73</sup> For evidence for the Ptolemaia, see p.256n.

<sup>74</sup> See on App.#D15.

### 3.1 Introduction

*Theōriā* is explicitly attested over a period of almost a thousand years, from Theognis' *Elegies* in the sixth century BC till Heliodorus' *Aithiopika* in the fourth century AD. When it began and when it ended are both quite difficult to pin down, but a good guess is that the start was around the period of the establishment of the major interstate festivals (eighth century BC?) and that it lasted until the second century AD or the third, depending on what form of it we are talking about. Over this period, there were huge changes: *theōriā* in the period of the Hellenistic kingdoms is not what it was in the Classical world, and the form it took under the Roman Empire is different again. Local variations also have to be taken into account: *theōriā* to the Ptolemaia festival at Alexandria in the third century BC may have been a very different thing from *theōriā* to the island of Samothrace at the same time. Nevertheless, there is reason to think that – from the end of the Classical period, if not earlier – people make use of the institution of *theōriā* precisely because it was perceived as a symbol of stability and of traditional Greek ideals.

The frequency and volume is likely to have varied a good deal from period to period as well. Our records give the impression that there was much more of it in the Hellenistic period, and there is probably some truth in that. There is reason to think that the frequency of Panhellenic religious activity tends to reflect major external crises – the equilibrium of the system is, so to speak, punctuated by spikes in activity and sudden reconfigurations. One of these may have come in the early third century BC, when the Gallic attack on Delphi was countered on the religious level by the establishment of an entirely new Panhellenic festival, the Soteria. Something similar must have happened two centuries earlier, when the Greek victory over the Persians coincided with a flurry of activity at Delphi and Olympia. Similarly, Athens, which was very active in sending out (and also soliciting) *theōroi* in the fifth–fourth centuries BC, but seemed less concerned with it through much of the second–third centuries BC, suddenly got back into the game in the later second century BC with the revived

*Pūthais* to Delphi. Rome's arrival on the scene in the late third and early second centuries BC seems to have added a fillip to Greek festival culture, and, although the traditional religious idiom of *theōroi* and *theōrodokoi* is not much represented after 100 BC, new forms of festivals and religious networks emerged in the early Roman Empire.

### 3.2 Beginnings

Greeks of the Classical period sometimes projected back traditions of *theōriā* into the mythological past. For example, the Athenians maintained that there had been a continuous tradition of *theōriā* to Delos since Theseus, symbolised by the sacred boat used to transport the *theōroi*; this was believed to have been essentially the same as the one Theseus himself used, although individual parts of it were from time to time replaced.<sup>1</sup> At Kleonai, a cult of the conjoined twin heroes Eurytos and Kteatos, also known as the Molione, was explained by the story that they had been slain by Herakles while travelling as *theōroi* from Elis to the Isthmian Games – the idea of the aggressive Molione as *theōroi* is as extraordinary as the idea that Herakles, who founded the Olympics, broke the truce by killing them.<sup>2</sup>

In the Bronze Age, the attested agents of pilgrimage and cultic journeys are generally kings. The earliest example seems to be Gudea, king of Lagash in Sumer, who recorded a journey he made to the sanctuary of the goddess Nanshe in the city of Nina.<sup>3</sup> In Anatolia in the thirteenth century BC the Hittite king, sometimes accompanied by the queen, would visit towns to take part in festivals in honour of various deities.<sup>4</sup> Similar things appear in Greek myth – King Minos of Crete, who made regular pilgrimages to Mt Ida to commune with Zeus there, or the fatal meeting between Oedipus and his father Laios, which is supposed to have taken place when one or both of them was *en route* to or returning from the Delphic oracle.<sup>5</sup> However, communities sent delegations to festivals in the Late Bronze Age as well. At Ebla in the second millennium BC, a religious confraternity carried out an annual cultic journey in honour of the god Nidabal of Luban.<sup>6</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> See §11.2, p.180.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 2.15.1, 5.2.1; Istros, *Eliaka*, FGrH334F42 (= Σ Pl. *Phd.* 89c), Pherecydes, FGrH3F79 (= fr.79Fowler), etc.; Bernardini (1982).

<sup>3</sup> Jacobsen (1987:392).

<sup>4</sup> See Lebrun (1987). On pilgrimage in Hittite Anatolia, Rutherford (2005b).

<sup>5</sup> Minos: Pl. *Lg.* 624b, Ps.Pl. *Minos* 319b–320b, which cites Hom. *Od.* 19.178–9; Oedipus: Soph. *OT* 114–15.

<sup>6</sup> Archi (2002).

in the Hittite culture of ancient Anatolia at around the same time, the ‘Gate-house’ (Sumerian KILAM, Hittite *hīlammār*) festival held at Hattusas was the venue for delegations from numerous surrounding towns and villages, many of which performed song and dance.<sup>7</sup> In Mycenaean Greece, inscribed clay balls from Thebes seem to indicate that offerings were brought to the Theban capital from neighbouring settlements, including Karystos and Amarynthos. The idiom, which includes the verb *a-pu-do-ke* (i.e. \*ἀπύδωκε: ‘he gave’), points to something like the later systems of *aparkhē* offerings, and Killen suggested that the context is a major ritual feast, laid on by the ruler of Thebes, comparing similar patterns hypothesised for the Inca civilisation of Peru.<sup>8</sup> The chances are that some religious networks similar to later amphiktionies already existed in Greece in this period, as they did in Anatolia.

The Greek ‘Dark Age’ is getting less dark all the time as more evidence emerges for sanctuaries showing continuity from the second to the first millennium (e.g. Kalapodi in Phokis, Hieria Syme in Crete), and it no longer seems impossible that some ‘amphiktionic’ religious networks known from the Classical period could have their origins before the eighth century. That the members of Delphic–Pylaeon Amphiktion were tribes rather than city-states looks like a survival from a much earlier period. Nevertheless, for practical purposes, it still seems unlikely that the system of interstate religious activity as we know it goes back before the eighth century BC, and it may not have reached its final form until the sixth century BC.

The two conditions for the emergence of *theōriā* were the establishment of the Greek city-state and the development of major interstate sanctuaries, for both of which the eighth century BC is now generally seen as a key formative period.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, participation in such sanctuaries could have helped shape the development of the early polis, perhaps in a manner analogous to the role of extra-urban sanctuaries in de Polignac’s now classic

<sup>7</sup> See Rutherford (2005b).

<sup>8</sup> See Killen (1994:67–88); drawing on data published by Piteros, Olivier, Melena (1990:103–84); also Godart (1999). Geographical implications: Sergent (1994). Inca civilisation: Murra (1980:121–2). A Linear B tablet from Thebes (Av 104 [+]) 191 in Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi (2001:173–6, with 318–19) has been interpreted to indicate that groups of ten men are sent to the Ptoia (*po-to-a<sub>2</sub>-ja-de*), presumably a festival held on the Ptoion, and the Teleia (*te-re-ja-de*), which may be the cult of Hera Teleia on Kithaeron, but see Palaima’s review in *Minos* 35–6 (2000–1:475–86, esp. 480). Hiller (2000) posited the sending of offerings from Thebes to Aphaia; Tallairdat argued for a delegation to a festival in Mycenaean Crete (KN Fp 14.1b: *e-ke-se-si* = ἑξεσις [cf. Herodotean ἑξεσις]); and Bendall (forthcoming) argues for offerings sent from Pylos to cults in western Asia Minor.

<sup>9</sup> For the Greek city-state, see Hansen (2000:146); for the early development of Olympia and Delphi, Morgan (1993).



theory:<sup>10</sup> if sending delegates (generally ephebes) to an extra-urban sanctuary facilitated the self-definition of the early polis, surely civic missions to extraterritorial or interstate sanctuaries could have had a similar effect.<sup>11</sup> Participation in common festivals could also have shaped the development of the polis by facilitating the exchange of information between city-states, helping to create shared expectations about what a polis ought to be.

Evidence currently available does not allow us to reconstruct the evolution of *theōriā* over this period, and the least misleading strategy is to draw attention to a number of factors that may have contributed to it.

The early clientele of sanctuaries may well have been aristocrats, who leave conspicuous dedications in their own name, and ordinary people, who would have left no durable dedications at all.<sup>12</sup> (A distant echo of aristocratic involvement may be the special *genē* still involved in *theōriā* later on, who could hark back to elite groups specialising in long-distant religious activity).<sup>13</sup> On this model, polis-sponsored *theōriā* would have come into being when the polis appropriated for itself the role of being primary focus for contact with sanctuaries, a role which had previously been in the hands of aristocrats. Mario Rausch has argued that this happened in Magna Graecia and Sicily as late as the sixth–fifth centuries BC, where we see a ‘nationalization’ (‘Verstaatlichung’) of participation in the Olympic Games.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Richard Neer attributes a critical role to the institution of the treasury at the sanctuary, which places earlier aristocratic dedications in a new frame controlled by the city.<sup>15</sup> If the permanent presence of the polis at the sanctuary is symbolised by the treasury, its temporary presence during the festival might be symbolised by the ritual of *theōriā*.

It thus makes sense to think of polis-sponsored *theōriā* as appropriating the role that had previously been taken by aristocrats working on their own behalf. The institution of *theōriā* might have spread from one community to

<sup>10</sup> See De Polignac (1984); see essays in Alcock and Osborne (1990).

<sup>11</sup> See §13.3.

<sup>12</sup> Snodgrass (1980: 57) suggests that in the eighth century ‘the religious pilgrimage was more likely to be a private affair than one of official representation’. Compare the view of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1989), conveniently cited by Hall (2002:164), that the name ‘Hellenes’ originally applied to a class of aristocrats who met at festivals.

<sup>13</sup> See §10.5. <sup>14</sup> M. Rausch (2001).

<sup>15</sup> Neer (2001:284): ‘A treasury would, by its very nature, nationalize any votive, and with it the dedicant’s privileged relationship to the gods. Where previously a wealthy aristocrat could express his or her own personal relationship with the deity by giving a princely gift, the thesauros neatly excises the dedication from the sphere of elitist Panhellenism and places it *es meson*, in the middle of the *polis*. When placed on view in a treasury, the individual dedication is re-contextualised: it still reflects well on its dedicant, to be sure, but it also glorifies the *polis*. The thesauros also overshadows the individual votive, in so far as the building is itself an offering of such cost as to be beyond the reach of all but the most powerful clans.’



another by a process of peer-polity interaction, a dissemination particularly straightforward since *theōriā* is itself a primary medium for interaction and exchange.<sup>16</sup> (According to plausible linguistic model, the term *theōros* itself originates in the Attic-Ionic dialect, so we might want to see Athens or Ionia as being in the forefront of this process at some point).<sup>17</sup> Occasionally, a tension seems to surface at the games between the ambitions of aristocrats and the city – for example, in Alcibiades' flamboyant performance in the Olympics of 416 BC – but these should not be exaggerated.<sup>18</sup>

Into this picture we have to fit the Greek tyrants, some of whom are thought to have had an interest in the Panhellenic sanctuaries, or to have been involved in the control or foundation of the games there: Herodotus claims that Pheidon of Argos took over control of Olympia from the Elean *agōnothetai*, and it has been supposed that tyrants in Sicyon and Corinth had a role in the establishment of the games at Delphi and the Isthmos.<sup>19</sup> One might expect that such enterprises would have been motivated by a desire to promote the tyrant's own reputation, and for that reason would be incompatible with the civic agenda that seems to be implied by *theōriā*. Apparent confirmation of this can be found in the tradition that after the fall of the tyranny at Corinth, the Corinthians attempted to have Periander's dedications re-inscribed with the name of their polis.<sup>20</sup> But there is no reason why a tyrant cannot send out *theōroi*, either in the city's name or their own: a memorable case is the one sent by Dionysius II of Syracuse to Olympia in the early fourth century BC. Plutarch represents Periander as sending a *theōriā* to Tainaron, and Poluainos reports that his father Cypselus got rid of the aristocratic Bacchiads by sending them as *theōroi*

<sup>16</sup> Peer-polity interaction: Renfrew and Cherry (1986); applied to festival networks: Ma (2003).

<sup>17</sup> The basis for this argument is that *θεωρός* is regarded as a compound of two elements, the first of them the word *θεῶ* ('looking'), which has a short first syllable only in the Attic-Ionic dialect, thanks to 'quantitative metathesis' of an earlier form with long first syllable; in other dialects, the first syllable stayed long. In Attic, this combines with the second element '-wōros' vel. sim. to give *ō* in the second syllable; in other dialects, the result of the contraction is different, usually *ā*. See Kretschmer (1892:289n. 2) and Buck (1951), who suggested that the Doric or Arcadian form *θεαρός*, itself modelled on the Attic-Ionic form, was subsequently reintroduced as Ionic, evidenced in *CID*1.7 (App.#B3), which would suggest that the origin of the term had been forgotten. See §1.2, p.5n.

<sup>18</sup> On aristocrats and the games, see the useful analysis of Mann (2001:86–102). For Alcibiades, §10.3.1.

<sup>19</sup> *Hist.*6.127. That all four common-Greek festivals were set up by tyrants was argued by Bury (1890:248–63), challenged by McGregor (1941), who argued that the first Isthmia celebrated the fall of Periander of Corinth, and that the Pythia was designed to rival the Isthmia. On the apparent close association of tyrants and Delphi, see Brandt (1998).

<sup>20</sup> Plut. *Pyth.or.*13 (400e). This forms part of an explanation for why the Eleans were banned from the Isthmian Games; the killing of the Molione provided an alternative explanation.

to consult the Delphic oracle and not allowing them back.<sup>21</sup> So while state-sponsored *theōriai* could be a reaction against the personalised control of tyrants, it is equally possible that tyrants shaped the institution in some way.

Another important factor in the background may have been pressure from cities to reaffirm their links to sanctuaries increasingly regarded as Panhellenic, and through this to the virtual worshipping community of the Greeks. The institution of *theōriā* itself – the commitment of individual cities to send delegation to the sanctuaries – may have come to be seen as something expected of Greek cities. There is reason to think that the pressure was particularly strong in colonies, whose sense of Hellenicity was sharpened by displacement and by the translocal encounter with foreign peoples.<sup>22</sup> Colonies have two types of religious link to the homeland: with their mother-cities, expressed by the regular sending of offerings (as Miletus received delegations from its colonies),<sup>23</sup> and also with the major sanctuaries. These two patterns will tend to merge together if the mother-city also has a claim to being a major religious centre (as Miletus was, thanks to Didyma, for example, and as Athens later became for some Ionian states).

It is also possible that ‘theoricisation’ of religious activity at the Panhellenic level was to some extent encouraged by the sanctuaries themselves. Surviving sacred laws from Olympia from the sixth–fifth century BC suggest that it was expected that athletes would be accompanied by *theōroi* (in this context, a ‘spectator’ as well as a religious delegate) from the same city, who would be on hand to lend support and pay fines. Similar laws might well have been in effect in other sanctuaries. If athletes were ineligible unless accompanied by a *theōros*, cities would have to send them, and the institution would have been generalised from there.<sup>24</sup>

One more factor that needs to be worked into this model is the use of the word *theōros/theāros* as the term for a type of civic magistrate, which is attested already in sixth century Thasos, but in fact seems best established in Arcadia. If there was a relationship at any point between *theōros*-magistrates and the institution of extraterritorial *theōriā*, surviving evidence does not allow us to determine its nature, but perhaps some sort of association came to be made, at least in certain parts of Greece, between expertise as an extraterritorial religious delegate (or experience in travelling and liaising with other communities) and wisdom in matters of politics and law.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Dionysius: Diod. Sic. 14.109; see §16.2; Periander: Plut. *Conv. sept. sap.* 17(160d–e); Cypselos: Polyainos *Strat.* 5.31. See §11.6.

<sup>22</sup> See Malkin (2003). <sup>23</sup> Graham (1964a:160–4).

<sup>24</sup> See further §4.2, p.56; §12.6, pp.209–10; Boesch (1908:7). <sup>25</sup> See §8.7.

### 3.3 Classical period

It has to be assumed that by the late sixth century BC the basic elements of the Greek religious network had taken shape. In fact, we might reasonably push it back to the beginning of the sixth century, when the Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean festivals are supposed to have been established in their classic form, as well as the Delphic Amphiktion, and for Olympia at least, some elements of the festival network are probably even older. There were three principal components to this. The first and most important was the institution of the common sanctuaries and festivals, and a shared sense among Greek cities of their significance and importance; one obvious requirement would have been some rudimentary sense of common-Greek identity.<sup>26</sup> Second, there must have been established institutions in the polis: agreement on who should take part in *theōriai*, how they should be financed and supervised, what routes they should take and how they should travel. Third, there must have been corresponding institutions at the sanctuary – for example, some system of festival announcement, supported by contacts in the cities, and provision of officials in the sanctuary who would liaise with visiting delegations.

At Athens, some elements of the ritual timetable and polis-institutions may have been worked out already in the time of Solon, including regulations relating to the *Pūthais* to Delphi and the *Dēliastai*.<sup>27</sup> Another earlier document is the fragmentary cult tariff that survives from the wall of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, which seems to set out rules for division between visitors and local *proxenoi*. The Andros-Delphi accord, which dates from the fifth century BC, provides a good picture of the internal structure of a *theōriā*, and similar regulations must have existed for many other city-states. Its main concerns are providing for the *theōriā*, especially for the leaders, and sacrificial division, though not so much between Delphians and Andrians as between different groups of Andrians, as if it were an Andrian sacred law. A different perspective comes from early documents from Olympia written on bronze, which regulate the responsibilities of *theōroi* and athletes, record the result of a lawsuit brought as the result of an assault on *theōroi*, and make arrangements for *theōroi* announcing the festival.<sup>28</sup>

A characteristic of this period is that city-states send choruses to sanctuaries along with *theōriai*. Herodotus mentions in passing a hundred young men sent to Delphi by Khios, and Simonides composed a paean for an

<sup>26</sup> See §16.      <sup>27</sup> See §18.3.      <sup>28</sup> See App.#A3–5, #B2.

Andrian *khōros* for performance at Delphi, so it seems very likely that on some occasions, at least, choruses accompanied Andrian delegations there. Pindar wrote poems for an Aeginetan *theōriā* to Delphi and choruses from the Cyclades performing at Delos.<sup>29</sup> The point of sending a chorus in this way would be partly to honour the deity, but it also serves the purpose of advertising the power of the city that sends it before a common-Greek audience.

The main innovation in the practice of *theōriā* in the fifth century was Athens' attempt to use the institution of festival culture as a tool in the consolidation of the Athenian Empire. There are three phases of this. First, the empire itself evolved from the Delian League, whose meetings – and treasury – were initially located on the island of Delos, before being moved to Athens in 454 BC.<sup>30</sup> Delos had long been the centre of a festival network, which had probably from time to time been dominated by the *de facto* sovereignty of individual powers, such as Naxos, and there was a symbolic link between this festival network and the empire, both in the very general sense that the payment of tribute by members to the League's treasury on Delos was analogous to sending religious *aparkhai* there, but also in the specific sense that a sixtieth share of the tribute was rededicated as an *aparkhē* to Apollo by Athens on behalf of the League (just as after the transfer to Athens an *aparkhē* of one-sixtieth was dedicated to Athene Parthenos).<sup>31</sup> In the later fifth century, if not before, Athens explicitly makes Delos into a religious centre, staging a major festival there every four years in a tradition that lasted – with a brief intermission – for a century. Meanwhile, in Athens the participation of member states in Athenian festivals was engineered. A central focus for this was naturally the pentaeteric Great Panathenaia in the month of Hekatombaion, to which cities were supposed to send a cow and panoply.<sup>32</sup>

Simultaneously, Athens had been promoting Eleusis as a common-Greek religious centre. The *spondophoroi* seem to have been carrying out a widespread announcement of the Greater Mysteries already in the fifth century, as we see from a law that sets out regulations governing the sacred truce for Eleusis and other states' observance of it.<sup>33</sup> Another step in this process was the so-called 'Aparkhai-Decree' (probably 420s BC) in which allies are ordered and other Greek states invited to send *aparkhai* of corn and barley

<sup>29</sup> Hdt. 6.27; Sim., *PMG*519fr.35,11–12; Pi. *Paeon* 6.

<sup>30</sup> For background, Rhodes (1992); Meiggs (1972:234–54).

<sup>31</sup> See Meiggs (1972:236–7).

<sup>32</sup> See further §15.2, §18.5.

<sup>33</sup> See §5.3, p.92.

each year to Eleusis.<sup>34</sup> The *aparkhē* is clearly the counterpart to the myth of Triptolemus' journey spreading the secret of agriculture, and that myth certainly goes back to the sixth century.

One might have expected similar initiatives to have been made in other parts of Greece. Mostly we have to wait until the Hellenistic period for this (see below), but already in the last years of the fifth century BC Arkhelaos, ruler of Macedon from 413–399 BC, is said to have founded a *panēguris* at Dion in honour of Zeus and the Muses.<sup>35</sup> Ernst Badian has argued that this might have been a 'counter-Olympics' set up by Arkhelaos after he had been excluded from the Olympic Games, a particularly painful snub after his predecessor on the Macedonian throne Alexander I had been allowed to compete.<sup>36</sup>

### 3.4 Hellenistic reshaping

As we move into the fourth century there are many changes, not least the fact that the epigraphy tends to get richer, particularly in respect of festival announcement.<sup>37</sup> There were also fundamental changes in religious and political mentality. One of these is that we begin to find an approval, to begin with among intellectuals, for an intense common feeling (*homonoia*) between Greek states, and a recognition that the great festivals can be a frame for its expression.<sup>38</sup> Another tendency seen in this period is to apply divine honours to kings and other powerful men, both after their death and before it, and one aspect of this was calling a delegate sent to them a *theōros*, a word often regarded as implying a religious purpose in view of its supposed link to the word *theos*. (This usage leaves a certain room for manoeuvre, in so far as the envoys might earn this title not because they were being sent to the king *per se*, but because they were going to a festival or a sacrifice he was organising) According to Plutarch, the Athenians, guided by Stratokles, decided in 304 BC to apply this term to the envoys they sent to the

<sup>34</sup> See §7.2, pp.115–16; Parker (1996:143–4).

<sup>35</sup> Diod. 17.16.3; Arr. *Anab.*1.11.1, on both occasions mentioned as a model for Alexander's own festival. It lasted nine days, with the days named after the Muses. Arrian locates it at Aigai, which Bosworth (1976:120–1) argues is a mistake for Dion. For background: Errington (1990:26); Hammond–Griffith (1979:150–1); Borza (1990:173–4). This festival may have been the context of the visit by *theōroi* to Antigonos Gonatas: Ath.13, 607b.

<sup>36</sup> Badian (1982:35). For the competition of Alexander I, perhaps in 476 BC, see Hdt. 5.22.

<sup>37</sup> See §5.2.1. <sup>38</sup> See §16.2, p.294.

Macedonian rulers Antigonos Monophthalmos and his son Demetrius Poliorketes:<sup>39</sup>

... that those sent in a public capacity by decree to Antigonos or Demetrios be called *theōroi* instead of ambassadors, just like those taking traditional sacrifices to Delphi or Olympia on behalf of their cities in the Greek festivals.

Arrian says that Greek embassies (*presbeiai*) who visited Alexander at Babylon in 323 BC and honoured him with golden crowns acted like *theōroi* who had come to honour a god.<sup>40</sup> Plutarch records two other transgressive initiatives related to Demetrius and Athens: first, his holding the Pythia at Athens in 290 BC when access to Delphi was restricted, and second the decree proposed by Dromocleides from the same period that the will of Demetrius be ascertained as if he were the oracle.<sup>41</sup>

Compared with what had been going on in Athens, Ptolemy Philadelphos' decision to invite cities that lived in Egypt's immediate sphere of influence in the Eastern Mediterranean to participate in a festival in honour of his father, the late Ptolemy Soter, seems rather tame. One of the acceptance decrees refers to 'godlike honours' that had already been bestowed on Soter.<sup>42</sup> The first enactment of the Ptolemaia festival may have been in 283/2 BC, having been preceded by an invitation to cities of the Greek world, and surviving documents attest that it attracted *theōroi* for several decades at least. Part of the strategy behind the festival must have been to create a religious framework within which states could demonstrate their allegiance to Alexandria, perhaps echoing the way that Athens had used festival culture as an instrument of political control in the fifth century. When Euergetes succeeded Philadelphos in 246 BC, a second festival was added, the Theadelphia in honour of his parents Philadelphos and Arsinoe, celebrated for the first time in 243/2 BC.<sup>43</sup> Another religious focus

<sup>39</sup> *Demetrius* 11.1: ... ὅπως οἱ πεμπόμενοι κατὰ ψήφισμα δημοσίου πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἢ Δημήτριον ἀντὶ πρεσβευτῶν θεωροὶ λέγοντο, καθάπερ οἱ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάζε τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν πόλεων ἀνάγοντες ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἑορταῖς; cf. *De Alex. Fort.* 338a. Notice that delegates sent to the Demetrieia/Antigoneia by the Nesiotic League in the final years of the fourth century BC were called *sunhedroi*, not *theōroi*: *ID*11.4.1036; for the date, Bruneau (1970:565).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Arr. *Anab.* 7.23.2: ὡς θεωροὶ δῆθεν ἐς τιμὴν θεοῦ ἀφιγμένοι; Habicht (1970:49); Badian (1981:54–7); Scott (1928:160–1); Kuhn (2006:279). For the festival, see also Plb. 30.25 and Plut. *Aratus* 45. Previously, Alexander had sent to Ammon asking whether Hephaestion should be honoured as a hero or a god: Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.7; Diod. Sic. 17.115.6; Plut. *Alex.* 72.

<sup>41</sup> Plut. *Dem.* 13.1–3; related to this is the renaming of two Athenian theoric ships: see §18.2.

<sup>42</sup> Attested in the Nikouria-decree, *IG*12.7.506, 28. For the phrase, see Chaniotis (2003:433).

<sup>43</sup> For the Ptolemaia and Theadelphia, see §15.2, p.256.

for states in the Ptolemaic orbit was probably Delos, where there is a great deal of evidence for *theōriai* from the third and second centuries BC.<sup>44</sup> The Seleucids eventually came to behave in a similar way: in 166–165 BC Antiochus IV Epiphanes celebrated a victory over Egypt with a *panēguris* at Daphne near Antioch, perhaps trying to emulate Aemilius Paullus' celebration at Amphipolis in 167 BC after the Roman victory over the Macedonians at Pydna.<sup>45</sup>

The Aetolian League, which dominated central Greece during the third century, promoted its own festivals in Aetolia (though these have left little trace in the records),<sup>46</sup> and also took charge of a new common-Greek festival at Delphi, the Soteria, which commemorated the quasi-miraculous defeat of a Gallic army that had threatened the sanctuary. Originally, the festival was organised by the Amphiktion, and on a small scale. However, during the archonship of Polyeuktos in Athens, now believed to have been in 250/49 BC, the Aetolians declared it a crown contest like the Pythia, and delegations were sent out to solicit recognition from the Greek cities. Henceforth there were two Panhellenic festivals at Delphi, with the Soteria being celebrated every four years from 249/8 BC, one year after the Pythia.<sup>47</sup> By virtue of its being founded as a memorial to the Gallic attack, the spirit of the Delphic Soteria must have been strongly Panhellenic; this can be compared with the festival of Zeus Eleutherios and Homonoia at Plataia, which commemorated the Greek victory there and seems to have flourished in the third century, perhaps having been first set up in the late fourth.<sup>48</sup>

From the mid-third century we know that endowments for regular festivals, or at least regular offerings, were established at Delos by the kings, including several by the Ptolemies. The purpose of these seems to have been to honour Apollo rather than the endower. There were several by the Antigonids, including one with the name 'Soteria' established in 245 BC that may have been meant as a gesture to rival the Aetolian Soteria at Delphi established a few years before. As far as we can see, this was a new and peculiarly Delian form of religious organisation. John Mikalson has suggested that these 'perhaps derived from the ... *theōriai* sent to Delos by cities ...' So the annual dispatch of a *theōriā* to Delos is replaced by a financial

<sup>44</sup> See §17.2.2.      <sup>45</sup> See §16.2, p.270.

<sup>46</sup> Laphria at Calydon and Thermika at Thermos; see the decree *FD* 3.214; for context, see Antonetti (1990:258) (Laphria) and id. (1990:1980) (Thermika)

<sup>47</sup> See J. D. Morgan (1998) and references in *SEG* 53.9. The archonship of Polyeuktos was formerly placed in 246/5 BC. For the evidence for the proclamation, Nachtergaeel (1977:330); for the periodicity: id. (1977:233).

<sup>48</sup> See §15.3, p.260, §16.2, p.269.



mechanism which delivers a donation to Delos automatically, without the need for anyone to travel.<sup>49</sup>

Another new development in the Hellenistic period is that many cities set up new festivals and sought recognition for them from the rest of the Greek world.<sup>50</sup> Often this was part of a strategy to have their city or sanctuary or both recognised as ‘inviolable’ (*asūlos*).<sup>51</sup> When the ambassadors announce a festival as well as requesting *asūliā*, they tend to be called *theōroi*; otherwise, the term is avoided.<sup>52</sup> The best attested cases, both involving a request for recognition of festival as well as inviolability, are those by the island of Kos (240s) and by Magnesia on the Maiander River in Caria (208 BC). The invitations went out to many Greek cities, a few leagues and kings, and even the Koinon of the Dionysiac Artists of Ionia and the Hellespont (the Artists have a prominent role in Hellenistic festival culture, both as participants and as organisers).<sup>53</sup> In both cases, copies survive of the replies, formally ‘accepting’ the new festival, and in many cases committing themselves to sending *theōroi* to it, and from these it is possible to reconstruct the routes taken by the delegates who made the requests. If the cities that recognised them really sent *theōroi* to attend every celebration of these new festivals, while continuing to participate in the older common-Greek festivals, the total number of theoric missions per year must have doubled or tripled in the second half of the third century. In fact, despite the rhetoric of the recognitions, it is an open question how wide a clientele such new festivals actually drew on a regular basis.<sup>54</sup>

How does this compare with *theōriā* in the Classical period? It would be a mistake to infer that the balance between politics and religion has now shifted in favour of politics, whereas two centuries earlier it was the other way round. On the one hand, politics is already an important part of festival culture in the fifth century BC, even aside from the imperialist purposes to which Athens adapted it; and on the other hand, we should not discount the element of religious belief that lies behind Hellenistic festival culture.<sup>55</sup> When the Magnesians claimed that their appeal for recognition was prompted by the epiphany of the goddess, for example, they probably

<sup>49</sup> Bruneau (1970:560–1). Mikalson (1998:213). Delian Soteria set up by Antigonos Gonatas as a rival to Aetolian Soteria: Walbank (1984:249), citing Will (1979:1.323). Bruneau (1970:558–63).

<sup>50</sup> See §5.2.2.

<sup>51</sup> See Rigsby (1996:20); the claim inevitably covers both sanctuary and polis if the former was inside the latter.

<sup>52</sup> Boesch (1908:8); see §5.2.2, pp.76–7.

<sup>53</sup> See §14.5.

<sup>54</sup> See §5.2.2, p.81.

<sup>55</sup> See the excellent discussion in Rigsby (1996:13–17).



expected that this claim would be widely believed,<sup>56</sup> and the strategy of asking states to endorse your city's claim to the status of 'inviolability' does not work without an expectation that respect for the gods is widespread. The major change is surely one of religious topography: in the Classical period common-Greek festival culture was focused on a few sanctuaries and concomitant festivals, but in the Hellenistic period it suddenly became possible for any major city with an established local cult and a demonstrable role in Greek history to assume the role of a major religious centre, setting up a new festival and inviting the Greek cities to it in the expectation that those invitations would be accepted. This also implies a change in the way that cities used festival culture to promote themselves. In earlier centuries, a city wanting to make an impact would send a lavish delegation to an established major festival and strut its stuff, in full view of rival delegations, not to mention the gods. In the new system, a city would still send out *theōroi*, but their function, modelled on that of the announcers of the traditional festivals, was to issue invitations, not without singing the praises of the city that sent them, and the real political capital was invested in the new festival. In some respects, the new system harked back to the traditional models, but in other respects it inverted them.

### 3.5 The Roman period

From about 200 BC, Roman power came increasingly to dominate the Aegean and Greece, culminating in the defeat of the Achaean League in 146 BC. Less epigraphical evidence for *theōriā* and Panhellenic festival culture survives for this period than from the third century, and for the most part it seems to have been in decline. There are a few exceptions. In the first half of the second century BC, a new festival was established by Pergamum, the Nikephoria, possibly with the backing of Rome.<sup>57</sup> Then, in the second half of the second century BC, Athens, which had shown little interest in *theōriā* through most of the Hellenistic period, revived the *Pūthaïs* to Delphi, performing it at least four times over forty years. The copious records, surviving in the form of inscriptions on the Athenian Treasury, provide some of our most detailed information about *theōriā*. But it did not outlast the first decades of the first century BC, when Athens backed the wrong side in the

<sup>56</sup> For the epiphany, see e.g. *I.Magnesia* 16, 5 (= RigsbyA66).

<sup>57</sup> Rigsby (1996:362–84). The absence of new claims for *asylia* and recognition of the associated festivals in the late second century BC might reflect a tendency in this period for grants to be made directly by kings: see Rigsby (1996:27–8).

war with Mithridates.<sup>58</sup> Georges Nachtergaele has suggested that the period of Sulla's operations against Athens was also that in which the regular celebration of the Pythia and Soteria at Delphi came to an end.<sup>59</sup>

The Romans themselves had long been interested in Greek sanctuaries. Rome is supposed to have consulted the Delphic oracle in 393 BC, and subsequently sent a dedication of a golden krater which, after being intercepted by pirates from Lipari en route, ended up being displayed in the Treasury of Massalia.<sup>60</sup> In the late third century, Rome developed contacts with the Greek festival network, mostly notably in 228 BC, when it was admitted to Isthmian Games by Corinth, which (on the assumption that what happens at Olympia dictates what happens at other Panhellenic festivals) implies that it was regarded as Greek.<sup>61</sup> Rome recognised the inviolability of Greek sanctuaries, and it also used Greek festivals to disseminate information.<sup>62</sup> In Greek territory, Roman generals staged one-off victory festivals, such as that of Aemilius Paullus at Amphipolis in 167 BC mentioned above.<sup>63</sup> In 129 BC, the Roman general Perperna celebrated his victory over the rebel Aristonikos with a one-off festival at Pergamum, to which Greek cities sent *theōroi*.<sup>64</sup>

However, Rome's willingness to adopt to the protocols of Hellenistic festival networks had its limits. There is no recorded case of Rome sending a *theōros* to a Greek festival, even to places where they had a particularly close relationship, such as Samothrace, which had figured on Roman religious horizons since the end of the third century as the origin of the Penates, and where plenty of Romans came to be initiated as *mustai*.<sup>65</sup> The same goes for Delos, which seems to have sent envoys to Rome in the early second century BC to discuss the ties of kinship that existed between the two states (presumably involving the figure of Anios the Archegete, who had assisted Aeneas on his journey, as Andrew Erskine has suggested).<sup>66</sup>

<sup>58</sup> For the *Pūthai*s, see §13.4. <sup>59</sup> Nachtergaele (1977:377).

<sup>60</sup> See §7.3, p.116. Q. Fabius Pictor was sent to consult Delphi in 216 BC: Livy 22.57, 6; Gagé (1955:264–70), and an offering from the spoils of Hasdrubal is sent there in 205 BC: Livy 28.45 12; Gagé (1955:370–3). For the context of the early consultations see Camporeale (2001:98).

<sup>61</sup> Plb. 2.12.8; Rigsby (1996:26), who compares *ID1660.1–2*: Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (123/2 BC).

<sup>62</sup> Rome recognised the *asylia* of Teos in 193 BC (RigsbyA153), Tenos in the late first century BC (RigsbyA61), and in the same period Stratonikeia (RigsbyA211) and Aphrodisias (RigsbyA212). For using sanctuaries to make announcements, see §15.1, pp.253–4.

<sup>63</sup> Ferrary (1988:560–72). Livy 45, 32, 8–33, 6; Plut. *Aem.*28. <sup>64</sup> See §15.1, pp.253–4.

<sup>65</sup> Romans at Samothrace: Cole (1989); see Rutherford (2007a:283).

<sup>66</sup> Erskine (1997).

From the Roman point of view, the drawback of sending *theōroi* to represent it at festivals may have been that this action would normally be taken to imply equivalence with other participants; this is not how Rome wanted to present itself to the world.<sup>67</sup>

Greek interest in *theōriā* begins to revive under the empire. Athenians sent a regular *dōdekēis*, an offering of twelve victims, to Delphi in the late first century AD and to Delos in the second century AD, and there is also some evidence that *theōroi* were still visiting Samothrace in the earlier Imperial period.<sup>68</sup> Compared to the Hellenistic period there are now far fewer references to *theōroi* in surviving inscriptions, which *prima facie* suggests that the volume of activity has fallen as well, though part of what we are seeing may just be change in epigraphic habits. The major exception is the dossier of Roman Claros, where some 400 delegations are attested from cities from all over Asia Minor, as well as some from further afield, between the late first century AD and the mid-third century AD, most of them accompanied by choruses.<sup>69</sup> In this period, Claros seems to have ridden a wave of anxiety about the plague that was sweeping Anatolia.

Meanwhile, festival culture flourished throughout the Roman Empire, and new Greek-style festivals with athletic and musical competitions were established in large numbers, many of them presented as monuments to Roman imperial power. New pentaeteric festivals in the West included: the Aktia at Nicopolis in Acarnania, commemorating the Battle of Actium; at Naples, the Italica Romaea Sebasta Isolympia; and at Rome the Capitolia, established by Domitian in AD 86.<sup>70</sup> New festivals were established in different parts of Anatolia right up until the mid-third century AD, and there is reason to think that cities sent delegations to these, particularly on the occasion of their being first endowed by the imperial authorities. Another focus for the imperial cult was the Panhellenion, established under Hadrian in Athens, AD 131–2, to which member states which qualified under strict criteria of Greek ethnicity sent ‘councillors’ (*sunhedroi*). Aspects of the traditional infrastructure seem to vanish, however, and for sacred delegates to the new imperial festivals the term *sunthūtēs* (‘joint sacrificer’) seems now to be preferred to *theōros*.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> See Giovannini (1993:274).

<sup>68</sup> Athens: see §18.2, pp.311–12; Samothrace: *I.Kaunos* 28; §17.2.1, p.283. <sup>69</sup> See §17.3.3.

<sup>70</sup> Aktia: Bowersock (1965:94); Italica Romaea Sebasta Isolympia: Habicht (1990a:118); Spawforth (2007:288); Geer (1935); Bowersock (1965: 83); Capitolia: Robert (1970:7–8); Caldelli (1993). In general, Newby (2005:27).

<sup>71</sup> See §4.4.3 below; and §21.

State delegations to sanctuaries are little heard of after the middle of the third century AD, though Heliodorus' *Aithopika* proves that memory of *theōria* was alive into the fourth century. Part of the reason for its longevity may be that it came to be seen as one of the key features of traditional Greek religious culture, which succeeding generations were keen to emulate. But the underlying factor was surely the enduring prestige attached to participation by cities in festival culture, both by the cities themselves which sought in this way to engage with the wider world, and also by ruling powers who encouraged it as a means of control. Sending *theōroi* was simply a mechanism that enabled official participation in festivals. The practice was as versatile as it was simple, and was many times reshaped and reinvented to suit new political realities long after the polis culture of Archaic Greece to which it owed its origins had receded into the background.

### 4.1 Introduction

One of the primary meanings of the term *theōros* in Greek religion is ‘delegate to a festival outside its territory’, particularly one of the common-Greek festivals. This usage is underpinned by the fact that ‘festival’ or ‘spectacle’ is an established sense of ‘*theōriā*’.<sup>1</sup> (The word is thus a partial synonym of *theā*, as *theōros* is of *theātēs*). The noun in this sense is particularly common in the Roman period, for example in inscriptions from Asia Minor,<sup>2</sup> but we find it already in the early fifth century, as in this fragment of a *Prosodion* by Pindar:<sup>3</sup>

μνάσει δὲ καὶ τίνα ναῖο[ν-

θ’ ἐκὰς ἡρώϊδος

θεαρίας

(the Muse) will remind even someone dwelling far away of the spectacle  
of the hero.

Poetry and song disseminated knowledge of the festival, providing information about it for people who were not able to witness it themselves.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Observed, e.g., by Becker (1940: 63–4); Louis Robert fought for this sense to be recognised; see, e.g., Robert (1937: 318–19), id. (1980:249n. 39)

<sup>2</sup> For example for Stratonikeia: *I.Strat.*1525.2–3, 1526.3, 1527.4, 1528.7; for Roman Syria: Robert (1939:737); even for Roman Egypt: Perpillon-Thomas (1993: 223–4, 228–9) (implied in the term *theōrika*); for Luttos in Crete, *ICret*1.18.23,8, where Guarducci misunderstood it as referring to a sacred delegation (see *SEG* 49.1245). *Θεωρία* in this sense is also attested in literary texts, e.g. *DS* 4.60.5; Zosimus, *Hist.*12.4.2= Phlegon of Tralles *FGrH*257F40. In an inscription from Roman Didyma, we find *θυορία* in a similar application (Didyma 152.10): M. Ulpius Flavianos Phileas is honoured for liturgies including *μονομαχίαι*, *θυορία* and *ἐπιδόσεις*; this might mean ‘looking after sacrifices’ or ‘feasting’ the word being related to *θυωρός*, which means a sacrificial table (Pherecydes of Syros *VSB*12 with Schibli (1990:66–7); *SGO*02/06/09, 7 (Stratonikeia) etc.), and *θυωρεῖσθαι*, which Hesychius glosses as ‘feast’. Notice also *EM*448, 43: *Θεωρός*· παρὰ τὸ θεὸς καὶ τὸ ὄρω· ἢ παρὰ τὸ τὰ θύη ὄρᾶν. For Didyma 152.10 see Haussoullier (1899); Didyma 193n.1 calls *thuōria* an ‘Unwort’.

<sup>3</sup> Pindar, fr.52o = *Paeans*:406–10 (‘S3’); the genre in the Hellenistic edition was probably *prosodion*, not *paean*.

<sup>4</sup> For *epinikia* disseminating knowledge of athletic victories, see Gelzer (1985).

There are other cases of *theōriā* in this sense in Sophocles and Aristophanes.<sup>5</sup> Xenophon's Hiero laments that one of numerous ways in which the life of a tyrant is inferior to an ordinary person is in respect of 'sights perceived through vision' (ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὄψεως θεάμασι), for whereas private individuals can visit the great festivals to see the best spectacles,<sup>6</sup>

...οἱ δὲ τύραννοι οὐ μάλα ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν.

(... tyrants are not much concerned with spectacles)

The Athenian orator Philinos (fourth century BC), quoted by Harpokration, derived the name of the Athenian 'theoric fund' from it.<sup>7</sup>

Philinos in the 'Against the Images of Sophocles and Euripides', speaking about Euboulos, says 'The theoric fund is so called because when the Dionusia was imminent, Euboulos distributed it for the sacrifice, so that all could take part in the festival and no one should be left out of the *spectacle* owing to weakness of personal possessions.'

So here 'sacrifice' and 'spectacle' are two components of the festival. At Epidauros there was a festival called the *Theōrika Dionusia*, which may be an expanded form of the normal *Dionusia* that accommodated a show.<sup>8</sup>

Equally, the verb can be used of attending a festival, or, by extension, travelling to attend a festival, as in Thucydides' description of the Ionians in former times going to Delos:<sup>9</sup>

There was in ancient times a great gathering at Delos of the Ionians and the islanders dwelling around. They attended the festival (ἐθεώρουν) with their wives and children, just as they do now at the Ephesia. An athletic and musical *agōn* was put on there, and the cities used to send choruses.

The qualification 'with their wives and children' suggests Thucydides is here talking about individuals. It also occurs in his version of the Peace of Nikias, where it could denote the activities of individuals or states:<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Soph. OT1491; Ar. Wasps 1005; Isoc. Areopag.52–3 (criticising the tendency of people in Attica to come into Athens to see θεωρίαι); Aegin.10; LSJ find this meaning at Pl. Lg 1.650a: μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Διονύσου θεωρίας, a difficult expression that refers to testing someone's character by getting them drunk.

<sup>6</sup> Hiero 1.12.

<sup>7</sup> Harpokration Θ 19, Philinos Fr. III in Sauppe (1850:319): Φιλίνος δὲ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου εἰκόνας περὶ Εὐβούλου λέγων φησὶν ἔκλήθη δὲ θεωρικόν, ὅτι τῶν Διονυσίων ὑπογῶν ὄντων διένειμεν Εὐβουλός εἰς τὴν θυσίαν, ἵνα πάντες ἐορτάζωσι καὶ τῆς θεωρίας μηδεὶς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολείπηται δι' ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἰδίων. 'Theoric fund: Buchanan (1962); Roselli (2009). This etymology was favoured by some Atticist lexicographers: see §9.1.

<sup>8</sup> IG4<sup>2</sup>.66.66–7 with Peck (1969) no.22.

<sup>9</sup> Thuc. 3.104.3: ἦν δὲ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἴωνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν· ξύν τε γὰρ γυναῖξί καὶ παισὶν ἐθεώρουν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες, καὶ ἀγὼν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι καὶ γυμνικός καὶ μουσικός, χορούς τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις.

<sup>10</sup> Hist.5.18.

περὶ μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν κοινῶν, θύειν καὶ ἰέναι καὶ μαντεύεσθαι καὶ θεωρεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἄδεῶς...

About the common sanctuaries, (it is to be allowed that) any one who wishes may sacrifice, travel, consult oracles and attend festivals in accordance with traditional custom both by land and sea without fear...

More specifically, the verb can also be used of observing the Olympic competition, as twice in Herodotus.<sup>11</sup> Sometimes observing is presented as an alternative to taking part at the games, or as one of a number of activities practised at sanctuaries, parallel to being initiated and sacrificing.<sup>12</sup>

If *theōriā* means ‘festival’, and city-states send delegates to attend extra-territorial festivals, then *theōroi* was a natural term to use for these delegates, who were seen as the city's official observers. Alongside this, *theōriā* developed the secondary sense of a delegation made up of *theōroi*, and the verb *theōreō* came to be used in the sense of ‘go as a sacred delegate to a sanctuary’.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, *theōris* is the normal Attic term for a sacred ship used to convey sacred delegates to and from a sanctuary.<sup>14</sup>

Common roles of visiting delegates at an extraterritorial festival were to perform sacrifices, deliver offerings, make a sacrifice or undertake other activities on behalf of the home community. An important source for these are honorary decrees passed by the sanctuary authorities, most of them Hellenistic, which generally thank the visiting delegates for their performance of their religious duties, as Samothrace commended delegates from Iasos for bringing a *thūsia*, an *aparkhē* and a *theōriā*.<sup>15</sup>

In exceptional circumstances, the delegation sent to the sanctuary is so elaborate that it amounts to a ‘spectacle’ in itself, aimed, like all religious spectacles, at delighting the god. One thinks here first of the enormous Athenian *Pūthaidēs* to Delphi in the Hellenistic period, which took with them professional singers who staged a musical competition, and knights

<sup>11</sup> Hdt. 8.26: οἱ δὲ σφι ἔλεγον ὡς Ὀλύμπια ἄγουσι καὶ θεωροῖεν ἄγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν, and apparently at 1.59: Ἰπποκράτει γὰρ ἑόντι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεωροῦντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα. In the latter passage, his being specified as a ‘private citizen’ seems to rule out his being an official delegate. For the meaning of θεωρία in Herodotus, see the discussion of Konstan (1987). Another instance of this sense is Ar. *Wasps* 1382.

<sup>12</sup> An alternative to taking part: Isoc. *Paneg.* 44: ἐπὶ τὴν σφετέραν θεωρίαν, and Achaëus *TrGF* 1.20.3, 1: πότερα θεωροῖς εἴτε ἀγωνισταῖς λέγεις; one of a number of sacred activities: Lysias *Or.* 6.5: ... ἢ θύειν... βουλόμενοι ἢ θεωρεῖν.

<sup>13</sup> The clearest example is SEG 21.562, 13 (App.#C4); Philod. *Acad.* col.9, 13 (Gaiser (1988: 209); other possible instances include Ar. *Wasps* 1188; possibly *CID* 1.7, A32–3; Euphron, *PCG* 5.288, fr.7.2; Pl. *Epist.* 3, 315b of oracle delegates (?); *IG* 12.4.213, 20.

<sup>14</sup> See §11.2. <sup>15</sup> SEG 43.715 (App.#D3).

who put on an equestrian competition; even if it coincided with a minor Delphi festival (the Herakleia), it must have completely upstaged it.<sup>16</sup> A much earlier Athenian ‘spectacle’ set in a location outside Attica was the one at Delos, organised by Nikias (probably in Thargelion of 421 or 417 BC).<sup>17</sup> Plutarch, our only source, describes how he arranged an awe-inspiring entrance for the Athenian chorus, walking over an elaborately decorated bridge of boats spanning the channel between the neighbouring islands of Rheneia and Delos. This was followed by sacrifice, a competition, feasting and the dedication of a bronze palm tree. Plutarch refers to this as the occasion ‘when he conducted the *theōriā* (*hote tēn theōriān ēge*), which might mean simply ‘conducted the sacred delegation’, but in the context the sense ‘conduct the spectacle’ or ‘festival’ seems a better fit.<sup>18</sup> A similar usage is found in Heliodorus’ novel the *Aithiopika*, where the *theōriā* is a spectacular performance staged by Theagenes and the Ainianians at Delphi, involving an elaborate procession and sacrifice in honour of Neoptolemus.<sup>19</sup> It could be argued that the language here is coloured by the use of *theōriā* in the sense of ‘spectacle’ that we find in Roman decrees (see above), but we cannot rule out the possibility that the practice of sending a large delegation to stage a spectacle at one of the great sanctuaries goes right back to the fifth century BC. After all, this seems to be what the Aeginetans did at Delphi on the occasion of the performance of Pindar’s *Sixth Paean*.<sup>20</sup>

## 4.2 Panhellenic festivals with competitions

The most high-profile venues for festival-*theōroi* were of course the four great ‘crown’ competitions of the Olympia, Pythia, Nemeia and Isthmia, organised by Elis, Delphi and the Amphiktiony, Cleonae (or Argos) and

<sup>16</sup> For these competitions, see §13.4, p.229 and §12.6, p.209 and for the date of the *Pūthais* §13.4, p.224.

<sup>17</sup> *Nik.*3.4–6. For the date, see Hornblower (1991–2008: 1.517–18), who favours 417 BC. V. Chankowski (2008:94) prefers 421 BC, which coincides with the ‘Peace of Nikias’. Geske (2005: 168–75) has defended an earlier date of 425 BC, which would coincide with the purification of Delos (426/5 BC) and the first pentaeteris, but why then is Nikias not mentioned in *ID*43? See further §20.1.

<sup>18</sup> Plut. *Nikias* 3.4–6; Perrin’s Loeb translation is: ‘conducted the festal embassy’; perhaps this is also the idea at Ar. *Peace* 827, where they take *theōriā* to Brauron. For θεωρίαν ἄγω = ‘conduct the *theōriā*’, see Demosthenes *Against Meidias*; = ‘conduct the festival’; cf. also Isocr. *Or.*19.10, cited in §12.4n.64; also Aristid. *Eleus.*7: τοῦτο δ’ εἰς ἰσθμια τὴν αὐτὴν θεωρίαν ἤγον μὲν Ἀργεῖοι, ἤγον δὲ Κορίνθιοι; Zosimus *Hist.*2.4.2/5 = Phlegon of Tralles *FGrH*257F40: θεωρίαν ἀχθῆναι. For sending a θεωρία to a sanctuary, the *vox propria* would be ἀπάγω, for which see §7.1, p.110n.

<sup>19</sup> *Aith.*2.24, 4.20; a similar sense is possible at *Aith.*1.22.2. <sup>20</sup> See §14.4.2.



Corinth respectively. The term ‘crown’ (*stephanitēs*) is supposed to distinguish them from less prestigious events where there was a prize, but it is not clear whether this terminology predates the fourth century BC.<sup>21</sup> All of these festivals were regularly announced, at least as early as the fifth century, and we must assume that every enactment attracted *theōroi* from hundreds of cities. The fact that the venues were competitions (*agōnes*) is a matter of immense importance for the subject of this book, because it provides an excellent explanation for why *theōroi* were so-called: they were spectators.

Between the fourth century BC and the second, many new festivals were proclaimed by cities in the expectation of attracting *theōroi* from as broad an area as possible. Cities establishing new festivals promote the associated contests on the model of the canonical four as ‘Isolympian’, ‘Isopythian’, occasionally ‘Isonemean’ or ‘crown’. Thus, the Ptolemaia was promoted as a ‘sacrifice and Isolympic contest, athletic, musical and equestrian’. The Delphic Soteria was advertised as a ‘contest’, the musical part ‘Isopythian’, and the athletic and equestrian parts ‘Isonemean’. Delphi was of course unique among the big four festivals in including music events within its competition; in fact, the musical competition there was probably older than the athletic one, which was not introduced before the early sixth century BC.<sup>22</sup> When Magnesia on the Meander promoted its new festival towards the end of the third century BC, the full formula was: ‘sacrifice, *panēguris*, truce and crown Isopythian pentaeteric contest, musical, athletic and equestrian.’<sup>23</sup>

The primary way cities engaged with these contests was by sending *theōroi* to represent them, and act on their behalf. However, at least early on, athletes seem to have been associated with *theōroi*, and although they were not simple agents of the city like *theōroi*, they still represented it in a looser sense, and the city derived prestige from their performance.<sup>24</sup> One victor list refers to a victory in 472 BC by a ‘public chariot of the Argives’, which must mean that Argos entered a team at Olympia in that year.<sup>25</sup> In a

<sup>21</sup> See now the excellent study of Remijsen (2011).

<sup>22</sup> For musical events at Delphi, Weir (2004:33–42).

<sup>23</sup> Ptolemaia: IG12.7.506, 20–1; Soteria: Nachtergaele.A21, 16–17 (IG2<sup>2</sup>680); Magnesia: RigsbyA81, 20–3; few cases have the full formula; Pergamum’s was a crowned *agōn*, the musical part Isopythian, the athletic and equestrian parts Isolympian: CID4.107, 14. This is a very small selection.

<sup>24</sup> On behalf of: see §13.1; athletes and the city: Nielsen (2002:209): ‘... athletes (were) identified with their *poleis* and *poleis* with their athletes by the sixth century.’ On the relation between the athlete and the city, see Thomas (2007:148); Morgan (2007:262); and the important studies of Kurke (1991) and Mann (2001).

<sup>25</sup> P.Oxy.222, 6 (= FGrH415, 6). For the text, see the discussion of Christensen (2007:202–5, 382–4), and for discussion, Hornblower (2004:228).

case like that we might reasonably expect the city to have sent off together its *theōroi* and any athletes it was sponsoring. This hypothetical link between athletes and *theōroi* from the same city seems to be confirmed by legal conventions in force at the Olympia festival of around 500 BC, where if an athlete broke the rules of the competition or transgressed sacred law, it was considered the responsibility of the *theōroi* to make amends.<sup>26</sup>

### 4.3 Regional and local festivals

#### 4.3.1 Regional festivals

Only a very small subset of all Greek festivals were ‘Panhellenic’. Most of them were probably confined to a single city-state, while many others had a broader reach, involving a region or a group of like-minded states, organised for some purpose or another. The evidence for regional festivals tends not to be as good as for the national festivals, but, as far as we can ascertain, many of them were attended by *theōroi* as well. There are two relatively well-documented examples, both from the Hellenistic period. The first is Delos, which, during the period of Independence and Ptolemaic control of the Aegean, was visited by *theōroi* from the SE Aegean, particularly the Dorian islands of the Dodekanesos, especially Kos and Rhodes. This seems to be a remarkable shift from the fifth century, when it was associated with Ionia and dominated by Athens, but Kos at least probably had early links with Delos.<sup>27</sup> Crucial evidence here is provided by the Delian temple inventories, which provide evidence of dedications made by *theōroi* (probably coinciding with the Apollonia festival) over more than a century, allowing us to reconstruct the gradual decline of this festival network.<sup>28</sup>

The second case is the island of Samothrace, where the primary data are mostly undated records of proxenies awarded to *theōroi*, and they give us a good idea of the reach of the festival, which drew delegations from neighbouring Thrace and the Troad, as well as all of Western Asia Minor. There are few delegations from the Cyclades, but almost none from mainland Greece. The best-attested cities are Alabanda, Kaunos, Kolophon, Cyzicus, Dardanos, Ephesos, Parion, Rhodes and Samos (see [Map 14](#)). Samothrace

<sup>26</sup> See §12.6, pp.209–12. The link of Aristokleidas, the victor of Pindar’s *Third Nemean* with the Thearion (see §8.4) might be another example.

<sup>27</sup> For early links between Kos and Delos, see §13.5, pp.231–2.

<sup>28</sup> For the Delian network, §17.2.2; Kos and Delos: §13.5. Bruneau (1970:93–115) is the best guide.

also recorded the presence of visitors who underwent initiation in the local mystery cult as *mustai*, many of whom came from north-west Greece and Macedonia; as a mystery cult, the appeal of Samothrace extended to the whole Greek world.<sup>29</sup>

In both these cases the provenance of the *theōroi* from a narrower region belies the national status they enjoyed, the one as a home of mystery cult, the other as the acknowledged birthplace of Apollo. But some theoric festival networks were probably unambiguously regional, as we see from surviving lists from Hermione in the Argolid, dated to around 225–200 BC, which register *theārodokoi* in Troezen, Argos, Phleious, Corinth, Pellene, Aegina, Aigion, Dyme, Thelphousa, Messene and Tegea, in other words cities from across the whole Peloponnese; these were clearly appointed to host delegates sent out to announce the festival of Demeter Khthonia (see Map 2).<sup>30</sup> Another decree, probably from around the same time, records that Hermione responded positively to a request from Asine (usually thought to be the city in Messenia)<sup>31</sup> to be allowed to send ‘joint sacrificers’ to the festival, and appointed a *theārodokos* to host future delegations (such requests from cities to be allowed to send delegations are very unusual).<sup>32</sup> As Paula Perlman points out, it is easy to imagine that Hermione set up a system of periodic announcement for its festival of Demeter on the model of the Athenian announcement of the Eleusinian festival, but it looks as if they saw the catchment area of their festival as primarily the Peloponnese.<sup>33</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Festivals and leagues

Festivals taking place as part of the operation of federal structures or leagues are also sometimes associated with *theōros/theōriā* terminology. The best example is a decree of the Euboean Confederation from the early

<sup>29</sup> §17.2.1.

<sup>30</sup> IG4.727A and B; Hermone: PerlmanEC H.1 and H.2 with Perlman (2000:161–6). On the festival: Paus. 2.35.5; Aelian *Nat. animal.* 11.4; Prauscello (2011).

<sup>31</sup> See Perlman (2000:163); IACP s.v. One thinks first of Asine in the Argolid, but since this was a mere *kōme* of Argos at this time, some have thought of the other Asine in Messenia, founded by refugees from the first Asine; on the other hand, when Helisson underwent synoecism with Mantinea, it seems to have kept the right to religious independence (see §13.3).

<sup>32</sup> IG4.679, 5–6. An Ephesian request to Athens may lie behind *Agora* 16.225, 14 (see §18.5).

<sup>33</sup> Perlman (2000:166). I do not make use here of the *laminæ* appointing *theārodokoi* from the temple of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi (PerlmanEC L.1–4), three of whom are easy to locate (from Kyparissia in Messenia, Pharai in Achaea, Amphissa in Phokis), while the city of the other two, ‘Kharadros’ or ‘Kharadra’, is impossible to pin down: see Perlman (2000:240n.4).



Map 2. Cities participating in the festival of Demeter Khthonia at Hermione

third century BC (292–288 BC), which lays down that cities involved in the Confederation should meet in advance at Chalcis to award contracts to Dionysiac Artists who will take part in the four annual festivals.<sup>34</sup> This difficult and sometimes misunderstood text seems to refer to a cycle of festivals, comprising four enactments of the Dionysia held in the cities of Euboea on different days of a single month, Lenaion, in the late winter (Karystos, Eretria, Chalcis, Histiaia/Oreos), and then in reverse order four instances of the Demetrieia in honour of Demetrios Poliorketes held in the middle of the autumn on different days of another month, which was given various names in these four cities (see Map 3). The Artists of Dionysus are supposed to participate in all the festivals, as are the *theōroi* representing the other three cities, who are apparently required to take an offering

<sup>34</sup> IG12.9.207, especially 18–20 (the subsection is thought to start with the heading: ὑπὲρ θεωρῶν. For the date, see Aneziri (2003:53n.184, 55); Le Guen (2001:1.48n.169); O. Picard (1979:261–3) has an earlier dating.



Map 3. Principal cities of Euboea where federal festivals were held

(*kallisteion*) and money for the Artists.<sup>35</sup> In geographical terms, the sequence moves from south to north and back south again, and over the year the Dionysiac Artists sing their way round the island. This rotating pattern implies complete reciprocity between all four cities, in so far as each sent *theōroi* to the other three twice a year (on different occasions) and also received delegates from the other three (all three on the same occasion, twice a year). The pattern also implies the highest possible degree of equality, both in terms of the standardised names of the festivals (no city can claim to be the home of a more prestigious deity than another), and also in terms of the sequence (no city is consistently first or last). Above all, the creators of this system sought to avoid a structure in which a single locale served as a unique religious and/or political centre.

Several examples come from the late second century BC. The recently published accounts of the Delia festival at Tanagra mention *theōroi*, and it is inferred by the editors that these are representatives of the Boeotian cities.<sup>36</sup> Around the same time, *presbeutai kai theōroi* announced the reorganised Ptoia Festival in Boeotian cities, and *theōrodokoi* were appointed in Orkhomenos and Thisbe; the reach of the festival was essentially the

<sup>35</sup> Pritchett and Neugebauer (1947:20–1); contra Le Guen (2001:1.55).

<sup>36</sup> SEG 57, 452, ll.7, 9, 19; Brélaz, Andriomenou, Ducrey (2007:289); see further §12.6.

Boeotian Federation, though this was not an official federal festival.<sup>37</sup> Other examples come from Asia Minor: at some point in the second century BC, the Lycian League established a pentaeteric festival in honour of Roma Thea Epiphanes, perhaps at Xanthos, and we have an honorary decree for a certain Orthagoras from the obscure town of Araxa in North Lycia which commends him for serving as, among other things, *theōros* to this festival on its first and second occurrences;<sup>38</sup> similarly, in Caria around 100 BC a delegate to a meeting of the Chrysaoric League based round the sanctuary of Stratonikeia was honoured by his city for serving as *ekklēsiastēs kai theōros*, the former term presumably referring to his participation in council meetings and the latter to his attending the simultaneous festival. Strabo, in his account of the League, talks about delegates going ‘to sacrifice and deliberate’, which are the same two duties.<sup>39</sup>

The most problematic case is the League of the Ionians, which was based round the cult of Poseidon Helikonios at the Panionion near Priene, and for which there is little early evidence – most of the surviving sources are Hellenistic, following a period of discontinuity when the festival had temporarily been moved to Ephesos.<sup>40</sup> The term *theōros* is found in an honorary decree dated around 100 BC, for Herodas of Priene, who is honoured inter alia for his service as *eis Panionion theōros*. This is an unusual application of the term since the Panionion was in Prienian territory, but one has to assume that Priene's formal relationship to the sanctuary was no different from any other Ionian city.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, in a decree from Erythrae dated to the second century BC, the Ionian Koinon commemorates the death of a certain Apollodotus son of Parmenon, who is described as ‘one of those acting as *theōrodokos*’,<sup>42</sup> and it is difficult to see how this could not refer to the Panionion. We cannot be sure that the same terminology was used two centuries before, of course.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Presbutai kai theōroi*: IG7.4138, 3–5, possibly in 4139–42, 4144, 4146, *theōrodokoi*: IG7.4138, 27, 4139, 31.

<sup>38</sup> SEG 18.570; *ed.pr.* Bean (1948:46–56); cf. p.48, lines 71 and 76; the dating of the festivals depends on the dates of the inscription and of Orthagoras himself, which are themselves uncertain. Errington (1987:114–18) thinks the festival was set up after the war against Aristonikos, i.e. after 130 BC, while Behrwald (2000:98) puts it a few decades earlier. For Rome and Greek festivals in general, see Mellor (1975:223).

<sup>39</sup> *I.Mylasa* 101.15; Str. 14.2.25; for an *ekklēsiā* at the League, Crampa (1969–72:no. 43). For context, Gabrielsen (2000:157–61, esp.160).

<sup>40</sup> On the Panionion: Herda (2006b); Kowalzig (2005:46–57); Roebuck (1955:26–40); Tausend (1992:5–7); the move to Ephesos: Diod. 15.49, 1; Hornblower (1982b); Stylianou (1983:245–9); good commentary in SEG 32.1125.

<sup>41</sup> PEP (Priene) 51 (*I.Priene* 109) 53 = App.#E4.

<sup>42</sup> Engelmann and Merkelbach (1972–3:no. 348).

<sup>43</sup> Note the absence of theoric terminology in two earlier texts: PEP (Priene) 11 (late fourth century; cf. Sokolowski (1970)), and the letter of Antiochus to Teos, SIG<sup>3</sup>344 (303 BC).

My last example is that of a league of cities who shared the cult of Athene Ilias in the Troad, which seems to have been active throughout the Hellenistic period. This comprised its greatest eleven cities, including Ilion.<sup>44</sup> The organising body for its festival was a *sunhedrion*, whose members included *sunhedroi* sent by the member states, and *agōnothetai*. Surviving decrees show that fines were imposed on members for not contributing.<sup>45</sup> In an elaborate decree from 77/6 BC, which seems designed to put the organisation on a new footing after the disastrous consequences of the Mithridatic War, it is laid down that:<sup>46</sup>

... the cities should send out *theōroi* [as] before, but the money usually reserved for the 'theoric funds' should n[ot be reserved] for ten years. The *a[p]arkhai* should be arranged a[s before.] If it is necessary for the *sunhedrion* to send embassies, there shall be given [either to three of the *theōroi* chosen] for the year or to three ambassadors as much as [the *agōnothetai* and *sunhedroi* de]cide, adjust[in]g the amount with regard to the e[xpected income. The *s[unhedrion]* should order [the ambassadors] and the [*theōr*]oi...

Participating cities will have to pay for their own *theōroi* for ten years, though if any of these *theōroi* are chosen to perform diplomatic missions, they will be paid by the *sunhedrion*.<sup>47</sup> Here, then, cities participate in the network on two levels, both by helping to organise it and by sending delegates to attend it.

### 4.3.3 Colony–mother-city networks

In many cultures, communities send pilgrimages to localities they perceive as their original home or motherland.<sup>48</sup> To take an example from the Phoenician world, Carthage is known to have regularly sent first-fruits to its mother-city Tyre.<sup>49</sup> Similar practices are known from Greece: Plutarch attests that the Thessalian tribe of the Ainianes sent (*apagein*) an offering of a bull to Kassiopeia, an earlier dwelling place of theirs.<sup>50</sup> Athenian colonies send offerings to Athens on the occasion of major festivals, and something similar happened at Miletus.<sup>51</sup> A fourth-century decree from Epidauros

<sup>44</sup> See Frisch (1975:xii).

<sup>45</sup> e.g. *I.Ilion*5 (late third century), against Khalkedon and Myrlea.

<sup>46</sup> *I.Ilion*10, 36–43; Giovannini (2007:296 and 342–3)

<sup>47</sup> For *theōroi* as ambassadors, see §15.4.

<sup>48</sup> Chelini and Branthomme (1987b:462–6) survey different types of relationship between pilgrimage and places of origin.

<sup>49</sup> See §16.4.

<sup>50</sup> Plut. *Qu.Gr.*26; Sakellariou (1990:190–200). On the Ainianes, §20.4, pp.351–3.

<sup>51</sup> Athens: see §18.5; Miletus: §7.1, pp.111–12.

grants various honours to the island of Astypalaia, purportedly a colony of theirs, including the right for their sacrifices to be conveyed ‘with the procession of the Epidaurians’, presumably at the festival of Asclepius there.<sup>52</sup> An early-sixth-century inscription from Samos records the offering by two Perinthians of a tithe at Samos, mother-city of Perinthos.<sup>53</sup>

Our sources rarely tell us what the delegates were called. One document from about 228 BC referring to delegates sent by Kios to Miletus to negotiate new terms for sending *aparkhai* uses the term *hieropoioi*.<sup>54</sup> The term *theōros* is also found, for example, in an Argive decree from the late fourth century, which proclaims the citizens of Aspendos in Pamphylia colonists *sungeneis* and bestows privileges on them and their *theōroi*.<sup>55</sup>

#### 4.3.4 Local festivals

One might have thought that only comparatively long-distance activity would have counted as *theōriā*, but against that is the striking example from the Athenian cleruchy of Lemnos where in the Hellenistic period *theōroi* were sent by Myrina to the Horaia festival at the Kabeirion near Hephaistia – a journey of about 15 miles as the crow flies (see Map 4); the *theōroi* themselves may have gone by the sea route along the North Coast. The Athenian cleruchs who had settled on Lemnos embraced the native cults, but they imposed on them the Greek idiom of religious organisation: we hear of *hieromnēmones* at the Kabeirion, *hieropoioi* sacrificing there and an ‘assembly of the initiated’, sometimes called ‘*dēmos* of the initiated’; these seem to be the citizens of nearby Hephaistia, who presented themselves as a group united by common initiation in the cult of the Kabeiroi.<sup>56</sup> We have no way of knowing whether delegations came to this festival from outside the island. Philip V of Macedon wrote to Hephaistia announcing his intention of viewing [*ta*] *par’ hūmin hiera* (‘The sacred rites in your land’), but this is perhaps more likely to refer to the famous ritual of ‘renewing the sacred fire’ on Lemnos, with which the Kabeiroi were probably connected.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> IG4<sup>2</sup>.47    <sup>53</sup> SEG 12.391; Graham (1964a:163–4); Graham (1964b).

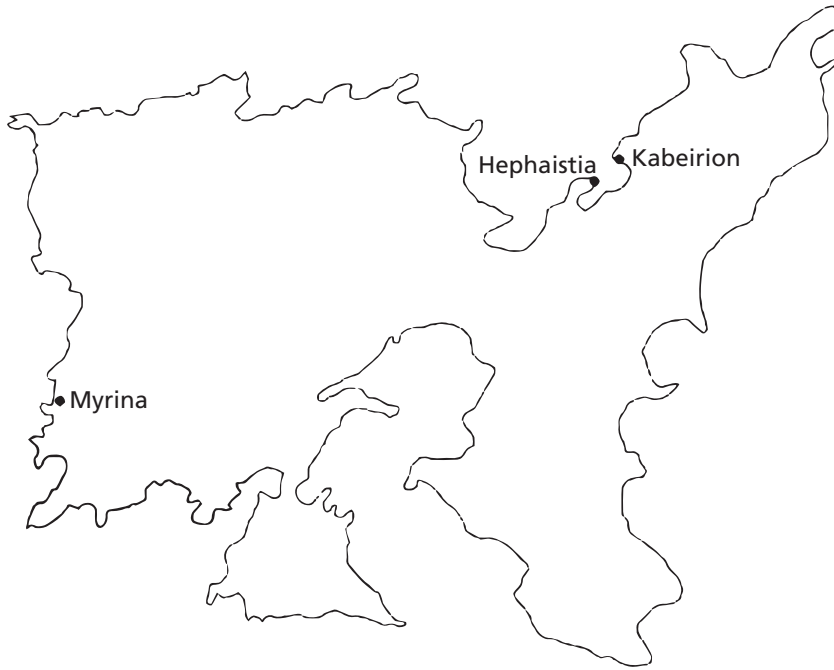
<sup>54</sup> *Milet* I.3.141, 13, 53 (with commentary in *Milet* VI.1, 175–6). See §10.1, pp.156–7.

<sup>55</sup> SEG 34.282 (App.#C9); §16.4, p.275. For *sungeneia*, C. P. Jones (1996); Lücke (2000).

<sup>56</sup> See Parker (1994); Accame (1941–3); IACP s.v. Hephaistia (757–8); *hieromnēmones*: Accame (1941–3, no. 1), from around 400 BC; *hieropoioi*: Accame (1941–3:n. 6); *dēmos* of initiated: Accame (1941–3, nos. 2, 3? 4, 11).

<sup>57</sup> SEG 12.399; cf. Fraser and McDonald (1952).





Map 4. Lemnos

What is the minimum distance a religious delegation has to travel for it to be called a *theōria*? Can a city send *theōroi* to a place within its own territory? A case of the latter might be the Athenian delegations to Delos in the late fifth century–early fourth century, when the island was effectively Athenian territory.<sup>58</sup> No other evidence survives for Athenian practice except for two literary sources, both of questionable value. First, Herodotus says that the Aeginetans intercepted a *theōris*-ship bound for the pentae-teris at Sounion, the ship full of the most prominent Athenians, whom the Aeginetans subsequently enslaved; Tom Figueira dates the events to 489 BC.<sup>59</sup> The reference here is to a *theōris*-ship rather than to *theōroi*, and it is easy to see that the ship might have been so represented in the oral tradition to make the Aeginetan action seem even more provocative than it was. Secondly, in *Peace* Aristophanes seems to refer to the Athenians drunkenly escorting a *theōriā* to Brauron, an idea that could owe more to comic strategy than to historical practice.<sup>60</sup> In the Hellenistic period, the polis of

<sup>58</sup> See §18.1, pp.305–6.

<sup>59</sup> *Hist.* 6.87; see Figueira (1988), who sums up earlier discussions of the date. The context may have been the trireme race to Sounion mentioned at Lysias 21.5; see Jordan (1975: 154–5).

<sup>60</sup> *Ar. Peace* 827; see §20.2, pp.343–5.

Samothrace may have sent *theōroi* to the Samothracian festival (though this is attested only in a transcription of an epigraphic record by the fifteenth-century humanist Cyriacus of Ancona, whose reliability is not beyond question);<sup>61</sup> and Herodas of Priene, who, as we saw, seems to have served as a *theōros* to the Panionion which was within the territory of his own city.<sup>62</sup> In the Roman period, being *theōros* was a privilege awarded to aristocratic women who witnessed a major festival in their own cities.<sup>63</sup>

#### 4.4 Festivals without theoric terminology

Are there any types of festival where we can say for certain that the terminology of *theōriā* was not used? While it is difficult to be sure without an explicit statement from an ancient source to the effect that theoric language is avoided, here are three areas where a case can be made.

##### 4.4.1 The festival culture of Hellenistic Crete

A 'Koinon of the Cretans' existed already in the second century BC, and we know that from the early first century AD, if not earlier, it organised an athletic competition at Gortyn.<sup>64</sup> There were much older regional sanctuaries in remote or border locations, including one at Palaikastro in the east (probably the context for the performance of the so-called hymn to the Dictaeon Kouros) and another at the Hieron Oros at Syme in the south, to the west of Hierapytna.<sup>65</sup> But the best attested form that interstate religion takes in Hellenistic Crete is 'exchange pilgrimage' between cities, frequently documented in the texts of treaties, which survive best for the east of the island (see Map 5).<sup>66</sup> An example is the treaty between Lato and neighbouring Olous, which lays down that Lato is to send delegates to the Thiodaisia and Britomartia at Olous, while Olous sends them to the Thiodaisia at

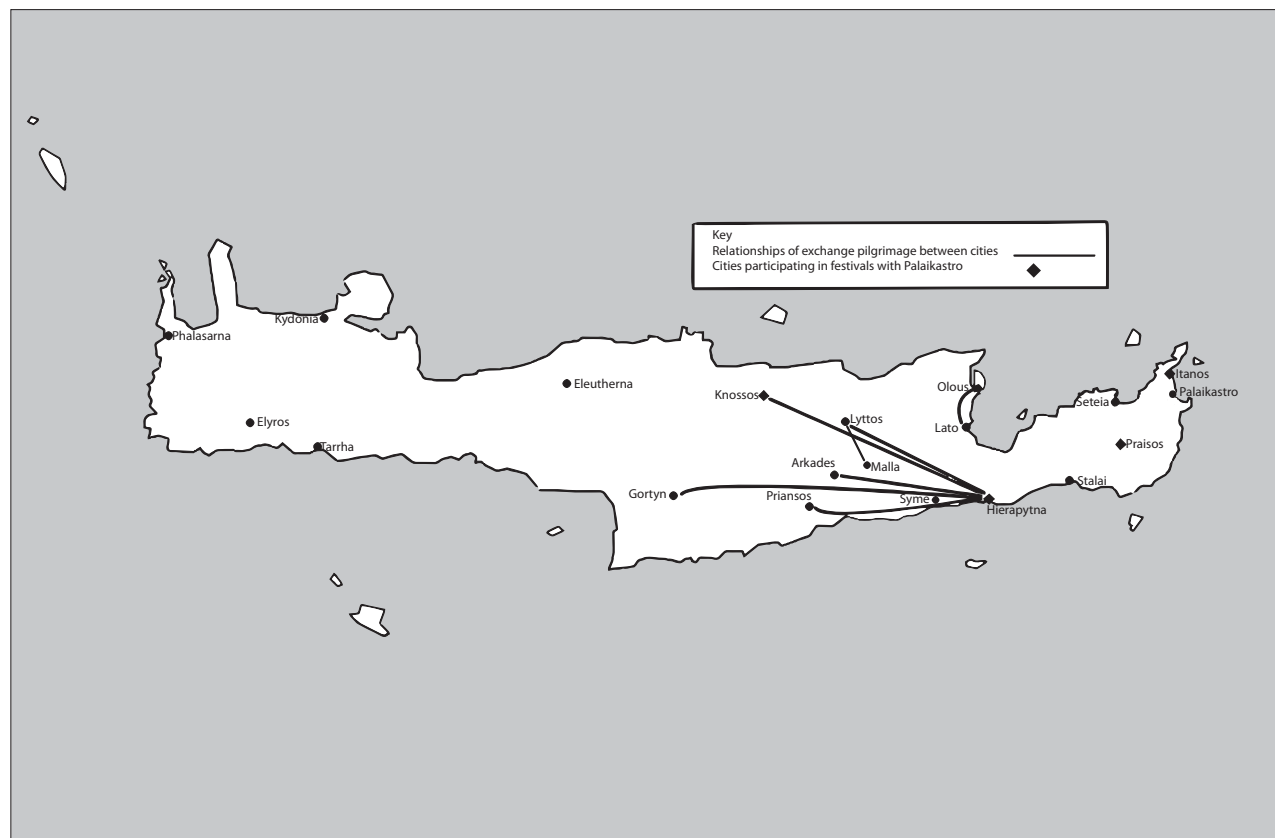
<sup>61</sup> IG12.8.172 = Dimitrova: no. 24, 1–2; for the hypothesis of a mistake on Cyriacus' part, Dimitrova: no.61.

<sup>62</sup> PEP (Priene) 51 (= *I.Priene* 109), 42ff. = App.#E4, above §4.3.2.

<sup>63</sup> Robert (1974). See §9.1. <sup>64</sup> Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1994) with SEG 45.1241.

<sup>65</sup> See Chaniotis (1996:128–30), id. (1988c:33–4) and id. (1991:103–4); a valuable recent study (though not dealing with anything after the Archaic period) is Prent (2005: 532–50 (on Palaikastro), 555–62 (on Syme)); the Cretan hymn to Zeus: Perlman (1995b), and see further §14.4.1.

<sup>66</sup> For term, cf. Crumrine (1991) on 'exchange pilgrimage' (*basom*) by Mayo Indians in north-west Mexico.



**Map 5.** Festival networks, sanctuaries and key cities in Hellenistic Crete

Lato.<sup>67</sup> The city of Hierapytna had these reciprocal relationships with Knossos, Arkades, Luttos, Gortyn and Priansos, so that the whole of East Crete must have visited its Theudaisia festival, the relationship being expressed in each case in terms of a treaty between a pair of cities.<sup>68</sup> For all we know many of the other *poleis* mentioned, such as Knossos, Arkades and Priansos, also enjoyed multiple reciprocal relationships of festival-visiting with other states. The delegates in these exchanges are usually called *dromeis* ('adult males'), and for the delegations the terms *thiasos* or a *khōros* may be used.<sup>69</sup> The terms *theāros/theāriā* may have been considered inappropriate for those delegations whose members were not passive observers (*theōroi*) but troops of young men who performed.<sup>70</sup>

#### 4.4.2 The amphiktionic festivals

An 'amphiktiony' is a cultic organisation whose participants are called *amphiktiones*, which means 'those dwelling around'; the form *amphiktuones* is also found, said to be based on the name of the founding hero Amphiktuon. The best documented example, and probably the original one, is the Delphic Amphiktiony, whose members administered the Delphic sanctuary.<sup>71</sup> The term is also used for any group of states who jointly participate in a common cult and festival, whether or not they are known to have

<sup>67</sup> Lato and Olous: Chaniotis (1996): no. 61, 42–5 (= *ICret*.1.16.5, 42–5, second half of second century BC). See also the cases of Luttos and Olous: Chaniotis (1996): no. 60b, 10–14 (= *ICret*1.18.9b, 10–14, 111–110 BC), and Luttos and Malla: Chaniotis (1996): no. 11, 16–19 (= *ICret*.1.19.1, 16–19 (third century BC)).

<sup>68</sup> Knossian delegates attend the Theudaisia in Hierapytna and delegates from Hierapytna attend the Huperboia in Knossos; *dromeis* go from Hierapytna to Knossos: Chaniotis (1996): no. 50, 8–10 (= *ICret*.1.8.13, 8–10, second century BC); with Arkades: there is to be free passage of religious delegates between the two cities, and in particular delegates from Arkades visit the Theudaisia in Hierapytna and delegates from Hierapytna attend the Asklepiaia in Arkades (Chaniotis (1996): no. 14, 6–9 = *ICret*.3.3.1b, 6–9, 250–200 BC); each city is to announce forthcoming sacrifices fifteen days in advance, and there is apparently to be a sharing of sacrificial victims; with Luttos (Chaniotis (1996): no. 26, 1–4 (= *ICret*.3.3.3b, 1–4), beginning of second century BC); with Gortyn and Priansos (Chaniotis (1996): no. 27 = *ICret*.4.174) and with Priansos alone (Chaniotis (1996), no. 28) = *ICret*.3.3.4, beginning of second century BC).

<sup>69</sup> On the terminology, Chaniotis (1996:126–30); on *dromeis*: Chaniotis (1996:128n.785); a fundamental earlier study is Willetts (1955:11–13); cf. also Tzifopoulos (1998). For χορός and θιασος Chaniotis (1996:127).

<sup>70</sup> Words in the θεωρός family are very rare in Cretan epigraphy; exceptions are the mysterious early regulation from Eleutherna (*Nomima* 1.14 = App.#A1) and the decree from Elyros appointing a θεαρόδοκος (*ICret*2.13.1A = App.#E1); cf. also θεωρία in the sense of 'festival' in Roman Luttos, *ICret*1.18.23, 8 (see above n.2).

<sup>71</sup> F. Lefèvre (1998) and Sánchez (2001) are the most recent treatments of this difficult subject; documents are assembled as CID4.

administered it.<sup>72</sup> Delos is often thought to be the centre of an amphiktion, partly because Thucydides says that it was the venue for a regular meeting of the Ionians and islanders, whom he describes as *periktiones*, apparently a synonym of *amphiktiones*, and partly because the Athenian administrators post-425 BC were called *amphiktuones*.<sup>73</sup> The Athenians may have shared administration with Andros for a short period, but mostly they carried it out alone, so that the term *amphiktuones* here is a misnomer, borrowed, no doubt, to conjure up the religious *aura* of the Delphian model.<sup>74</sup> Strabo uses the term for two more leagues: one based on the island of Kalauria in the Saronic Gulf,<sup>75</sup> and another round the city of Orkhomenos in Boeotia.<sup>76</sup>

Participation in the Delphic Amphiktion – which is thus the only true amphiktion about which anything very much is known – was limited to twelve members, who met at the twice-yearly *Pulaiā* festival, held at Anthela and Delphi itself, possibly even moving from one location to the other in the course of the meeting.<sup>77</sup> Their duties included general administration of the sanctuary at Delphi and organising the Pythia-festival there.<sup>78</sup> Members sent two types of delegates: the *pulāgoroi* (also called *agoratroi*), whose role was more political, the *hieromnāmones* / *mnēmōnes*, who were apparently concerned more with ceremonial and sacred matters. The *hieromnēmōnes* sometimes appear in other religious contexts as well.<sup>79</sup>

On the face of it, the activities of such amphiktionic delegates are distinct from, and complementary to, those of the *theōroi*, in so far as one of the duties of the former is to organise the festivals attended by the latter. A member-state of an amphiktion may in principle send *theōroi* to a festival

<sup>72</sup> On *amphiktiones*, Peter Rhodes' article 'Amphiktyonia' (NPI.600–10) is an excellent starting point. For the terminology, V. Chankowski (2008:45–7).

<sup>73</sup> See Tausend (1992:47–55), who believes in an early amphiktion at Delos, and V. Chankowski (2008:25–8), who is sceptical.

<sup>74</sup> For the Andrians, V. Chankowski (2008:195); for Athens appropriating the Delphic term, id. 49.

<sup>75</sup> Str. 8.6.14, 37; IG4.842 from Kalauria ('not earlier than second century BC') mentions [ε]ρομνάμωνων. See Tausend (1992:15–19), Kelly (1966) and now Constantakopoulou (2007:29–37).

<sup>76</sup> Str. 9.2.33, 412. Tausend (1992:13–15).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. F. Lefèvre (1998:193–6), particularly on the meetings called *ekklēsiai*, and on CID4.106, 22–3, which seems to describe the collected *hieromnāmones* journeying to Delphi.

<sup>78</sup> See e.g. CID1.104/4.1 discussed in §5.3, pp.90–1.

<sup>79</sup> They are included in the third and fourth Athenian *Pūthaiides* of the late second/early first centuries BC (see §13.4), and also in several later Athenian delegations (see §18.2, p.312). A Chiote decree, FD 3.214, 33–4, seems to envisage that Chiote *hieromnēmōnes* attend the Pythia, which preceded the *Pulaiā* by one month in the relevant year: Lefèvre (2007: 197–204)

that the amphiktionion organises, as the Athenian *amphiktuones* who administered Delos seem to have made provision for *theōriai* being sent from Athens to Delos.<sup>80</sup> A good example of such a two-tier structure is provided by the League of Athena Ilias discussed earlier, which is an amphiktionion in all but name.<sup>81</sup>

Sometimes, however, amphiktionic delegates may themselves have assumed the role of representation at festivals normally performed by *theōroi*. This may well have happened at the *Pulaiā* itself, which, though on one level a business meeting, also had some of the attributes of a festival.<sup>82</sup> No evidence connects it with *theōroi*, however,<sup>83</sup> and it seems likelier that all the formal religious duties were carried out by the *hieromnāmones* instead. Here, then, we seem to have an amphiktionic festival operating without *theōroi*, and it is possible that other amphiktionies conducted their internal festivals in a similar way.

#### 4.4.3 The Roman Empire

The Roman Empire had a thriving festival culture well into the third century AD. Those of the older festivals that survived were supplemented by many new ones that celebrated imperial cult or were at least endowed by the imperial authorities. Recording practices are in general not as systematic as for the Hellenistic period, but from what survives it would seem that the term *theōros* in the sense of ‘sacred delegate’ is rarely used. The exceptions include a group of honorific decrees from Rhodes in the late first century AD<sup>84</sup> and also a few of the records from Claros.<sup>85</sup> Instead, the term

<sup>80</sup> For the Delian Amphiktionion looking after *theōroi*, *RO* no. 28 Aa34–5, with excellent commentary.

<sup>81</sup> See §4.3.2, p.61. Exactly this point is made by Giovannini (2007:296).

<sup>82</sup> See Sánchez (2001:52–3); *Ar. Lys.* 1128–34, cited in §16.2, treats it as a festival; *Thphr. HP* 9.101–2 refers to the sale of hellebore there; *Aeschin.* 3.124 implies a wide participation at the *Pulaiā* of 339 BC; Amphiktionion Law, *CID* 4.2 refers to ‘those travelling to Delphi or Pylai by way of processions’.

<sup>83</sup> When *Hyp. Epit.* 18, says that, after the battle of Lamia, Greeks attending the twice-yearly *Pulaiā* meeting will be *theōroi* of the events, he seems to be playing on the sense of *theōroi* as ‘state delegates’, but that does not mean that he believed that this term was actually used for them. See §9.2, p.151.

<sup>84</sup> i) *SEG* 39.752 (= *App.* #F2), to the Aktia in Acarnania and also Alexandria: C. P. Jones (1998:184); *Erskine* (1991); ii. *SEG* 40.668 from Lindos (end of first century AD) referring to T. Flavius Aglochartos, θεωρός to Naples; iii. *SEG* 54.723, 12 from about 80–90 AD; Pugliese Carratelli (1939–40, no. 14, 12), honouring someone who was ἀρχιθεωρός εἰς Ὀ[λ]ύμπια; Bresson (2004) has recently argued that the third was also T. Flavius Aglochartos.

<sup>85</sup> See §6.3, p.98 and *App.* #G3.1, #G3.2. See further §21.

Table 2. *Spartan sunthūtai in the second century AD*

SEG 11.494, 6 (125–45AD)	[Nei]karion son of Zelos, who was inter alia <i>Aktiōn sunthūtēs</i> , i.e. he was delegate to the Aktia festival near Nicopolis in Acarnania;
SEG 11.500, 4–5 (AD 160–70)	Varius Phosphoros, who was ... <i>sunthūtēs Poti-olous Nean polin</i> , i.e. delegate to a festival at Puteoli (presumably the Eusebeia, founded in memory of Hadrian in AD 138), and to the Italica Romaea Sebasta Isolympia at Naples.
SEG 11.501, 5–6 (mid-second century AD)	C. Iulius Arion: ... <i>sunthūtēs Potioulous Nean polin</i> (see preceding entry)... <i>Panhellēn</i> ... <sup>86</sup>
IG5.1.47, 4–5 (mid-second century AD)	Spendon:... <i>sunthūtēs is Rhodon</i> (presumably to the Halieia festival), <sup>87</sup> <i>Panhellēn</i>

‘joint sacrifice’ (*sunthūsiā*), not in itself entirely new,<sup>88</sup> seems to have become popular.<sup>89</sup> Thus, a series of honorary decrees from Sparta from the second century AD identify the honorand as inter alia a *sunthūtēs* (‘joint sacrificer’). The title *Panhellēn*, included in the third and fourth of these, indicates that the man honoured served as a delegate (also known as *sunhedros*) to meetings of the exclusive Panhellenion in Athens, founded by Hadrian.<sup>90</sup>

Can any reason for this change in terminology be suggested? Perhaps the demise of *theōros* in religious contexts reflects an increasing tendency in the Roman period for it to be used in the non-religious sense of ‘sightseer’ or ‘spectator’.<sup>91</sup> For participants in imperial cult, a term with more explicit religious associations may have been felt more appropriate, and *sunthūtēs* would have fitted the bill.

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<sup>86</sup> See Spawforth and Walker (1986:92). <sup>87</sup> See Spawforth and Walker (1986:90–1).

<sup>88</sup> For earlier attestations, see §12.4, pp.204–5.

<sup>89</sup> See further §21; Spawforth and Walker (1986:93–4); Robert (1937:318n.6); C. P. Jones (1998:184) One imperial lexicographer, Aelius Moeris the Atticist (Θ9), says that θεωροί is the Atticist term and θεαταί or συνθῦται the ‘Greek’ one, i.e. the *koine* form (θεωροί οἱ τὰς θυσίας ἀπάγοντες εἰς τὰ κοινὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ μαντεῖα Ἀττικοί· θεαταί ἢ συνθῦται Ἕλληνες. (‘*Theōroi*: those bringing sacrifices to the common sanctuaries and the oracles. Attic people. Sightseers or joint sacrificers. Greeks’)). For Moeris see Dickey (2007:98).

<sup>90</sup> See §16.3.

<sup>91</sup> For θεωρός in the sense of sightseer, see §9.2; Caecilius of Caleacte (see §9.1, p.145n) already interpreted the word as ‘spectator’.

Thus, while the terminology of the Roman period is different, there is reason to believe that in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, and probably in the fifth century as well, the normal term for a delegate representing a polis was *theōros*, literally a ‘spectator’ who attends and observes on behalf of his city. Surviving evidence associates the term particularly with the Panhellenic religious networks, where the athletic *agōn* might be thought to have provided a focus for the eponymous spectatorship of the *theōros*. It is less well attested for regional festivals, but then there is less evidence for these in general, and on balance it makes sense to assume that it was the normal term for these as well.



## 5.1 Introduction

One of the earliest and best-attested roles of *theōroi* was to announce imminent enactments of established festivals, and, where appropriate, to proclaim the associated sacred truces. In the Hellenistic period, they also announced and sought recognition for new festivals. The practice of advertising festivals or feasts by sending messengers must have been common in early societies, even if it does not often get recorded, and has been documented by anthropologists. In south-eastern Australia, invitations for dancing corroborees are said to have been sent out over distances of a hundred miles or more, carried by messengers painted with red ochre, and wearing a headdress of feathers, and in Arnhem Land in the north, invitations to an initiation-ceremony were apparently conveyed by messengers who carried emblems representing the tails of kangaroos.<sup>1</sup> In the Ancient Near East too, major festivals are known to have been announced, although the mechanisms are poorly understood.<sup>2</sup>

In Greece, the earliest evidence for festival announcement (*epangelia*, as it is usually called) seems to be Hesiod's calling the funeral games of Amphidamas 'declared beforehand' (*propephradmena*), which implies some mechanism of announcement.<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested that the trajectories followed in the presentation of the contingents of the Greek army in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships might be based on the routes followed by announcers of Panhellenic festivals at the time (the assumption that the Olympics at least were announced throughout Greece is sound, whatever the other weaknesses of the thesis).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> South-east Australia: Howitt (1904:679); Arnhem Land: Warner (1958:304–5); see, in general, Numelin (1950:141–4).

<sup>2</sup> Meissner (1920-5:2.91); Klauser (1969: 767–70).

<sup>3</sup> *Op.* 655; I thank Bruno Currie for pointing this out to me.

<sup>4</sup> Giovannini (1969), who bases his argument on the DTL; criticised by Nachtergaele (1975), and by Kirk (1985:184–6); defended by W. Kuhlmann (2002). The weakness of the theory is surely that any attempt to describe the Greek forces at Troy would have done much the same thing.

In historical times, this practice is attested for the Panhellenic festivals, as well as for many smaller ones, particularly in the Peloponnese.<sup>5</sup> It is rarer in the Ionian world,<sup>6</sup> although festival announcers known as *spondophoroi* were sent out to announce the Eleusinian Mysteries, and, at least in the Hellenistic period, the Panathenaia and Eleusinia as well.<sup>7</sup> The evidence for it is, as usual, best from the Hellenistic period, when sanctuaries were most systematic about recording their activities. But we know it goes back to the fifth or even sixth century, and a realistic guess is that there were official festival announcers from when the great festivals became transregional in scope, which could take us back to the eighth century BC, albeit the form that the announcement took then may have been very different.

Aside from its practical function of informing about the dates of festivals,<sup>8</sup> festival announcement *via theōroi* contributes in crucial ways to the overall ideological impact of the Panhellenic festivals. Part of this is the proclamation of the truce itself, that institutional heartbeat of Panhellenism.<sup>9</sup> The announcer must also have made a speech recounting the services done by his city to the Greek community. Such a speech is referred to in a late-third-century decree from Eleusis which praises a certain Khairetos son of Prophetes for, among other things, ‘kindly continu(ing) to copy the announcement’ for the *spondophoroi*.<sup>10</sup> The announcers probably also talked about specific links between their city and each of the ones they visited, thus reinforcing the multiple relationships between sanctuary and cities on which the festival network depended to function. Another effect of festival announcement was to make the relationship between sanctuary and

<sup>5</sup> Up-to-date survey in Perlman (2000).

<sup>6</sup> Oblique evidence for festival announcement of the Panionia in a *theōrodochos* inscription: see §4.3.2, p.60; for the *θεωροδόχος* (sic) attested at Priene (*I.Priene* 111, 189), see p.82 below. The occurrence at *I.Priene* 127.11 is obscure.

<sup>7</sup> For the Athenian *spondophoroi* and Athenian festival announcement in general, see §5.3 below; *spondophoroi* are also attested for Koreia at Cyzicus (Str. 2.3.4–5; see §10.3.2), which may be an imitation of the Athenian practice in view of the fact that the Koreia was a festival of Persephone. Olympian announcers are called *σπονδοφόροι* by Pn. *I.2.23*. *σπονδο[φορο-]* is attested in a Delphic decree (*FD* 2.140, l.15, 140 BC), but Robert (1960b:l11n.1) is rightly sceptical about the existence of Delphic *spondophoroi*. For other terms for announcers, Perlman (2000:15n.11), and add Hesychius: *ἱεράγγελοι* *θεωροί*, *ἀγγέλλοντες τὰς πανηγύρεις*. A late Hellenistic term is *καταγγελεύς*, known from *IG*12.8.190, 39–40 (Dimitrova: no.47), 39–40 (Samothrace–Tralles), and *IG*12.2.58a,10 (Pergamum).

<sup>8</sup> Weniger (1905:217–18); Daux (1967:296). On calendar-confusion, see Pritchett (1974–91:1,125); Rougemont (1973:94). An interest in synchronising calendars is shown by the Ptoian inscription, *IG*7.4135, 11–12 (*LSCG* no. 73, 11–12): the truce starts on the fifteenth of Hippodromios, *κατὰ θεόν*, as the Boeotians count, or of Apellaios, as the Delphians count.

<sup>9</sup> See §11.5.

<sup>10</sup> *IG*2<sup>2</sup>1235, 7–8 = Clinton: no. 201; translation from Clinton (1974:23); for more on what announcers said, see §16.2, p.271.

city seem exactly symmetrical, with the anticipated dispatch of a *theōriā* by the city to the sanctuary reciprocating the earlier movement of a *theōros* in the opposite direction.

## 5.2 Festival announcement in the fourth and third centuries BC

### 5.2.1 Announcement of established festivals

The best evidence for the practice of the *epangelia* of festivals are lists of officials appointed to receive the delegates, or *theōrodokoi* (*theōros*-receivers). Although lists are almost always organised roughly geographically, as if to reflect the routes taken by the announcers, they are not simply transcriptions of actual itineraries, but they also serve the purpose of honouring the participants or advertising the size of the sanctuary's catchment area.<sup>11</sup>

The earliest geographically arranged lists come from Epidauros, from the mid-fourth century BC, one dating from 360–359 BC and covering north-east Greece, and a second dating from 356–355 BC and covering north-west Greece, Italy and Sicily.<sup>12</sup> Perlman argues that the two lists correspond to two phases of announcement, visiting different geographical zones in different years; dealing with both areas in the same cycle may have been too expensive.<sup>13</sup> A few decades later (about 330–323 BC), Argos produced lists of *theārodokoi* for the Heraia and Nemean Games, a surviving fragment of which deals western Greece, Ionia and Arcadia.<sup>14</sup> Part of a list produced by Nemea also survives.<sup>15</sup> In the late fourth and early third centuries BC, we also have records of appointments of *theārodokoi* for the festival of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi in Arcadia, and from the late third century they survive for the sanctuary of Demeter Khthonia at Hermione.<sup>16</sup>

The most complete surviving example is that compiled for Delphi, probably around 220–210 BC, by the amphiktion working under Aetolian leadership.<sup>17</sup> The most convenient published edition is that of André Plassart

<sup>11</sup> Perlman (2000:31–2).

<sup>12</sup> IG4<sup>2</sup>.94 and 95. These, like the other Peloponnesian data, are reproduced in Paula Perlman's indispensable monograph on the subject (2000) as E.1–2 with pp.67–96.

<sup>13</sup> Perlman (2000:72–3).

<sup>14</sup> PerlmanEC A.1. Charnoux (1966); Perlman (2000:100–4).

<sup>15</sup> PerlmanEC N.1. See Miller (1988), Perlman (2000:105–30).

<sup>16</sup> Lousoi: PerlmanEC L.1–4; Hermione: PerlmanEC H.1–2; see §4.3.1, p.57.

<sup>17</sup> For the date, see Oulhen (1992:277–426, esp.417–18). There is also a fragment of a second list, published by Daux (1949b:27–39), on which see Oulhen (1992:145–54).

Table 3. *Trajectories implied by the basic list in the Delphic Theōrodokoi List (DTL) (see Map 6)*

Trajectory 1 (11–38 Oulhen)		Begins in north-east Cyprus and moves west, before crossing to Cilicia, and moving on to the Levant.
Trajectory 2 (1.39–2.18 Oulhen)	Heading: ‘The ( <i>theōriā</i> ) to Ionia’	Includes the Cyclades, Caria, Ionia, Aiolis and NW Asia Minor, including Khalkedon on the Bosporos, before heading East as far as Sinope. <sup>18</sup>
Trajectory 3 (2.19–3.10 Oulhen)	Heading: ‘The ( <i>theōriā</i> ) to Boeotia and the Peloponnese (cf. 2.19 Oulhen)’	
Trajectory 4 (3.11–103 Oulhen)	Heading: ‘The [ <i>theōriā</i> ] to Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace and the Hellespont’. <sup>19</sup>	Seems to terminate in Byzantium (where it almost intersects with Trajectory 2).
Trajectory 5 (3.104–4.23 Oulhen)	Heading: ‘The ( <i>theōroi</i> ) to the Cretans’	Also covers Cyrene; the first part of this section appears in the Appendix as #D16.

from 1921, but far the most authoritative text is Jacques Oulhen's unpublished doctoral thesis from 1992.<sup>20</sup> The Delphic *Theōrodokoi* List (DTL) is inscribed on one side of a block in four columns, plus a fifth on the left side, the longest more than 150 lines. The basic list presents five trajectories, each covering a different part of the Greek world (see Map 6). For parts of some of the itineraries it seems likely that the *theōroi* divided into smaller groups.<sup>21</sup> All originally had headings, though that of the first is lost.

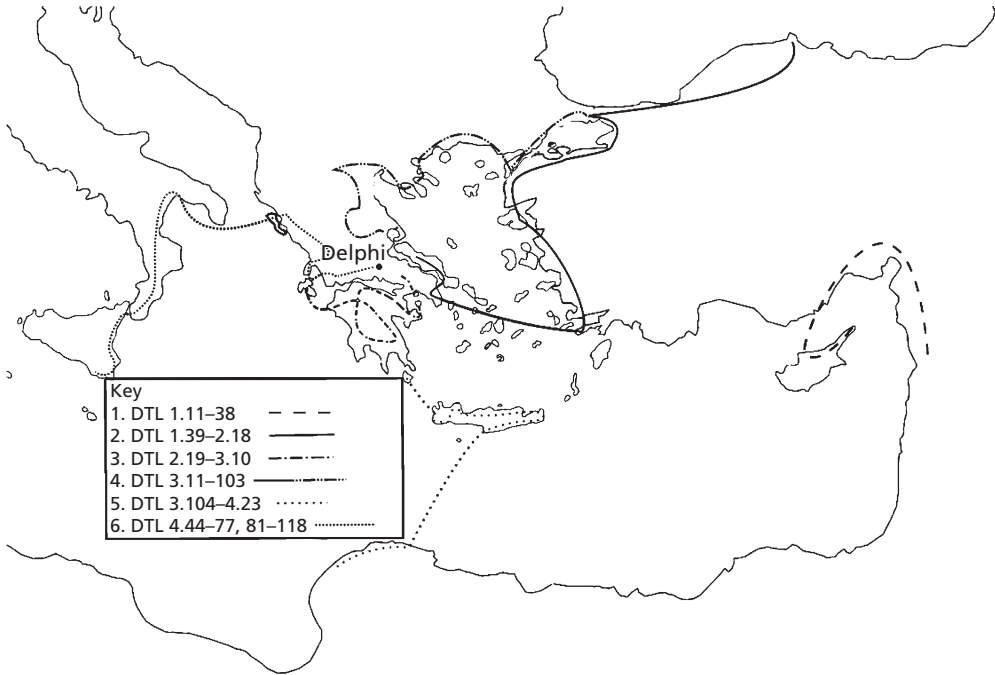
The rest of the fourth column seems to be a supplement added at a later point, presenting another itinerary (with no title) for Western Greece, Italy and Sicily. The fifth column contains additional entries relating to central

<sup>18</sup> For the section on Ionia, Plassart's text has to be supplemented by a newer fragment: Robert (1946b); Daux (1949b:13–19).

<sup>19</sup> 3.11–12; Oulhen's reading is: τὰς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Μ[ακεδονίας]/[κ]α[ι] Θ[ε]ράκας κ[α]ὶ Ἑλλή[σπονδου].

<sup>20</sup> See Oulhen (1992); the most recent published edition is that Plassart (1921). First edition of parts of it was by Haussoullier (1883), who interpreted it as a list of *proxenoi*. An edition can also be found in SGDI 2580 by Baunack (1899). For bibliography on the Delphic list see also Nachtergaele (1977:349n.217).

<sup>21</sup> See Oulhen (1992:502–11) on trajectory 4.



**Map 6.** Trajectories of festival announcers implied in the Delphic *Theōrodoikoi* List (DTL)

Greece and Thessaly, in some cases revisiting areas covered in the third column. Many additions have been made, either of a single entry or a sequence, such as a series of *theōrodoikoi* for cities in Thessaly which now appears in the middle of the section on Crete.<sup>22</sup>

The extant list does not include some places one would expect to be inscribed, such as the Tauric Chersonesos (though we know that the Delphi festival announcers visited there around this period) and Alexandria in Egypt (though the Delphic Soteria was announced there in 214–213 BC).<sup>23</sup> However, references to these may have been included in the *lacunae*. More significant is the absence of Aetolia, much of north-west Greece and the territory of the amphiktion. Oulhen observes that these areas correspond to the territory controlled by Aetolia in this period, and suggests that at this time formal announcement of the Delphic festivals was only made outside this zone.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> DTL 3.128–42 Oulhen.

<sup>23</sup> Tauric Chersonesos: SIG<sup>3</sup> 604; Alexandria: App.#D15.5 = Cook (1966:no.10); cf. also the Delphic decree for Seleukos son of Bithus of Alexandria, FD 4.161.

<sup>24</sup> See Oulhen (1992:428–84).

The list must have covered the announcement of both the Pythia and the Soteria (which had been declared Panhellenic in 250–249 BC),<sup>25</sup> though the two festivals will have been announced separately.<sup>26</sup> A number of Delphic decrees bestow the honour of *theārodokiā* for both of them.<sup>27</sup> A *theārodokos* for three Delphic festivals is appointed in a decree from the early first century, the third being the Theoxenia, which, although sometimes represented as involving the whole Greek world, was probably more limited in its appeal, and it is probably significant that the appointee is from an area close to Delphi. This is likely to be an aberration from the usual practice in a period when the older traditions are dying out.<sup>28</sup>

The production of such an ambitious document seems to demand a special occasion.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps it suited the Aetolians to present themselves as guardians of the most Panhellenic of Greek institutions, in which all Greek cities were recognised as free and independent entities, whatever the realities of leagues and the kingdoms; and it should be remembered that the Soteria was explicitly a memorial to the defeat of the Gauls, whose threatened attack on Delphi would have been an insult to Greek traditions. Equally, it may also be that the amphiktion was suffering from competition from the numerous new festivals set up in the third century BC; rigorous announcement of the Delphic festivals was one way to maximise the uptake.

### 5.2.2 Announcement of new festivals

As well as announcing repeated festivals, the term *theōros* was also often (though not invariably) used for those proclaiming the establishment of entirely new festivals, or the promotion of an established festival to ‘crown’ status.<sup>30</sup> This was often linked with a request that the city involved, or its sanctuary, should be awarded the common Hellenistic privilege of inviolability or *asūliā*.<sup>31</sup> A city might also send delegates out to request bestowal of

<sup>25</sup> See §3.4, p.45.

<sup>26</sup> See the Abderite acceptance of the Soteria, Nachtergaele.A26.

<sup>27</sup> Nachtergaele.A31, 33–40.

<sup>28</sup> Nachtergaele.A41, decree for a citizen in Antikyra in Phocis; cf. Daux (1959:486). For the Theoxenia, see §14.4.2 and §12.3, p.198.

<sup>29</sup> Daux (1980b:120–3) suggested that it coincided with the establishment of the Aetolian Soteria; Perlman (2000:33–4) and Oulhen (above, n.17) date it later.

<sup>30</sup> The term *presbeutes* was sometimes used, either alone or as part of a hendiadys with *theōros*; both these forms occur often in the Magnesia-dossier; see further §15.4, p.261.

<sup>31</sup> For cases involving asyilia, see Rigsby (1996); for proclamations of festivals, see the full list in Parker (2004b:18–22), to which add the Naia in Dodona around 200 BC (SEG 40.690). Boesch (1908) is a good guide for the material then available.

the status of inviolability without establishing a new festival, but then they were not called *theōroi*.<sup>32</sup> In other cases, inviolability was bestowed by a ruling power without any formal sending out of delegates to request it.<sup>33</sup>

The first major new festival established was the Ptolemaia at Alexandria (283/2 BC). There was no request for the status of inviolability linked to this,<sup>34</sup> nor to the proclamations of the Delphic Soteria, promoted to ‘crown’ status in 250/49 BC, of the Mouseia in Thespias (230–225 BC), of the Ptoia in Akraiphia (around 200 BC and again around 100 BC), of the Huakinthotrophia in Knidos (about 200 BC), or of the Panathenaia and Eumeneia in Sardes (about 167 BC).<sup>35</sup> New festivals whose proclamation was linked to a request for inviolability are: the Megala Asklepieia in Kos (242–241 BC), the Leukophrueneia in Magnesia on the Maiander (208–207 BC), the Koreia/Soteria in Cyzicus (about 200 BC), and the Nikephoria in Pergamon (about 181 BC).<sup>36</sup>

For the proclamations by Kos and Magnesia, particularly large dossiers of acceptances and other documents survive. The establishment of the Koan Asklepieia, for which we have several dozen decrees, was proclaimed by at least eight distinct *theōriai* (see Table 4), each comprised of an *arkhitheōros* and one or two *theōroi*.<sup>37</sup>

The second example is Magnesia on the Maeander, whose council decided in 208 BC, on the advice of the Delphic oracle, to establish a Panhellenic pentaeteric festival in honour of Artemis Leukophruene, an epiphany of whom was recently supposed to have taken place in their city. An earlier attempt covering only Asia in 221/0 BC is usually thought to have been made.<sup>38</sup> Copies of over sixty replies, usually in the authentic local dialects, were inscribed on the perimeter walls of the agora in Magnesia. In a recent study, Joshua Sosin has shown that eight delegations are attested in

<sup>32</sup> Smyrna: 245 BC: Rigsby (1996:95–105); Didymeion in Miletus, about 220 BC: Rigsby (1996:172–8); Teos, 203/2 BC: Rigsby (1996:280–325); Nysa, 80s BC: Rigsby (1996:399–406). In the difficult case of Tenos (Rigsby (1996:154–63)), it is possible that a request for *asulia* without a festival was made by a *theāros*, to judge from IG9.1.97 = RigsbyA53.

<sup>33</sup> Rigsby (1996:21); examples include Tyre (Rigsby (1996:481–5)) and the Temple of Zeus in Baetocaece (Rigsby: no. 218).

<sup>34</sup> See §3.4.

<sup>35</sup> Soteria: see §3.4, p.45 and §15.2, pp.256–7; Mouseia: Aneziri B4; Schachter (1981–94: 2.163–7); Parker (2004b:no. 9); Ptoia: Schachter (1981–94:1.70–2); Parker (2004b:no.11); Knidian Huakinthotrophia: FD 1.308; SEG 38.812 = IG12.4.166; Parker (2004b:no.21); Sardes: FD 3.241; Parker (2004b:no.29)

<sup>36</sup> Kos: Rigsby (1996:106–53); Magnesia: id.179–279; Cyzicus: id.341–50, with Habicht (2010:312–16); Parker (2004b:no.19); Nikephoria: id. 362–84; Parker (2004b:no.28).

<sup>37</sup> IG12.4.207–245 See Hallof in IG12.4.1, 169–70.

<sup>38</sup> But for arguments against the first attempt see now Sosin (2009).

Table 4. *Areas covered by delegations of festival announcers from Kos (after IG12.4)*

<i>Theōriā</i> 1	Peloponnese, Northern Greece, Macedon
<i>Theōriā</i> 2	Magna Graecia
<i>Theōriā</i> 2a	Greek Sicily
<i>Theōriā</i> 3	Coast of Asia Minor and islands
<i>Theōriā</i> 4	Cyclades
<i>Theōriā</i> 5	Possibly Rhodes, Knidos and another city
<i>Theōriā</i> 6	Crete
<i>Theōriā</i> 7	King Ziaelas of Bithynia <sup>39</sup>
<i>Theōriā</i> 8	Alexandria

more than one reply (I–VIII), which allows us in some cases to track their routes (II: Boeotia, Phokis and Athens; III: Delphi, Acarnania, Epirus; IV: Ithaca, Corcyra, Epidamnos; V: the Peloponnese; VI: the Cyclades; and VII: the Dodekanesos: see [Map 7](#)). At least as many delegations are attested in only one reply, including one for Alexandria. There were thus at least twice the number of delegations as those attested for the Koan *epangelia*. The most surprising city they visited was Antiocheia in Persis on the Persian Gulf (delegation I in Sosin's enumeration), drawn there apparently in search of Antiochus III, who had been campaigning in Bactria.<sup>40</sup>

It is clear that announcing these festivals must have taken a considerable period of time. Long ago, Louis Robert worked out that the announcement of the reorganised Nikephoria of Pergamum, scheduled for 181 BC, must have started the year before.<sup>41</sup> Koan *theōroi* asking for recognition of *asūliā* for their city and inviting other cities to it started the year before in the summer of 242 BC, as did those from Magnesia in the spring of 208 BC.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> See §16.4.  
<sup>40</sup> Sosin (2009:394). The decrees were originally published by O. Kern in *I.Magnesia*, but are now most easily consulted as RigsbyA66–126. Attempts to distinguish the announcers into groups were made by Kern (1901:500–1) and Boesch (1908:31–4), each using a slightly different numeration.  
<sup>41</sup> Robert (1930:182); cf. Rigsby (1996:365).  
<sup>42</sup> See Rigsby (1996:107) and Rigsby (1996:181). The Argive *theōroi* we hear about in Egypt in September 254 BC may well have been announcing an Argive festival being held the next year: see Perlman (2000:72) and for the text, §9.2, pp.151–2.





**Map 7.** Places visited by Magnesian delegations announcing the festival of Artemis Leukophruene

The surviving replies by cities invited give us some information about the treatment announcer-*theōroi* were expected to receive in the communities they visited, and show that their visits had a ritual character.<sup>43</sup> One of the cities that accepts the Magnesian invitation, possibly Antioch in Pisidia, goes so far as to promise that future visits of *theōroi* from Magnesia will be marked with a public holiday, in which the priests will open the temples, prayers will be said for both cities, and the boys and girls will take a day off school.<sup>44</sup> More commonly, ritual element takes the form of a number of gifts given to the announcers:<sup>45</sup>

- *xenia*: gifts of hospitality;
- an *ephestion*: a victim for sacrifice in the community (sometimes performed at the ‘common hearth’ of the city, sometimes at the shrine of the divinity in whose honour the festival was taking place).

<sup>43</sup> Boesch (1908:71–3): ‘Diese Bewirtung hatte vorzugsweise einen religiösen Charakter...’

<sup>44</sup> RigsbyA125, 13–17. <sup>45</sup> For these, see Perlman (2000:45–60).

- an *aparkhē*:<sup>46</sup> an offering for the deity in whose honour the festival was organised; this is, of course, the same term often used for offerings brought by festival-*theōroi* to the god of the sanctuary.<sup>47</sup>
- an *ekkekheiron*: Perlman suggests this was ‘used for a sacrifice performed to solemnize the invitee’s acceptance of the sacred truce,’<sup>48</sup> i.e. not wholly distinct from the *ephestion*, with which it was sometimes linked.

Occasionally, a travelling allowance (*ephodion*) is also mentioned, and some decrees specify that arrangements will be made to safeguard the travel of the *theōroi* to the next city.<sup>49</sup> One acceptance decree from Phthiotic Thebes for Kos mentions the gift of a *theōrikon*, which might be equivalent to the *aparkhē* or *ephestion*, or alternatively, as Perlman suggests, might have been ‘funds set aside to cover the expenses of participation in the pan-hellenic festivals.’<sup>50</sup>

We can infer that much the same happened in the case of *theōroi* announcing established festivals, because the decrees relating to the announcement of the new festivals several times compare them to the established ones. The rule seems to be that the comparandum is the Pythia<sup>51</sup> (not the Olympia, for some reason), unless the city involved has a special link to the Nemean Games (Argos)<sup>52</sup> or the Isthmian Games (Corinth, Syracuse).<sup>53</sup> Paula Perlman has argued that *theōroi* announcing the Epidaurian

<sup>46</sup> Also called *ἐπαρχή* in the decree for Philinos of Miletus: *FD* 2.88; in *I.Magnesia* 52.33 (RigsbyA101), *ἐναρχή*, which may be a mistake. Instances of *ἐπαρχή* include the following: for Magnesia, *I.Magnesia* 22, 18 (RigsbyA68), *I.Magnesia* 31, 35 (RigsbyA81), *I.Magnesia* 36.19 (RigsbyA86), *I.Magnesia* 47.27 (RigsbyA97), *I.Magnesia* 85, 22 (RigsbyA129); for Kos: *IG* 12.4.224b, 10 (RigsbyA28); for the Ptoion: *IG* 7.4138, 24, 4139, 23 (1.5, 2.5 obols); for Knidos: *FD* 1.308.11.

<sup>47</sup> See §7.2. <sup>48</sup> Perlman (2000: 47–8).

<sup>49</sup> Relevant data are conveniently tabulated by Perlman (2000: 52–5 = fig. 5, columns IX and VIII).

<sup>50</sup> *IG* 12.4.216III10 = App.#D10. Perlman (2000: 48). Oulhen (1992: 243) sees it as the equivalent of *aparkhē*.

<sup>51</sup> Abdera says that announcers of the Delphic Soteria are to be paid like those of the Pythia: Nachtergaele: A26, 7–8 (250/49 BC); Amphipolis says that those of the Koan Asklepieia are to be paid like those of the Pythia: *IG* 12.4.220, 32–3 (RigsbyA26); similarly Philippi: *IG* 12.4.220, 49–50 (RigsbyA27); Epeiros says that those of the Magnesian Leukophrueia are to be paid like those of the Pythia: *I.Magnesia* 32, 47–9 (RigsbyA82); so Gonnoi: *I.Gonnoi* 111, 19–23 (*I.Magnesia* 33, RigsbyA83) and Klazomenai: *I.Magnesia* 53, 40 (RigsbyA102); perhaps also Mytilene: *I.Magnesia* 52.33 (RigsbyA101).

<sup>52</sup> Argos says that announcers of the Magnesian Leukophrueia are to be paid like those of the Nemeia: *I.Magnesia* 40, 17–19 (RigsbyA90).

<sup>53</sup> Corinth says that announcers of the Magnesian Leukophrueia are to be paid like those of the Isthmia: *I.Magnesia* 42, 12–14 (RigsbyA92); similarly Syracuse: *I.Magnesia* 72, 38–40 (RigsbyA120). Exceptionally, Antioch in Pisidia says that announcers of the Magnesian Leukophrueia are to be paid like a *theōriā*(?) from Ephesos: *I.Magnesia* 61, 72–6 (Rigsby

festival of Asclepius in the fourth century BC already solicited *aparkhai* from the cities they visited.<sup>54</sup>

The donation of *aparkhē* by cities to announcers has major implications for how we understand the operation of the festival network. For one thing, it implies that the function of the ‘announcer-*theōroi*’ was not just to announce, but also to solicit offerings for the god. For another thing, it signifies that when the festival network was operating as it was supposed to, cities that wanted to take part had to make a double *aparkhē* to the god of the sanctuary, first indirectly via the announcers, and second directly when their own delegates visited. It has been suggested that this indirect *aparkhē* might have developed as a substitute for direct *aparkhē*,<sup>55</sup> a hypothesis that, if pushed to the extreme, would have the implication that the elaborate apparatus of *epangelia* itself became a sort of substitute for festival *theōriā*, providing contact between sanctuaries and cities without the cities having to bother to arrange to visit. This hypothesis is impossible to evaluate without more evidence, but it makes a certain sense, in so far as the driving factor in the explosion of festival culture in the Hellenistic period was not that Greek cities in general wanted new festivals to attend, but rather that a small number of cities hit on the idea of organising new festivals as a way of securing recognition for themselves, and once the recognition was granted, it may have made little difference whether or not the cities invited actually sent *theōroi*.<sup>56</sup>

### 5.2.3 Announcement and attending festivals combined

The activities of announcing an upcoming festival and attending festivals abroad could sometimes be combined, as we see from a fragmentary decree from third-century Kos.<sup>57</sup>

...[The *theōroi*] chosen for Itonos [...]are to announce [the Asklepieia. ... in] Thessaly and in Argos. [... The *theōroi*] se[nt] to Samothrace [are to announce the] Asklepieia in Khios [and in ... The] *theōroi* [se]nt out are to wear [... The *hierophul*]akes [are to care for] the *theōriai* which arrive [...] assembly.

A111 with p.260; Robert (1969:331n.4)), though announcement of Ephesian festivals is never otherwise heard of.

<sup>54</sup> Perlman (2000:50, 127–9), referring to IG4.617.

<sup>55</sup> Ziebarth (1907:92). This view was criticised already by Boesch (1908:77–8).

<sup>56</sup> Indirect support for Ziebarth's hypothesis might be sought in a small number of references to sending *theōroi* to the festival in some dossiers; cf. e.g. Rigsby (1996:132) on his RigsbyA19 (acceptance by Achaea Phthiotis) (=App.#D10): ‘In the Coan archive this seems to be the only provision for sending *theōroi* to future Asclepieia.’

<sup>57</sup> IG12.4.207 = App.#D9; Boesch (1908:28).

Apart from the end, which contains regulations relating to *theōroi* who visit Kos, this text is concerned with *theōroi* sent by Kos to festivals at Samothrace and Itonos in Thessaly. The Thessalian festival probably had special significance for Kos, which had deep mythological links to Thessaly.<sup>58</sup> These Koan *theōroi* are supposed to announce the major Koan festival of Asclepius en route at Khios and somewhere else, perhaps Lesbos, in the case of those going to Samothrace, and in the case of those going to Itonos in the cities of Thessaly and at Argos (which Kent Rigsby has recently suggested is not the Peloponnesian Argos, but Pelasgian Argos in Thessaly, famous from the entry for Achilles and the Myrmidons in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*: see Map 8).<sup>59</sup> No doubt there were other cases where *theōroi* attending festivals elsewhere doubled as festival announcers.<sup>60</sup>

#### 5.2.4 *Theōrodokoi*

*Theōrodokoi* (in fact, non-Ionian *theārodokoi* is much more common in the inscriptions) were officials appointed in cities to receive *theōroi*. They are occasionally found in sanctuaries as hosts for festival delegates; for example, the city of Elyros in south-west Crete appointed Kleophanes son of Tarantinos as its *proxenos* and *theōrodokos* in Delphi; and in Priene a citizen is praised for holding what must have been a huge party in which he entertained visiting *theōroi* from other cities ‘and their *theōrodokoi*’.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Notice in particular that Eurupulos, an important early king of Kos, is son of Mestra, daughter of Erusikhthon, who has firm Thessalian connections: Hesiod fr.43a, 58–60. Callimachus locates Erusikhthon on Kos, but imagines him being invited to the festival of Athena Itonia (*Hymn* 6, 74–5). The contemporary poet Philitas of Kos is said to have called Koan women ‘Thessalians’ (*SH* 675D; see also Sbardella (2000:157–8). The cult of Asclepius may provide another dimension. See also Fraser (1972:2, 916–17); Sherwin-White (1978:308–9). On Erusikhthon and Kos see Robertson (1984). Close political relations between Kos and Thessaly in the early third century BC are also implied in the unfortunately very fragmentary *IG*12.4.133.

<sup>59</sup> Rigsby (2004); *Il*.2.680.

<sup>60</sup> *IG*12.4.249 (= RigsbyA13) has been supplemented as a parallel by Piejko (1986a = *SEG* 36.756), but see the commentary in *IG*12.4. For another case of a festival announcer who was also a pilgrim of sorts, see the Samothracian inscription *IG*12.8.190, 36–45 (= Dimitrova:no.47) which honours as μύστης εὐσεβῆς Amatokos son of Demetrios, a citizen of Tralles who was described as καταγγελεύς (cf. n.7 above) of the sacred and crowned contest of the Pythia (i.e. at Tralles) and a ἱεραγωγός.

<sup>61</sup> *IC*2.13.1A (App.#E1); *I.Priene* 111, 189 (decree in honour of Krates). Perlman (2000:17–18) lists six other cases of what she calls ‘*Theōrodokoi* (Type Two)’, i.e. besides these three, the following six: a *theōrodokos* for Asine in Messenia at Hermione: *IG*4.679; an Athenian *theōrodokos* for Tenos at Delos: *IG*12.5.837; an Athenian *theōrodokos* in Gonnoi for the *theōriā* sent from Gonnoi: Helly (1973:127–9, no.110) (late third century BC); another Athenian



Map 8. Routes of announcers of Koan Asklepieia in IG12.4.207

However, the vast majority of the evidence relates to them in the role of hosts for announcer-*theōroi* when they visited particular cities.<sup>62</sup> The earliest attestation is a decree by Olympia for two *proxenoi theārodokoi* in Sikyon around 365–363 BC,<sup>63</sup> and the term is used regularly until the first half of the first century BC.<sup>64</sup> Almost all the evidence is epigraphical; it is a remarkable thing that the word *theōrodokos* only occurs once in a manuscript source – an entry in the Suda containing the imprecise information that the *theōrodokos* has care of *theōrika khrēmata* ('theoric things').<sup>65</sup>

In many cases, appointment as *theōrodokos* was probably arranged by the host city (no doubt liaising with the sanctuary); in other cases, the award

*theōrodokos* for a *theōriā* sent from Ephesos: Agora 16.225; a *theōrodokos* at Lousoi for a *theōriā* sent from Arcadian Orkhomenos: Plassart and Blum (1914:457–9, no.3); and an Athenian *theōrodokos* for a *presbeia* sent by King Ariarathes V of Cappadocia to Athens: IG 2<sup>2</sup>.1330, 49–51; = Aneziri A3a, with Aneziri (2003:44–5) ('wahrscheinlich um 130').

<sup>62</sup> The standard treatment is Perlman (2000), to which I am much indebted.

<sup>63</sup> PerlmanEC O.1 = I.Olympia36.

<sup>64</sup> Perlman (2000:26–7). FD 1.318 (49/8–48/7 BC) seems to be the latest epigraphical attestation. Zelnick-Abramovitz (2000:121) compares the ξεινοδόκοι of Hellenistic and Roman Thessaly (sometimes interpreted as 'witnesses'). Lucian in *De dea Syra* c.56, says that pilgrims to Hierapolis were put up by an ἀνὴρ ξεινοδόκος ('guest-hosting man').

<sup>65</sup> Perlman (2000:45–6), who compares this with the reference to a *theōricon* in the Phthiotic Theban decree for Kos, IG12.4.216III10 (App.#D10).

came from the sanctuary, and was clearly regarded as a high honour.<sup>66</sup> The surviving documents tell us a considerable amount about people who became *theōrodokoi*, much more in fact than we know about *theōroi*. Usually a city had a single *theōrodokos*, but sometimes there were several, possibly members of the same family. Occasionally, the city itself functioned as the *theōrodokos*, and in the Hellenistic kingdoms it was sometimes the monarch.<sup>67</sup> In exceptional circumstances, they might be women.<sup>68</sup> Although they were usually citizens of the city in question, this was not an absolute requirement.<sup>69</sup> Since the *theōrodokiā* involved entertaining people, the incumbents may be expected to have been well off (though there is no evidence that this was a liturgy).<sup>70</sup>

Many of them seem to have been people who had international connections, or close relatives of those who had them.<sup>71</sup> There were many generals and ambassadors among them. Philonidas of Laodikeia-ad-mare, *theōrodokos* for Delphi along with his brother Dikaiarkhos, was an Epicurean philosopher, famous in his time.<sup>72</sup> Antiphanes of Berga, *theōrodokos* for Epidauros in the mid-fourth century, was a famous comic poet, after whom the verb *bergaizein* was coined, meaning ‘tell tall stories’. Damokrates of Tenedos, *theōrodokos* for Olympia, was also a celebrated Olympic wrestler.<sup>73</sup>

A number of men were *theōrodokoi* for more than one sanctuary. The philosopher Philonidas and his brother Dikaiarkhos, mentioned above as *theōrodokoi* for Delphi, were also, together with their father, honoured by Athens for helping the *spondophoroi*.<sup>74</sup> Other cases are listed in Table 5.<sup>75</sup> It is possible that a citizen with a particular interest in religious connectivity could have served as *theōrodokos* for all sanctuaries that sent out festival announcers.

<sup>66</sup> As Perlman (2000:29) says, it probably made little practical difference how the office had been arranged. Boesch (1908:107, 119) had seen *theōrodokia* bestowed by the sanctuary as honorific (an ‘Ehrung’), while that bestowed by the city was a duty (an ‘Amt’).

<sup>67</sup> Perlman (2000:37–8).

<sup>68</sup> Perlman (2000:37n.2) lists five cases; Kleopatra of Epeiros, sister of Alexander the Great, is the only one who held the position alone (id.39).

<sup>69</sup> Perlman (2000:39). <sup>70</sup> Perlman (2000:41–5).

<sup>71</sup> Perlman (2000:41) summarises the evidence; the table on p.40 is particularly important.

<sup>72</sup> See below §19.3, p.333.

<sup>73</sup> Antiphanes: PerlmanPC 31; Damokrates: PerlmanPC 77. So at DTL3.115 (see App.#D16) Rigsby (1986:350–5), following a suggestion by Faure (1962:53), argues that Rhianos, father of the *theōrodokos* at Keraiai in western Crete was the famous Hellenistic poet; in which case, Rhianos himself might have held the office in the generation before.

<sup>74</sup> See §19.3, p.333.

<sup>75</sup> Most of these listed by Perlman (2000: figure 4 (p.40), section IV).

Table 5. *Men who served as theōrodokoi for more than one sanctuary*

Aristion of Medeon in Acarmania (PerlmanPC 42)	mid fourth century BC	<i>theōrodokos</i> for Epidauros and Argos
Aiskhrion son of Teuthras, of Corcyra (PerlmanPC 9)	late fourth century BC	<i>theōrodokos</i> for Argos and Nemea
Diokles son of Thersilokhos of Acarmania (PerlmanPC 93)	“ “	<i>theōrodokos</i> for Argos and Nemea
Phorbadas of Ambracia (PerlmanPC 314)	“ “	<i>theōrodokos</i> for Epidauros and Argos
Arkhn son of Akhaiadas from Lappa (PerlmanPC59, DTL 3.119 with Oulhen:114)	late third century BC	<i>theōrodokos</i> for Epidauros and Delphi
Nikomachus son of Philippos, possibly from Heraia in Arcadia (PerlmanPC 224)	“ “	<i>theōrodokos</i> for Epidauros and Delphi

It would not be surprising if some *theōrodokoi* had also served as *theōroi*, though it is hard to find solid examples. Elsewhere, I mentioned the case of Diaitos of Tenos, honoured with a *theōrodokia* by Delphi in the late third century, who *may* be the same as a man who served as a *theōros*-announcer for Tenos.<sup>76</sup> Paula Perlman has argued that Androkles of Phalasarna in Crete, *theōrodokos* for Epidauros in the mid-third century, whose death in Alexandria in 220–19 BC is recorded on a Hadra vase, might have been attending the Ptolemaia, but notice that if the chronology presented elsewhere is right, the festival took place the next year.<sup>77</sup>

The main duty of the *theōrodokos* was, as the name implies, to host the visiting *theōroi*. (In one source, the delegation they hosted seems to be identified not as a *theoriā*, but as a *presbeiā*.<sup>78</sup>) They were not under financial obligations, and many decrees make it clear that civic financial officers supplied the funds.<sup>79</sup> However, it is possible that the role of the *theōrodokos* was broader than simply receiving *theōroi* and extended to providing for them in other ways. An important piece of evidence here is the Delphic decree for Philinos of Miletus, *proxenos* and *theōrodokos*, who not only

<sup>76</sup> SEG 18.187; IG9.1.97, 16; see §2.1.5.

<sup>77</sup> PerlmanPC24 (p.249); PerlmanEC E.3, 12–13. Cook (1966: no.4= SEG 24.1177). Chronology of the Ptolemaia: §15.2, p.256. For the possibility that Androkles had a diplomatic role in the Luttos war, see §15.2, p.257n.34. Note also the example of Pythion son of Skumnos of Thasos, who, besides being *theōrodokos* for Epidauros, was also a Thasian *theōros* magistrate: PerlmanPC 263.

<sup>78</sup> See §15.4, p.261n. <sup>79</sup> See cf. Perlman (2000: figure 5, pp.52–5, column VI).

looked after *theōroi* sent out by Delphi, but also took steps to ensure the successful conveyance of *theōroi* and offerings (*eparkhai*). As Perlman points out, the references here must be to the Delphic announcer-*theōroi*, and the offerings given to them on behalf of Apollo.<sup>80</sup> Another Delphic *theōrodokos* with a broader role was Dikaiarkhos, brother of the philosopher Philonides, who was honoured for helping any Delphians (including *theōroi*, presumably) who were passing through Laodikeia en route to see king Antiochus.<sup>81</sup> Delphi honoured the Ptolemaic *stratēgos* Seleukos, son of Bithus of Alexandria, in 157 BC for performing a similar role, and he probably had the title of *theārodokos* as well, although that is not explicitly stated.<sup>82</sup>

### 5.2.5 Which cities were invited?

One of the central questions in the study of festival announcement has been: What determines which cities have *theārodokoi*, i.e. those where a formal invitation to the festival was made? Several factors make this a particularly difficult subject: first, none of the known lists of *theōrodokoi* is complete; second, since in many cases information from the lists gives us the most detailed evidence for the settlements in a region that we have, there is no independent control for whether or not the places mentioned were independent political units; and third, the practice may not always have been the same; it may have changed between the mid-fourth century (the time of the lists from Argos and Epidauros) and the late third (the time of the Delphic list).

Everyone agrees that the order of places in the lists tends to follow a general itinerary. Discussion of this subject has been dominated by two positions.<sup>83</sup> First, choice of places is determined by political factors: only cities with an independent political identity got visited by the announcers, and most independent cities were probably visited, unless it was inconvenient. This view was argued for by Louis Robert,<sup>84</sup> and has been endorsed by

<sup>80</sup> *FD* 2.88; Perlman (2000:48–51). G. Colin in his edition of the decree (*FD* 2, 100) takes the sense of ἐπαρχή here to be ‘offering made to obtain a special favour’, contrasted implicitly with ἀπαρχή which is an offering in thanks for a favour already received. Jim (2011b:53–4) sees ἐπαρχή as meaning ‘religious payment’, a sense that ἀπαρχή can also have.

<sup>81</sup> *SGDI* 2.2677

<sup>82</sup> Nachtergaele (1977:348–9n.221) with Actes 29; Bagnall (1976:258–9). Perlman (2000:56) points to similar language in *FD* 2.55 for Demetrios of Athens and *I.Olympia* 39 (EC O.2) for Damokrates of Tenedos.

<sup>83</sup> Perlman (2000:32–3); Hansen and Nielsen (2004b:103–6).

<sup>84</sup> Robert (1946b:506–10 etc.).



Paula Perlman.<sup>85</sup> The second view is that the choice was determined by practicalities: festival announcers had to cover a certain route, and they sought lodgings at places spaced at convenient distances along the way, whatever their political status. This view goes back to Ulrich Kahrstedt and was supported by John Cook in his work on the Troad.<sup>86</sup>

In fact, there are problems with both positions. Against the second view, Jacques Oulhen pointed out that some of the places listed side by side in DTL were so far apart that, if it was right, one would expect others to be mentioned in between.<sup>87</sup> On the other hand, some lists include places that are probably not fully independent: in the list for Epidauros (360–359 BC) there are *theōrodokoi* in various Boeotian cities that were surely part of the Boeotian Federation at this point, and the Argive list (330–323 BC) includes Naulokhon, which was the port of Priene, and Notion, the port of Kolophon.<sup>88</sup> It follows that full political independence cannot be one of the criteria for inclusion in the lists. On the other hand, full independence does not seem to have been a necessary condition for a community to have the status of polis at this period either.<sup>89</sup> Another important factor in the inclusion of cities may well have been tradition: where a city had an established relationship with a major sanctuary, part of which was the ritual of festival announcement, that might continue even if the city lost its political status. Later on, we will see an example of this in the Arcadian city of Helisson, which, even after its synoecism with Mantinea in the fourth century BC, maintained the right to receive *theōriai*.<sup>90</sup>

Thus, wholly determined neither by practicalities nor by contemporary political realities, the system of announcers and *theōrodokoi* seems to some extent designed to perpetuate the impression of a wide network of independent city-states, in which each city, great or small, is independently linked to the sanctuary by a symmetrical relationship in which the sending of festival delegates from city to sanctuary reciprocates the earlier journey that announcer *theōroi* had made in the opposite direction. Increasingly in

<sup>85</sup> Perlman (2000:33): ‘not one of the hundreds of toponyms found in the lists has been securely identified as a community which was itself a civic sub-unit of a larger state at the time of the list’s composition’; cf. Perlman (1995a:116).

<sup>86</sup> Kahrstedt (1936:424–5); Cook (1973:221, 342–3).

<sup>87</sup> Oulhen (1992:523). He mentions the cases of Keos–Kos (1.51–2) and Herakleia–Sinope (2.14–6) in the second itinerary.

<sup>88</sup> IACP 104; Boeotian cities: PerlmanEC E1frg.a4–8; Naulokhon: PerlmanEC A1, col.II,10; Notion: PerlmanEC A1, col.II, 7, PerlmanEC N1, col.II, 36. See also Chaniotis (2000:56) on dependent but formerly dependent cities in the Cretan section of the DTL.

<sup>89</sup> Dependent poleis: IACP 87–94. *Theōrodokoi*: IACP 103–6; 106. On dependent *poleis* in the Hellenistic world in general, see the remarks of Giovannini (1993:269).

<sup>90</sup> See §8.2.

the age of the leagues and kingdoms, the real condition of cities is one of dependence on larger units, but such festival networks seem to create an illusion of an ‘imagined community’ of small and self-sufficient polities united by their participation in the festival.

### 5.3 The Classical period

According to a tradition that has been traced back to the fourth century BC at least, the truce, which implies a formal announcement, had been part of the Olympic festival from its foundation in 776 BC.<sup>91</sup> Thucydides refers to it in his account of the Lepreon affair in 420 BC, when the Eleans and Spartans disagreed on the starting date.<sup>92</sup> The first direct attestation of truce-announcers is in Pindar, who represents the charioteer Nikomachus’ Olympic victory (476 BC) as a return for favours shown by him to the ‘Elean heralds of the seasons... the *spondophoroi* (‘truce-bearers’) of Zeus the son of Kronos’ (κάρυκες ὥρᾱν ..., σπονδοφόροι Κρονίδα Ζηνὸς Ἀλεῖοι), though it would be unwise to infer from this that *spondophoroi*, the technical term used for announcers of the Eleusinian Mysteries, was at any point the official term for announcers at Olympia.<sup>93</sup> A newly published bronze disc from Olympia from around 475–450 BC refers to the reception of a *theāriā* in other cities (see [Figure 2](#))<sup>94</sup>

The Eleans appoint Athanadas and Wrinon, them and their offspring, Eleans, and they should enter any phyle they want, and they should share in the *epiwoikia* in Sparta and in Euboea, and receive the *theāriā*... Athanadas [shall receive land in the region of?] Kikision also (?). The tablet is a dedication to Zeus.

The right to receive the *theāriā* was one of three honours, the others being Elean citizenship with membership of a tribe, and belonging to an *epiwoikiā*. Athanadas also received land in Kikision, a town in the Pisatis.<sup>95</sup> A Spartan *epiwoikiā*, such as those that existed in Sparta and (one city in)

<sup>91</sup> Plut., *Lycurgus* 1.1 and 23.2, citing Arist fr.533Rose and Hermippos of Smyrna *FGrH*1026F8a; for the latter, see Bollansée (1999b:155–62); also Phlegon of Tralles *FGrH*257F1, 3–8. See now Christensen (2007:62), who sees Hippias of Elis as the source for this tradition.

<sup>92</sup> Thuc. 5.49–50; Dillon (1997a:44–6).

<sup>93</sup> *Isth.* 2.23–4; Nicholson (2005:65, 69) with references. Boesch (1908:100–2); Weniger (1905:214). The σπονδοφόροι attested in Olympian inscriptions from the Roman period (starting with *I.Olympia*59, 7, 36 BC) seem to be local officials.

<sup>94</sup> App.#B2. See Plate 1. First edition by Siewert (2002b). For the form, cf. the disc of Iphitus on which the words of the Olympic Truce were written: Paus. 5.20.1.

<sup>95</sup> For Kikusion, see Str. 8.3.31–2; J. Roy in *IACP* 491n.2.

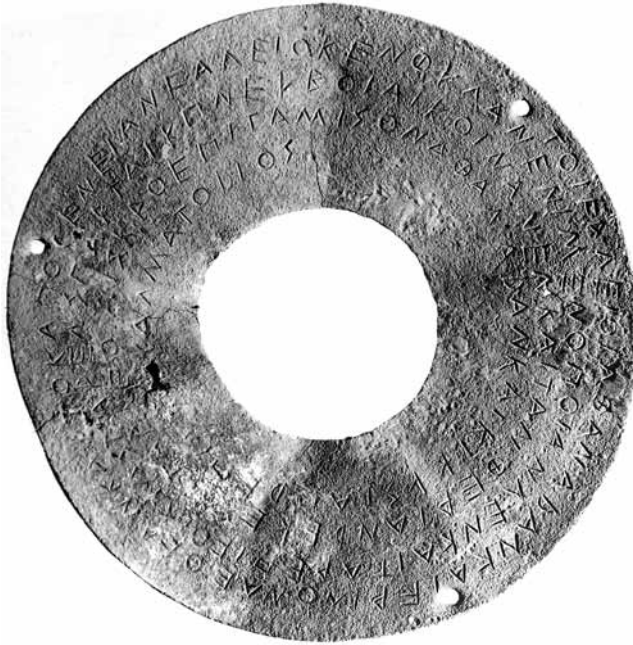


Figure 2. Bronze disc from Olympia

Euboea, must have been a semi-institutionalised group of expatriots, something like a mini-colony.<sup>96</sup> Most likely, Athanadas belonged to the Spartan *epiwoikiā* and Wrinon to the Euboean one (although there is no digamma in the Euboean dialect). Julia Taita and Peter Siewert in their studies of this document make the point that the members of these *epiwoikiai* might have included seers from prestigious Elean families, such as the Iamids Teisamenos and his brother Hegias, who are said by Herodotus to have been given citizenship by Sparta.<sup>97</sup> No information survives about Elean seers resident in Euboea, though there is evidence for cults of Olympian Zeus in both Chalcis and Eretria.<sup>98</sup> A cultic link may be implied by Pausanias, who reports that the shoulder-blade of Pelops, having been taken to the Greeks at Troy, was lost in a storm off the coast of Euboea on the way back, where it was later found by a fisherman from Eretria, whose family were appointed guardians of the bone.<sup>99</sup> Taita also suggests that ‘sharing in the *epiwoikia*’

<sup>96</sup> The word in fact means ‘colony’ in IG9.1.2.718; see Minon ad loc.

<sup>97</sup> Taita (2001:73–6); Siewert (2002b:364–5). For the Iamidai in Sparta, Hdt. 9.33–6 with Flower (2008). Notice that in the late sixth century BC two Spartan *proxenoi* were honoured at Olympia: SEG 11.add1180a (p.235), SEG 26.476 (see §12.6).

<sup>98</sup> See references in Siewert (2002b:365); Minon ad loc.

<sup>99</sup> Paus. 5.13.4–6

meant primarily partaking in religious celebrations, in this case presumably the cult of Olympian Zeus.

The *theāriā* here has rightly been interpreted as the delegation announcing the games, especially since Elean decrees from later centuries mention *theārodokoi* in other cities.<sup>100</sup> The only other possibility would be that in this period Elis maintained links with a network of cults of Olympian Zeus in Sparta, Euboea and other places, and sent delegates to them to attend festivals or for some other reason, but there is no evidence for that. On the face of it, the disc attests an institutional infrastructure for the reception of the delegates that was completely different from what we hear of later.

There are a few other pieces of indirect evidence for the proclamation of the Olympic Truce. The so-called Sacred Law from Selinous in Sicily inscribed on a lead tablet in the early fifth century BC provides the text of a public purification ritual to be performed before the Kotutia festival and ‘before the truce in the fifth year, in which the Olympiad also occurs.’<sup>101</sup> Another fragmentary bronze tablet from Olympia, discovered in 1964, which includes geographical references (‘below Epidamnos’, ‘Libyans and Cretans’) has been taken by Siewert to relate to the routes taken by Elean truce-announcers, dividing the territory to be covered in a way similar to the Delphic list of the late third century, which he thinks may have imitated the Olympic model.<sup>102</sup>

For Delphi, the early evidence is sparser. First, there is the well-known Amphiktionic Decree, dating from 380 BC or before, which, after an oath, sets out special laws under a number of headings, some obscure: ‘Living’, ‘Washing’, ‘Healing’ and ‘Roads.’<sup>103</sup> Here is a translation of the last section, ‘the Pythiad’ (the text is particularly difficult because the right-hand side of the stone is lost):<sup>104</sup>

The Pythiad: the *hieromēniā* of the Pythiad is a year long, equal for all, from the s[pring *Pulaiā* to the autumn one (?).]

Pythiad let them be (?)<sup>105</sup> during the month of Boukatios in Delphi. Those a[nnouncing the Pythia? should be sent by the D]-

<sup>100</sup> Two men of Sikyon, fourth century BC: *I.Olympia*36 (= PerlmanEC O.1); Damokrater of Tenedos, around 200 BC: *I.Olympia*39 (= PerlmanEC O.2).

<sup>101</sup> Column A 7–8 in Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky (1993:15); see M. Rausch (2001:86–8). For the Kotutia, see Robertson (2010:53–68).

<sup>102</sup> Minon: no.8 = App.#A5; Siewert (2002a:70).

<sup>103</sup> *CID*1.10/*CID*4.1, 21 (Living), 26 (Washing), 34 (Healing), 40 (Roads).

<sup>104</sup> *CID*1.10/*CID*4.1, 44–8.

<sup>105</sup> The start of line 45 is difficult to make sense of. The stone has ΠΥΘΙΑΔΑΕΟΝΤΩΝ; in many older editions, this was falsely read as ΠΥΘΙΑΔΑΓΟΝΤΩΝ, which would give better sense (‘let them celebrate the Pythia’): see Rougemont in *CID*1.101 for discussion.

elphians during the month of Busios. If they do not send them, let the pay [...]

for the god, let them give to the Delphians in accordance with tradition. If [they do not give ... If they]

do not accept the truce, may they be excluded from the sanctuary ... [...]

That lines 45–6 are about festival announcers was first suggested by Ziehen and it has been followed by later editors.<sup>106</sup> There follow two or three regulations, of which the last one ('If they] do not accept the truce, may they be excluded from the sanctuary') is clear; the intervening clause or clauses would seem to be about the invited cities being asked to give something to Delphi, which sounds like the Hellenistic practice of giving announcer *theōroi* an *ekkekheiron*-gift, or even the *aparkhē* intended for the god.<sup>107</sup>

If the interpretation above is right, the festival announcers set off in the month of Busios, which was six months before the Pythian festival in Boukatios.<sup>108</sup> The decree also seems to indicate that Delphi observed a *hieromēniā* of a year's length, which was 'equal for all' (i.e. members of the amphiktion?).<sup>109</sup> *Hieromēniā* means 'sacred period', applied to a city or a region. In the *Third Nemean*, Pindar asks the Muse to come to Aegina during the *hieromēniā Nemeās*, which may imply that Aegina was within the penumbra of the *hieromēniā* associated with the Nemean festival.<sup>110</sup> At Delphi, the year-long *hieromēniā* might have started at the same time as the *ekkekheiriā* announcement in Busios, but carried on longer, extending six months before and six months afterwards.<sup>111</sup>

The only other early evidence for Delphi is a fragment of an inscription, probably from the last decades of the fifth century, which in view of its content could be a list of *theārodokoi* covering parts of Arcadia or Achaea.<sup>112</sup> It

<sup>106</sup> Ziehen in *LGS* no.75, p.234; Rougemont in *CID*1.10 and Lefevre in *CID*4.1.

<sup>107</sup> See §5.2.2, pp.79–80.

<sup>108</sup> Rougemont (1973:91). Ferguson (1948:124n.36) had previously argued on other grounds that six months was the minimum.

<sup>109</sup> *CID*4.1, 44; see Rougemont (1973:99).

<sup>110</sup> *Nem.* 3, 79. At Olympia there was both an *hieromēniā* and an *ekkekheiriā*, and the latter was apparently somewhat shorter than the former, and covered the period from when the festival was announced till it was over. Lucian *Icaromenippus* 33 says that Zeus refrains from annihilating the philosophers on the grounds that it is the *hieromēniā* for the next four months, and he has already announced the truce.

<sup>111</sup> See §11.5, p.188.

<sup>112</sup> Daux (1949b:4–12); *ed.pr.* Pomtow (1918); see Oulhen (1992:5–14). Put in context in Nielsen (2002:311–12). Pomtow thought it covered a wide range of places, including Athens (where the representative was supposed to be Chaeremon, known from Plato), but Daux established that most of the places mentioned can be located in Arcadia or Achaea with the exception of Lebadeia, which he took to be a later addition.

is also worth noticing that according to a recent suggestion by Matthias Steinhart the order of the participants on the Serpent Column dedicated at Delphi to commemorate the battle of Plataea might reflect the order of festival announcement, beginning with the Peloponnese, then the Cyclades, and finally north-west Greece.<sup>113</sup>

Finally, there is the case of Eleusis. The *spondophoroi* are first attested in a mid-fourth century law from the City Eleusinion.<sup>114</sup> Aeschines referred to them in 343 BC,<sup>115</sup> and by the late third century they were proclaiming the truce for three Athenian festivals, the Panathenaia, the Eleusinia and the Mysteria, as we know from an inscription from Gonnoi in Thessaly which preserves the abbreviated text of the original Athenian decree.<sup>116</sup> Although they are not attested in the fifth century, a law from around 470–460 BC talks about the length of the truce (*spondai*) of the Greater and Lesser Mysteries and identifies its scope as ‘the cities that use the sanctuary’. If these cities are expected to abide by the truce, it seems inevitable that Athens employed truce-announcers or heralds to get the information out. Kevin Clinton thinks that the expectations of Panhellenic cooperation implied here cannot have developed suddenly, and must have been around for many decades, perhaps from the time of Pisistratus.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Steinhart (1997:66–7).

<sup>114</sup> The inscriptions are: Clinton no.138, 26 (= SEG 30.61; 367/6–348/7 BC); IG2<sup>2</sup>.1672, 106 (= Clinton no.177, 168 (329–328 BC), IG2<sup>2</sup>.1673a25 (end of fourth century). A comedy by Alexis (mid fourth century) entitled ‘Spondophoros’ (PCG 2.140, fr.211), presumably related to the Eleusinian Mysteries.

<sup>115</sup> Aeschin 2.134. There are detailed, though impenetrable, references to them in IG2<sup>2</sup>.1672 (= Clinton no.177, 329–328 BC), which mentions them in dealing with the 1st (ἐπὶ τῶν νησῶν), 4th and 10th prytanies. The festival took place in Boedromion. See Rougemont (1973:90). The references to *spondophoroi* in the 1st and 10th prytanies could well refer to the sending out of announcers, though the one to the 4th seems more likely to refer to their selection or training (§10.3.2).

<sup>116</sup> I.Gonnoi 109; App.#D13.

<sup>117</sup> IG1<sup>3</sup>.6B6–47 = Clinton no.19; Clinton (1994:172–3). The interpretation of Cataldi (1981), id. (1983:17–51) that this section of the document is concerned with sexual assault seems fantastic.

### 6.1 More accurate than a carpenter's tools: Theognis' *theōros*

The earliest explicit reference to a *theōros* in Greek texts comes in a short elegiac poem attributed to Theognis of Megara (sixth century BC), and relates to an oracle delegate. Addressing his young friend and *erōmenos* Kyrnos, Theognis warns of the need for a man appointed *theōros* to be honest.<sup>1</sup>

805      Τόρνου καὶ στάθμης καὶ γνώμονος ἄνδρα θεωρόν  
              εὐθύτερον χρή ἔμεν, Κύρνε, φυλασσόμενον,  
              ὥτινί κεν Πυθῶνι θεοῦ χρήσασ' ἱέρεια  
              ὁμφὴν σημήνηι πίονος ἐξ ἁδύτου  
              οὔτε τι γὰρ προσθεῖς οὐδέν κ' ἔτι φάρμακον εὔροις  
 810      οὐδ' ἀφελὼν πρὸς θεῶν ἀμπλακίην προφύγοις.

A *theōros*, Kurnos, should take care to be more accurate than a carpenter's compass, a plumb line or a set square, the one to whom the priestess of the god at Pytho signals an utterance from the rich shrine. You would not find a cure if you added something, not would you escape harm from the gods if you took something away.

As far as one can tell, this is a general nugget of wisdom on a subject that would be of concern to his audience at a time when Delphi was regularly consulted on important matters. There is no need to draw the conclusion that Kurnos or anyone else in Theognis' immediate circle had been appointed a *theōros*.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, there are signs that Megara had particularly close ties to Delphi. The chief god of the city was Apollo Puthaieus, worshipped both in the city and at Tripodiskos to the West, where the hero Koroibos was supposed to have dropped a tripod given to him by Apollo.<sup>3</sup> Another sign of close relations is the unusually large number of awards of *promanteiā* made by Delphi to citizens of Megara, and

<sup>1</sup> *Eleg.* 1.805–10. Ogden (1994:86n.13) compares this to the Spartan *rhētrā*.

<sup>2</sup> Contrast van Groningen (1966:309).

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 1.47.7; Rigsby (1987).



though the surviving ones are all from the third–second centuries BC, there is a good chance that this was a tradition with earlier roots.<sup>4</sup>

Theognis' poem is a masterpiece of compression, in which the first and the third couplets, describing the role of the *theōros*, frame the second, which is concerned with the role of the priestess, who, situated in the inmost recesses of the temple, 'signals the utterance', clearly that of the deity, understood by way of an *apo koinou* construction from the previous line.<sup>5</sup> The verb *sēmainō* suggests the roughly contemporary description of the Delphic Apollo by Heraclitus of Ephesos:<sup>6</sup> ... οὐτε λέγει οὐτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει ('...he neither declares nor conceals, but gives a sign'), where, used intransitively, it seems to mean an act of indirect communication; more enigmatic than an explicit statement but clearer than outright concealment, analogous, perhaps, to Heraclitus' own way of expressing himself. It seems unlikely that the verb has this sense of indirectness in Theognis, although the overall meaning of the sentence is much the same, since the god's *omphē* is likely to be inherently enigmatic.

In the third couplet the role of the *theōros* is defined in negative terms as to refrain from making any change to the message. Some scholars have suggested that sentiment resonates with Theognis' concern that the text of his own poems be faithfully preserved, as expressed in the *sphrēgis* elegy (Book 1. 19–26).<sup>7</sup> The first couplet puts a more positive spin in it by using the imagery of carpentry or architecture. The *theōros* must be truer, literally 'straighter', than three tools, a round one, a linear one and a square one. The round one, Greek *tornos* (ultimately the source of the English 'turn') is a pair of compasses or possibly a lathe (the idea that one should be 'straighter' than an instrument for producing something round creates a mild oxymoron). The straight tool, Greek *stathmē*, is a carpenter's line or plumb line, and the square one, *gnōmōn*, is a set square (the same word is used for the pointer of a sundial).<sup>8</sup> More accurate than any of these tools, the *theōros*

<sup>4</sup> FD 3.1, 91–110, nos. 155–96; for the architecture, GD (site):126–8; Bommelaer (1976:762–6).

In the third century BC, *theāroi* (the local Megarian form for the word; Theognis used the Ionic dialect) made dedications to Apollo Prostaterios at Megara, and these may have been oracle delegates to Delphi, though there are other possibilities as well: IG7.39 and 40; see §8.5, p.136. Also relevant is Plutarch's aetiology of the Megarian 'wagon-rollers' (*Qu.Gr.*59), which includes an attack by extreme Megarian democrats on Spartan *theōroi* passing Megara on the way to Delphi; the implication of the narrative may be that Megarian aristocrats had more respect for Delphi than these democrats. On the context, see now Forsdyke (2005).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. κατ' ὁμᾶς τὰς Ἀπόλλωνος: Soph. OC102.

<sup>6</sup> VS22B93.

<sup>7</sup> Ford (1985:87); on the *sphrēgis* elegy, Pratt (1995); Cerri (1991).

<sup>8</sup> On the meaning of τόννος, see Orlandos (1955–8:57–8); on the γνώμων, Stapleton (1957) and Gandz (1930–1).



is himself a sort of super-accurate tool of the city, designed for the specialised task of safeguarding the passage of divinely crafted words from the oracle.

## 6.2 State-consultation of oracles: evidence

The civic or ‘public’ consultation of oracles in ancient Greece is a vast topic, and also one fraught with difficulties, because what happened during the consultation is poorly understood, and probably varied greatly from one sanctuary to another. There have been several recent discussions of the operation of oracles, and the role they played in the state,<sup>9</sup> and my aim in this chapter is to address only aspects that seem directly related to the main subject of the book.

It is clear that a huge volume of civic consultation went on at many oracles over a long period. This is likely to have gone back to the eighth century BC at Delphi, where, as Catherine Morgan has observed, the oracle may well have contributed to early state-formation in Greece.<sup>10</sup> It is generally assumed that the level of public consultation falls away after the Classical period, while private consultation remains the same; certainly, Delphi seems to have been used less and less for public consultations after the beginning of the fourth century BC.<sup>11</sup> Elsewhere, it may have been a different story, and at Didyma and especially at Claros public consultations were still going on into Roman times.<sup>12</sup>

There is a large amount of literary evidence for early public consultation of oracles, particularly for Delphi, but much of it is of questionable validity, since oracular responses, being important in providing the divine sanction for critical human endeavours and the social orders, have a tendency to be falsified or invented.<sup>13</sup> Epigraphy provides a firmer foundation for study, though most of it is not as early, and there is less of it. The main forms of primary evidence are oracular enquiries, in particular the lamellae from Dodona, and responses, such as the hexameter oracles from Claros. Another form of primary evidence are decrees from cities ordering or recording a consultation.<sup>14</sup> Besides these forms of direct evidence, there is indirect evidence such as awards of

<sup>9</sup> These include Parker (1985); *PW*; Fontenrose (1978); id. (1988); Suárez de la Torre (2005).

<sup>10</sup> C. Morgan (1990:148–90).

<sup>11</sup> See the excellent discussion of Arnush (2005). <sup>12</sup> See §21.

<sup>13</sup> For the responses, see *PW*:2, Fontenrose (1978:240–9) and C. Morgan (1990:187–90)

<sup>14</sup> Examples include, from Athens, the ‘Sacred Orgas’ decree (*IG*2<sup>2</sup>.204) and, from Miletus, Fontenrose (1988:R8).

*promanteiā* made to cities or ethnic groups by Delphi and also lists of dedications and offerings, since there is a tendency for relations between oracles and cities to be cemented by lavish offerings.<sup>15</sup>

The earliest known responses to public enquiries seem to be from Didyma in the late sixth century BC, where the most frequent consultor is Miletus, which used it as a local source of religious authority.<sup>16</sup> From the early fifth century two fragmentary enquiries written on lead lamellae survive from Dodona which indicate consultations by Rhegium; the better preserved one seems to ask '[what] path' the citizens of Rhegium should take.<sup>17</sup> Most of the other surviving lamellae from Dodona relating to civic consultations are Hellenistic, while those from the fifth–fourth centuries BC are mostly private.<sup>18</sup> For Delphi, primary epigraphic evidence for public or private consultations is virtually non-existent, except for a few regulations; the only public oracles surviving are for Cyzicus from the second century BC.<sup>19</sup> Sparta is said to have kept an archive of civic oracles, and it seems likely that other states did as well, though no trace of them has survived.<sup>20</sup> The numerous metrical oracles from Roman Claros all survive because they were set up in epigraphical form by the cities that consulted the oracle.<sup>21</sup>

What can we say about the nature of public consultations on the basis of these sources? To judge from the dossier of lamellae from Dodona, private consultors tend to ask about private matters, such as children, health, marriage and relocation, while public consultations tend to be about things that concern the state: general prosperity, crises, such as plagues of famine, religion and sometimes (though more rarely than literary sources would lead one to expect) political issues, such as war or alliances;<sup>22</sup> internal politics is

<sup>15</sup> For *promanteia*, see §6.4, p.102; for offerings to oracles, §7.3.

<sup>16</sup> Conveniently available in Fontenrose (1988:179–81, R1–3). A late-sixth-century bone tablet (SEG 36.694) from Borysthenes has been interpreted as an oracle from Didyma: see Burkert (1986); but Dillery (2005:226) is not alone in being sceptical.

<sup>17</sup> Lhôtel154 and L155. L6a and L12 may also be fifth century, but they are highly obscure. Some private consultations are late sixth century: L41, L77, L150.

<sup>18</sup> See §17.3.1.

<sup>19</sup> For cult regulations: see below; oracles for Cyzicus: FD 3.342–4. One of the Delphic oracles to Lycurgus of Sparta was displayed in the sanctuary in the time of Cyriacus of Ancona (Fontenrose (1978: Q7), as was one of those to Croesus (Fontenrose (1978:Q99)). On the lack of private consultations see C. Morgan (1990:160)

<sup>20</sup> Hdt. 6.57; cf. Fontenrose (1978:164–5). See below §6.4, pp.104–5.

<sup>21</sup> See Merkelbach and Stauber (1996).

<sup>22</sup> See Parker (1985:309–10 = reprint 89–91); Lhôtel9: *koinon* of Epirotes concerning *sumpoliteia* with Molossians; Fontenrose (1988:R5–7) (228/7–223/2 BC): Miletus consults Didyma about accepting new citizens; IG12.9.213: the Eretrians seek divine ratification for what they have voted, but see Parker (1985:311n.45 = reprint 91n.45). The tendency to consult on religious rather than political matters may have developed in the fifth century and onwards, when most of our reliable evidence is from: Parker (1985:311–12 = reprint 91).

hardly ever asked about.<sup>23</sup> Many public enquiries are about modifications to local cults, such as a decree from Erythrae (late fifth or early fourth century BC) which implies that *theopropoi* had been sent to Delphi to ask about a temple and statue of Aphrodite Pandemos,<sup>24</sup> or a celebrated Athenian decree from the mid-fourth century BC, in which Delphi is asked to endorse or reject a proposal by the Athenian council to cultivate an area of land connected with the sacred *Orgas* (meadow) near Eleusis.<sup>25</sup> Often, a religious enquiry is the frame for a more general question, with a formula such as: ‘Which god should we sacrifice to/propitiate to get such an outcome?’, as in this enquiry by Corcyra at Dodona:<sup>26</sup>

God. Good fortune. The Corcyreans ask Zeus Naios and Dione which god they should sacrifice and pray to if they are to enjoy concord to their advantage.

Robert Parker calls this a ‘prophylactic’ strategy to head off any possible disaster and preserve present prosperity by making sure that the community sacrifices to the right deities.<sup>27</sup> The responses to such questions might have simply specified which deities to sacrifice to, but they might also prescribe specific ritual recipes or purifications (as often among the oracles from Claros),<sup>28</sup> and in some cases they may have gone on to give more concrete political or military advice.<sup>29</sup>

### 6.3 Terminology

The term *theōros*, first attested in this sense in Theognis, is subsequently a common term for oracle delegate in Greek poetry<sup>30</sup> and prose, starting with

<sup>23</sup> See Parker (1985:310–11 = reprint 90–1); a rare exception is Sparta’s consulting Delphi about the paternity of Demaratus (Hdt. 6.66.1)

<sup>24</sup> See Merkelbach (1986); compare LhôteL11: the Chaones ask whether they should move the temple of Athene Polias; SEG 21:519: altars of Ares and Athene Areia at Akharnai.

<sup>25</sup> IG2<sup>2</sup>.204. For the mechanism involved, see §6.5. below. See now Bowden (2005:91). For translation and commentary, RO no.58.

<sup>26</sup> LhôteL2: θεόν. τ[ύ]χαν ἄγαθ[ήν]. / ἐπ[ι]κοινωνοῦνται τοῖς Κ[ο]ρυραῖοις τῶι Δι τῶι / Νάωι καὶ τῶι Δ[ι]ώνωι τίνι κα [θ]εῶν [ῆ] / ἡρώων θύον[τες] καὶ εὐχ[όμενοι] / ὁμονοοῦν ἐπ[ι] τῶγαθόν

<sup>27</sup> Parker (1985:314 = reprint 94). Cf. in particular LhôteL3 and L5.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Merkelbach and Stauber (1996). Also from Dodona: LhôteL14: Dodoneans ask if ‘the god’ causes the storm because of a human impurity. LhôteL13: a group ask about famine or plague. There are cases like this in Herodotus: Agylla–Caere: Hdt. 1.167.1–2; Euenios: Hdt. 5.93, with Grottanelli (2003).

<sup>29</sup> See RO, 279: ‘The other regular form was to pose a question about a religious action connected with a more substantive initiative’. In a decree from the second century BC (SEG 41:545), Paros sent six delegates to Delphi to ask on behalf of its colony of Pharos: ‘What god or goddess should they sacrifice to if they are to live in their city and land free from harm, or whether they should benefit from other places’, and the reply seems to instruct that a Parian, Praxiepes, be sent to Pharos; see Robert (1935:502–4); Derow (1991).

<sup>30</sup> For example, Soph. OC414.

Thucydides, and it looks like it was the preferred term of Atticist writers of the Imperial age, such as Pausanias and Aelius Aristides.<sup>31</sup> It rarely occurs in this sense in extant epigraphy,<sup>32</sup> though we find it a few times in the dossier of Roman Claros, e.g. in a verse oracle which addresses a delegate from Pergamum as the ‘leader of the theoric road’.<sup>33</sup> *Theōros* is rarely, if ever, used for a private consultant of an oracle.<sup>34</sup>

A rival term for oracle delegate is *theopropos*, which is found in Herodotus (who tends to use the word *theōriā* in a different way)<sup>35</sup> and occasionally in later prose writers, but rarely in this sense in poetry.<sup>36</sup> Homer had used it in the sense of ‘diviner’;<sup>37</sup> and three closely related words mean ‘oracle’: *theopropiā*, *theopropion* and *theopropon*. *Theopropos* is sometimes used in inscriptions, particularly from the Ionian sphere,<sup>38</sup> though also for Boeotian oracle delegates to the Ptoion in the Hellenistic period.<sup>39</sup> In the Roman period, the records of civic delegations to the temple at Claros frequently mention the inclusion of a *theopropos*, who seems likely to have consulted the oracle.<sup>40</sup> In one of these, the *theopropos* is part of a larger

<sup>31</sup> Thuc. 5.16; Paus. 4.9.3 etc.; Diod. Sic. 8.21 etc., Aristid. *To the Thebans Concerning the Alliance* 1, 37; *Sacred Tale* 3.38; Paus. Att. α.99; Plut. *Ama.Narr.*1, 773b; Arr. *Anab.*7.23; D.C. 2.12.

<sup>32</sup> It is found many times in two Athenian inscriptions relating to the oracle of Ammon (SEG 46.122, SEG 21.562 (App.#C3–4), but in most cases the word could be explained by the role of the delegates as conveying dedications there.

<sup>33</sup> Merkelbach and Stauber (1996:nos. 2, 13): θεαρίδος ἡγέτα ὁδοῖο. For the dialect, cf. θεαροί in *I.Pergamum* I.4 (App.#D1). Busine (2005:71n.274) mentions two records relating to Parion (SEG 15.714 = App.#G3.2) and Thasos (Dunant and Pouilloux (1958:127n.1)); there is one for Tabai (*Carie*:116, no. 24) = App.#G3.1), also one for Laodikeia in Macridy (1905: III.1, 12) σύν τῶι... τῶ θεῖῳ πεμφθέντι θεωρῶ.

<sup>34</sup> At OT 114 Sophocles’ Creon says that Laios described himself as a θεωρός when he went off to Delphi, but even that could be seen as a role assumed on behalf of Thebes. Fl. Philostratus *Vit. Ap.*2.37 applies the term θεωρούς to people consulting the oracle of Amphiaraos, which may refer to private consultants – a unique case (cf. n.67 below).

<sup>35</sup> See below §9.2, p.149.

<sup>36</sup> Hdt. 1.19 etc.; Plut. *Fab. Max.*18, *Rom.*28; Dion.Hal. 1.24.2, 12.10.2, 12.12.2. The only poetic attestation known to me is Ps. Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.*659.

<sup>37</sup> *Il.*12.228, 13, 70; *Od.*1.417.

<sup>38</sup> Paros: SEG 15.517, 43–7; SEG 23.489b16 (restored); Miletus: *LSAM*47, 5 (Fontenrose (1988 R8), 228–227 BC); Magnesia: *I.Magnesia* 215, 30–1. It also occurs in the Delphic decree for Matrophanes of Sardes, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 548 (third century BC) (App.#D14).

<sup>39</sup> Schachter (1981–4: 1, 67n.3); *IG*7.1673, 5; *IG*7.3207, 17, where the form used is the verb θιοπρόπτεω. In both cases, a dedication is being made on the orders of Apollo, in the first case at Plataea to Zeus Eleutherios, in the second case to the Kharites at Orkhomenos. In *IG*7.3207 the θιοπρόπος is a local from Orkhomenos, and there is also a μαντεύόμενος (i.e. μάντις), Dinias son of Erotion from Thespiiai, who seems to represent the Federation; Dinias was the θιοπρόπος in *IG*7.1673.

<sup>40</sup> See in general Busine (2005:71). There are about 60 references to θεωρόπροι in all, drawn from all areas that send delegates to Claros. Sometimes we find two of them (*Carie*: no.192 (Tabai), no.137 (Herakleia Salbakes), Sahin (1987) no.8 (Amaseia) no.17 (Hierapytna), no.23

group of delegates, who are referred to collectively as *theōroi*.<sup>41</sup> The activities of some of these Clarian *theopropoi* also seem to have included a form of initiation and something called *embateuein* (see below). It also continues to have the meaning ‘diviner’, as apparently in an inscription from Olbia which refers to a ‘*theopropos* of Hermes.’<sup>42</sup> This raises the question of whether some men who served as oracle delegates were chosen because they had expertise as ‘diviners’; there is one semi-legendary case of the Messenian Tisis, selected as a *theōros* for Delphi according to Pausanias because of his experience in the mantic art.<sup>43</sup>

There were other ways of referring to oracle delegates as well. At Sparta, those who consulted Delphi on behalf of the kings were known by the special term *Puthioi*, two of them for each king.<sup>44</sup> Most commonly, ancient texts use no specific term for the delegate at all, but talk of sending someone to ask the god a question or to make an oracular enquiry (*manteuomenos/-somenos, khrēsomenos*). The ‘Peace of Nikias’ reported by Thucydides actually seems to distinguish *manteuesthai* and *theōrein*; the former clearly means ‘consult an oracle’ and the latter by contrast ‘attend a festival.’<sup>45</sup> The most detailed surviving account of preparations for a civic consultation of an oracle, the Athenian decree about the *Sacred Orgas* refers to ‘men ... who, arriving in Delphi, ask the god ...’<sup>46</sup>

The ways of expressing ‘oracle delegate’ were thus many and various. The two most common terms are *theōros* and *theopropos*, both well-established in Greek usage from the Classical period on – the latter in prose, the former in poetry as well, the latter in the Ionian sphere, except at Athens, the former everywhere else. Perhaps *theopropos*, which was, as we have noted, a Homeric term for a seer, was preferred in some areas because *theōros*, understood as ‘festival delegate’ or ‘spectator’, was regarded as inappropriate or too vague (cf. the distinction between *theōrein* and *manteuesthai* in the Nikias treaty).<sup>47</sup>

(Plotinopolis), or four (Macridy (1905:IV nos.2, 2–6 (Ikonion; for another with five from the same place, *Carie*:214n.9) or six (*Carie*:381no.193 (Tabai))). The *θεοπρόπος* is occasionally a member of the chorus: *Carie*:nos.194 and 196. The form *θεωπρόπος* occurs in one from Khios (Macridy (1912:no.18)).

<sup>41</sup> *Carie*:no.24, relating to a delegation from Tabai.

<sup>42</sup> *SEG* 30:976; see Lebedev (1996); Bravo (2000–1:157–64)

<sup>43</sup> Paus. 4.9.3–4; Fontenrose (1978:104–5) has a good discussion of competition between the mantic authority of Delphi and local seers.

<sup>44</sup> Hdt. 6.57; *Suda* s. Ποιθιοι; K. Ziegler in *RE* 24.1 (1963), 550–1.

<sup>45</sup> Thuc. 5.18; see §4.1, pp.52–3. One text from Eretria, *IG*12.9.213, cited below, n.50, seems to use the noun *μαντεία* for the delegation.

<sup>46</sup> *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.204 = RO no.58.

<sup>47</sup> On the etymology of *θεοπρόπος*, cf. Chantrane, *DELG* s.v. and Beekes (2010:s.v.) who, following Bechtel (1914:163–5), gives the original meaning as ‘the one who appears from god’. There is an older theory that it means ‘god questioner’, for references to which see Ziehen (1934a:2225).

Is it reasonable to say that any civic delegate sent to an oracle would have been called either a *theōros* or a *theopropos*, even if that word is not present in the texts? It is difficult to know. Stylistic register may play a role in the choice of vocabulary; it is likely that both these words belong to formal or poetic style. On the other hand, both terms were associated with the divine sphere sufficiently that one of the reasons for using either of them, rather than using no specific term at all, may have been to draw attention to the religious status of the oracle delegate. So when Sophocles has Creon describe Laios as a *theōros* at the point when Oedipus killed him, the point may be to emphasise the enormity of the crime: not just parricide but sacrilege. In the same way, Pausanias applies it to the Messenian delegate Tisis, who was assaulted on his return journey from Delphi, but survived, when an unseen voice uttered the words ‘release the bearer of the oracle’ (*khērēsmophoros* – a hapax!); he survived to deliver the oracle in Messenia, but soon died of his wounds.<sup>48</sup> Its use in Theognis’ elegy can be explained in a similar way, only there the threatened act of violence is not committed against the *theōros*, but rather by the *theōros* against the divine message, and it is the sacred office of the *theōros* that makes this action particularly wrong.

#### 6.4 Oracle delegates at the sanctuary

As representatives of the state, oracle delegates did not enquire of the oracle themselves, but carried an enquiry from their home city, as we see in a Hellenistic inscription from Kaunos reporting an oracle from Gryneian Apollo.<sup>49</sup>

While Eunomos son of Leonides was priest, Menodoros son of Sosikles of the deme of Imbros was sent to Gryneion and brought the oracle:

Good fortune. The people of the Kaunians ask which gods they should propitiate if the harvest is to be good and profitable.

The god gave the oracle:

If you worship Phoibos son of Leto and Zeus Patroios, glory is established for you in u[nbreakable] bonds f[or ever].

<sup>48</sup> Laios: Soph. *OT*114; Tisias: Paus. 4.9.3. For Tisis, see Fontenrose (1978:104–5, Q14).

<sup>49</sup> *I.Kaunos* 56 with Marek (2006) ad loc. The language recalls Sparta’s consultation of Delphi at Hdt. 1.67: τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεγτέων γενόιατο, to which the answer was to bring back the bones of Orestes. ἱλάσκομαι also occurs on the Dodona lamellae: LhôteL65 and L72.

Menodoros' role here is that of an intermediary, through whom a question is delivered from city to oracle and a reply from oracle back to the city.<sup>50</sup>

The delegate's public role does not seem to have precluded his making other enquiries in his own person as a private citizen, as Archilochus' father, Telesikles of Paros, is supposed to have taken advantage of serving with Lycambes as *theopropos* to Delphi to ask about his son's recent encounter with the Muses.<sup>51</sup> And there was nothing to stop them making other enquiries on behalf of other private citizens, something that is supposed to have happened in the case of Pindar and some Boeotian *theōroi*.<sup>52</sup> In literature, the position of the consultant can shift dramatically from public representation to personal involvement, as in Plutarch's story of Archias of Corinth, future founder of Syracuse, who came to Delphi as one of a group of *theōroi* enquiring about the cause of a plague, but was thrust into a different role when Apollo identified him as its cause.<sup>53</sup>

At all oracles, delegates, like private consultants, can be expected to have been obligated to carry out a sequence of rituals, which probably varied a lot from oracle to oracle. The clearest information comes from Roman Claros, where the *theopropos* underwent an initiation, followed by an action called *embateuein*, which seems to mean 'stepping into'.<sup>54</sup> The prose introduction to the long oracle for Pergamum refers to those:<sup>55</sup>

[... who being] initiated and 'stepping into', consulted the oracle and received t]he subscribed oracular response.

Three other documents also say that *theopropoi* were initiated, 'stepped into' and consulted the oracle.<sup>56</sup> It seems likely that both initiation and

<sup>50</sup> So one of the Dodona enquiries has this form (LhôteL5): Go[d]! Good fortune. The city of the Taran[tines asks] Zeus Naios and [Dione] about general good fortune (παντυχ(α) and a[bout ... A similar idea is implied in the heavily restored IG12.9.213: ἐπειδὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἔπεμψεν μαντείαν [εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐρωτῶντων]ων τὸν θεὸν Ἑρετριέων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τοῖ [δήμοι. ('Since the council sent the oracle delegation [to Delphi] when the Eretrians [ask]ed the god about the decisions of the [dēmos].').

<sup>51</sup> SEG 15.517, 43–7.

<sup>52</sup> Plut. *Cons. Ap.* 14, 109a–b. Diod. Sic. 19.2.2 describes an embassy from Thermoi in Sicily, where the Etruscan *theōroi* enquire on behalf of the father of Agathocles.

<sup>53</sup> Plut. *Ama. Nar.* 1.772d–773b.

<sup>54</sup> Parke (1985:146); Arnold (1995:16–17). The obscure verb ἐμβατεύω has been thought to have a parallel in Paul's *Epistle to the Colossians*, 2.18. The latter passage refers to angels, and, as Arnold (1995:127–8) points out, ἄγγελοι are mentioned in the Clarian oracle cited by Lactantius (= Merkelbach and Stauber no.27).

<sup>55</sup> [— — —, οἵτινες μνησθέντες καὶ ἐμβα-/ἐτέυσαντες ἐχρήσαντο καὶ παρέλαβον τ]ὸν ὑπογεγραμμένον / [ — — — ]αῖον χρησμόν... Merkelbach and Stauber no.2, introduction ll.4–6; SGO 06/02/01. See Picard (1922b).

<sup>56</sup> Macridy (1905:II.2, 10–11) (Neokaisareia); id. (1905:IV.4, 15) (Amisos); id. (1912: no. 2, 6 = App. G3.3) (Lappa). Three other instances refer to the θεόπροπος completing the μυστήρια: Macridy (1912: no. 15, 11–12) (Dionysopolis); id. (1912: no. 16, 13) (Odessos); id. (1912: no. 20, 12) (Stobi). In Picard (1922a: 303–4), the whole delegation is initiated.



*embateia* are integral parts of the process of consultation, rather than independent ritual activities. Perhaps the ‘initiation’ had something to do with the mystical, syncretistic religious doctrines for which Claros seems to have been known.<sup>57</sup> These actions seem to have been followed by the giving of the oracle and its reception by the delegates. It is usually thought that they must have descended by an underground passage into an area where the *prophētēs* performed his task. Some surviving oracles from Claros seem to address the delegates directly, as if they are present.<sup>58</sup> However, the Neopythagorean writer Iamblichus says that at Claros the act of divination itself was not visible to the *theōroi* present (οὐκέθ’ ὁρώμενον τοῖς παροῦσι θεωροῖς), and that is compatible with the inscriptions, if we assume that there were different underground chambers, each level more secret than the last.<sup>59</sup>

Procedure at Delphi has been much discussed recently, but many aspects remain as enigmatic as ever, such as how often the oracle was open, and how would-be consultants knew the timetable in advance.<sup>60</sup> Our sources often mention awards of *promanteiā* (privileged status in consultation), bestowed on both cities and individuals, and apparently coming in a number of different grades.<sup>61</sup> The need for *promanteiā* suggests that many people consulted at the same time which makes more sense if the opening times were restricted. Another aspect we know reasonably well are the preliminary taxes and offerings. Several inscriptions talk about the *pelanos*, originally meaning a cake, which seems to have been a tax payable for consultation, and some of these distinguish different amounts for public and private consultants; the public *pelanos* is about ten times greater.<sup>62</sup> Another key part was the ‘preliminary sacrifice’ (*prothūsiā*) of a goat, known as the *khrestērion*, which was induced by libations of water to nod its head in presumed consent. Thus, Plutarch describes how on a recent occasion when a

<sup>57</sup> See Arnold (1995:124). See oracles such as Merkelbach and Stauber (1996), no. 27, cited by Lactantius, and no. 28, attributed by Macrobius to Labeo.

<sup>58</sup> An oracle for Pergamum addresses the leader of the delegation (Merkelbach and Stauber (1996:no. 6, 13) = I.Pergamum II.324), and in Merkelbach and Stauber (1996:no. 8, 3) the envoys of Caesarea Troketta are described as ‘astonished’ (τεθηπό[τ]ες).

<sup>59</sup> Iamb. *De Myst.*3.11.

<sup>60</sup> The most recent survey is Suárez de la Torre (2005:18).

<sup>61</sup> The fundamental study is Pouilloux (1952); for different grades, see Roux (1990) on the award of *promanteiā* to Thurii ‘in front of all the Italians but equal in status (ὁμ[οκ]λάρ[ους] to Tarentum’.

<sup>62</sup> See further §12.3. The Skiathos–Delphi convention (CID1.13 = App.#C1) also mentions two other taxes, one relating to the hide, and one relating to the φρυκτώ, both of which have both public and private versions.



group of *theopropoi* were visiting, the Delphic priests forced the animal to nod when it did not want to, and the equally reluctant Pythia suffered a breakdown when compelled to prophesy.<sup>63</sup>

At Delphi, delegates, like other consultants, would have gone into the temple, in which the Pythia probably performed in the adyton at the western end (cf. Theognis' poem); whether or not the consultants witnessed the act of prophecy first hand is uncertain.<sup>64</sup> The procedure at Didyma, known only from the Hellenistic period, seems to have been generally similar to Delphi, with consultants entering some way into the temple, and the *promantis* prophesying inside.<sup>65</sup> Other oracles may have employed different procedures. Cleromancy was probably used in some cases, possibly alongside the primary form of consultation.<sup>66</sup> In the fourth century BC, Athens determined one sensitive issue by having representatives undergo incubation in the Amphiareion at Oropus.<sup>67</sup> Consulting the oracle of Zeus-Ammon in Libya is likely to have been much more exotic: either the consultant entered the deepest recesses of the temple, and, in the manner of an Egyptian pharaoh, had an audience with (someone impersonating) the god; or alternatively, and this is more likely, the divine will was revealed outside the temple by the movements of a procession led by attendants carrying the deity's statue; things may have changed by the Roman Empire, however, when Cyzicus received an oracle from Ammon in opaque hexameters.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *khrestêrion*: E. *Ion*.419; *CID*1.10 (= *CID*4.1) 33; restored in *CID*1.13, 22; *theopropoi*: Plut. *De def.or.*49, 437a; 51, 438a–b. The term *προθύσια* is never found in this context, but this is how *προθύειν* in the Matrophanes Decree (App.#D14) is usually interpreted. So Ziehen (1904); Amandry (1950:113n.3); Suárez de la Torre (2005:20–1).

<sup>64</sup> Fontenrose (1978:225–6). <sup>65</sup> Fontenrose (1988:78–85)

<sup>66</sup> For Dodona, see Cicero *De div.* 1, 76: an omen predicting Spartan defeat at the Battle of Leuctra in 371 BC was an incident at Dodona when its *legati* were consulting a lot-oracle, and a monkey upset the equipment; for Delphi, Plut. *De frat. am.* 21, 492b *re*: a consultation about Aleuas the Red mentions *φρυκτοί* ('roasted beans': see W. Hembold in Loeb VI (1939), 322n.1). Amandry (1939:195–8) suggested word *φρυκτώ* in the newly discovered Delphi–Skiathos convention (*CID*1.13, 15–16) had the same meaning, and should be understood as referring to an operational lot oracle parallel to the main one, citing in support Hesychius: *φρυκτός* δελφίς (Δελφικὸς Hansen and Cunningham (2009))· κλήρος. ἐχρῶντο δὲ τοῖς κλήροις μαντεύμενοι ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι. Amandry's interpretation was disputed by Sokolowski (1948), who understood *φρυκτός* as burned sacrifice, and Pouilloux (1952) (cf. Pouilloux in *FD* 4.371), who accepted that it was a lot, but thought it was a way of determining precedence. Also against a lot oracle: Fontenrose (1978:219–23) and Suárez de la Torre (2005:16–17). For lot oracles more generally, Grottanelli (2005).

<sup>67</sup> Hyperides *Eux.*14; he does not call the delegates *θεωροί*. Delegate-*θεωροί* at the Amphiareion are mentioned by Aelius Arist., *To the Thebans Concerning the Alliance* 1, 37; at Philost. *Vit. Ap.*2.37 it is uncertain whether delegates or private consultants are meant.

<sup>68</sup> Kuhlmann (1988:127–37); Parke (1967:200). The most important ancient sources are Str. 17.1.44, Diod. Sic. 17.50.6 and Quintus Curtius 4.7.23–4. Oracle for Cyzicus: *SGO*08/01/01.

At some point the delegates received their answer, whether from a seer such as the Pythia or an interpreter. At Delphi, it used to be believed that there was a two-stage process when the Pythia's ecstatic and semi-articulate utterances were rearranged into neat hexameters, and possibly given a political spin, by the *prophētēs*, but the evidence for that was always very thin.<sup>69</sup> Some narratives seem to imply that it was exceptional for news of the response to leak out, which suggests that measures were taken to ensure confidentiality.<sup>70</sup> There has been much discussion about whether communication was oral or in writing.<sup>71</sup> At Dodona, questions were at least sometimes submitted on lead lamellae, and some of these were returned with the answers written on them.<sup>72</sup> Written consultation was used in a few other places as well.<sup>73</sup> Hellenistic Didyma boasted a building called a *khresmographeion*, which sounds like it would have been used for questions, answers or both.<sup>74</sup> Euripides referred to written hexameter oracles of Apollo in a fragment of his *Pleisthenes*:<sup>75</sup>

There are, truly, there are parchments inscribed with song, laden with many utterances of Loxias.

The reference to Loxias most likely means Delphi, and Lillian Jeffrey believed that this was reliable evidence for the use there of parchment,

<sup>69</sup> See the discussions in Fontenrose (1978:196–219, especially 212–19) and Maurizio (1995).

Proponents of the idea of an ecstatic Pythia have included Erwin Rohde and Eric Dodds.

<sup>70</sup> According to Paus. 4.12.8–9, Delphi told the Messenians that the first side to dedicate a hundred tripods to Zeus Ithomatas would be victorious, which gave the Messenians confidence because this was within their territory, but a Delphian tipped off the Spartans, who managed to get someone to smuggle a hundred miniature tripods into the sanctuary (Fontenrose (1978:Q17)). According to Lycurg, *In Leoc.* 84–7 King Kodros engineered his own death at the hands of a Spartan after the Athenians learned from Kleomantis the Delphian that the Spartans had received an oracle warning them not to kill him. At Hdt. 1.18–21, Periander somehow finds out the content of an oracle given to Alyattes and passes that information to the ruler of Miletus (= Fontenrose (1978:Q98)). I owe these references to Russell (1999:89). For the issue of confidentiality, see Fontenrose (1978:218–19).

<sup>71</sup> So Flower (2009: 218); Dillery (2005:215–16); Maurizio (1995).

<sup>72</sup> For Dodona, Lhôte (2006) and see §17.3.1. Replies: see LhôteL67B?, L68B, L92, L95, L99, L127B L141Ba, L142.

<sup>73</sup> At the oracle of Apollo Koropaios in Thessaly (100 BC), enquiries also seem to have been submitted on lamellae: IG9.2.1109, 41 (= LSCG 83) with Robert (1948:2, n.1). A written enquiry was submitted with garlands on it, according to Σ Ar. *Plut.* 39 (Chantry (1994:16): ἐπεὶ οἱ μαντεύμενοι ἐγγράφῳ ἀνακοινώσῃ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὰς πεύσεις ἐποιούντο, γεγραφοῦτες ἐν πυκτίῳ τὸ κατὰ πρόθεσιν αὐτοῖς κείμενον, στεφάνῳ τε ἀμφιέσαντες ἄβρῳι, τῇ μαντιπτόλῳ ἐχειροτόνουν· ἡ δὲ ἐντυχούσα σύμφωνον τοῖς προτεινομένοις ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. (Since consultants made enquiries to the god using a written communication, writing their wish (πρόθεσιν RVBalb, προαίρεσιν Ald) on a tablet, and covering it with a thick garland, they handed it to the prophet. And she, reading it, made her answer in accordance with what she was given.)

<sup>74</sup> Didyma 31, 6; 32, 8, for which see Fontenrose (1988: 80 and n. 6).

<sup>75</sup> TGF4.627: εἰσὶν γὰρ εἰς διφθέροι μελεγγραφεῖς πολλῶν γέμουσαι Λοξίου γηρύματων

which on other grounds could be dated back as early as the seventh century BC.<sup>76</sup> Apart from this, there is little sign of the use of writing by oracle staff, and in Herodotus' account of the Athenian consultation of 480 BC, when the Athenians reject the initial response and ask for a second, it is the Athenian delegates who write the second one down.<sup>77</sup> It is possible some cities required that the responses be committed to writing by their delegates.

Herodotus' account of Athenian delegation of 480 also raises the issue of second consultation. Asking a second question to clarify a response seems not to have been considered abnormal,<sup>78</sup> and making repeated enquiries was so ordinary that it gave rise to a proverbial expression, 'the road to Delphi again', used of needless repetition.<sup>79</sup> However, the delegation of 480 was not asking for clarification or making a new enquiry, but requesting a new response to the same enquiry, having rejected the first one, which is more or less unique.<sup>80</sup> Herodotus says that at the suggestion of a local Delphian called Timon, the Athenians adopted the religious stance of supplication (*hiketeia*), symbolised by carrying suppliant branches, which presumably replaced the garlands they had originally been wearing as religious delegates. This shift of religious role is also unique. Was Timon's strategy a complete one-off, or a semi-standard recourse that could be applied in rare cases of customer-dissatisfaction?

<sup>76</sup> LSAG 57–8; 100; I owe this reference to Dillery (2005:225–6).

<sup>77</sup> Hdt. 7.140–2; Fontenrose (1978:124–8); Bowden (2005:100–7). For other written oracles in Herodotus, see 1.47.1, 48, 2, 8.135.2. The fake oracle that Heraclides of Pontus gets from Delphi is read out in Heracleia, according to Philod. *Acad.col.*9, 37–8 (Gaiser 1988: 211). MacDowell (1990:270) thinks that oracles in the text of Demosthenes come from 'a collection, kept in Athens, of oracles received by the Athenian people'. For writing, see further §6.5.

<sup>78</sup> Fontenrose indicates first and second responses as (A), (B). Cases include: a private enquiry from Didyma on an inscription: Fontenrose (1988:R24); Sicyon and Delphi at Diod. Sic. 8.24.1; Fontenrose (1978:Q73); Theseus' bones: Fontenrose (1978:Q164); Hesiod's bones: Fontenrose (1978:L42). In the account of the foundation of Magnesia on the Maeander preserved on *I.Magnesia* 17 the Magnesians, who are then in Crete, make three enquiries of Delphi, the second and third to clarify the previous ones.

<sup>79</sup> Diogenianus CPG1.220–1: αὖθις αὖ Πυθῶδε ὁδός: ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ πολλάκις πραττόντων. εἶρηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιπυνθανομένων ('The road to Pytho again: of those doing the same thing often. It was said of those making additional enquiries'). Phrynichus (Borries 1911:16): αὖθις αὖ Πυθῶδε ὁδός: ἔστι μὲν παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ πραττόντων καὶ ἐπανιόντων, ἐπεὶ οἱ χρώμενοι τῷ θεῷ, εἰ ἀσαφεῖς <σφισιν> ἔχρησεν, πάλιν ἦσαν εἰς Δελφοῦς, ἐπανερησόμενοι σαφέστερα. (The road to Delphi again: this is a proverb used for those who repeat things and return, for those consulting the god, if he prophesied unclear things <to them>, went back to Delphi to ask for a clearer reply). So Pausanias Attic., Erbse (1950: 206, p.42).

<sup>80</sup> The only exception seems to be a strange narrative attributed to John of Euboea (eighth century AD) concerning some Achaean envoys who make their enquiry of three different oracles at Delphi without getting the response they want: Fontenrose (1978:Q268).

## 6.5 Protecting against fraud

As Theognis suggests, the communication of an oracle was a highly sensitive process, which was easily disrupted. The delegate must make sure not to mishear the oracle – as happened when Ammon told some *theōroi* from Pherae that they should found a shrine to Thebe, the wife and murderer of the tyrant Alexander, which they misheard as ‘Hebe’.<sup>81</sup> They also had to be sure to remember it and perhaps write it down correctly, and keep it secret from people who might exploit the information. Deliberate attempts to manipulate oracular procedure seem usually to have focused on the Pythia herself,<sup>82</sup> and it is rarer to find oracle delegates involved. A mythological corrupter of oracle delegates is Athamas’ wife Ino, who, in an effort to destroy his children by his first wife Nephele, caused a famine by arranging that the grain be parched, then when Athamas sent to Delphi to find a solution, persuaded the delegate to claim falsely that the oracle demanded that Athamas sacrifice his son and her step-son Phrixus to Zeus. When the sacrifice was about to happen, the messenger revealed the truth, at which point Dionysus intervened, and the story took a different direction.<sup>83</sup> In another story that, while not mythological, is surely equally fictitious, a corrupt *theōros* plays a part in the death of the philosopher Heraclides of Pontus, and here too there was a famine involved, this time at Herakleia. According to Diogenes Laertius<sup>84</sup> Heraclides tried to bribe both the *theōroi* sent by the city to Delphi and also the Pythian priestess to say that the famine would disappear if he was awarded a golden crown in his lifetime and honoured as a hero after death. The result was a threefold disaster: Heraclides was afflicted by apoplexy, the *theōroi* were stoned to death and the priestess died from a snake bite. Philodemus has a slightly different version,<sup>85</sup> including

<sup>81</sup> Stobaeus *Anth.* 3.7.62, attributed to Serenos: Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φεραίων τύραννον Θήβη ἀπέκτεινε γυνὴ καὶ τοὺς Φεραίους ἠλευθέρωσεν. συνέβη δὲ καὶ θεωροὺς ἤκοντας αὐτῶν παρ’ Ἀμμωνος λέγειν αὐτοῖς κελεύειν τὸν Ἀμμωνα Ἡβης ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τις παρακοῦσαι ἔφη τοὺς θεωροὺς· τὸν γὰρ Ἀμμωνα Θήβης εἰπεῖν τῆς αὐτοῦς ἐξελομένης τῆς δουλείας. (Alexander, tyrant of Pherai was killed by his wife, who thus liberated the men of Pherai. It happened that their *theōroi* coming from Ammon said that Ammon told them to found a temple of Hebe. One of the older ones said that the *theōroi* had misheard; Ammon meant Thebe, who had saved them from slavery.)

<sup>82</sup> Cases are discussed by Dillon (1997a:85–60). For example, Thuc. 5.16.2 has the Spartan king Pleistoanax bribing the Delphic priestess (*promantis*) to convey to the Spartan *theoroi* an oracle instructing Sparta to recall him from exile.

<sup>83</sup> Hyginus *Fab.* 1.2.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.1; Gantz (1993:178). Philostephanos *FHG* 3.34, fr.37 (= D schol on Hom. *Il.* 7, 86) calls them θεοπρόπους.

<sup>84</sup> DL 5.91 = Hermippus of Smyrna, fr.71, which may be the source for Philodemus as well. See the commentary of Bollansée (1999b:502–10); Fontenrose (1978:Q223).

<sup>85</sup> See Gaiser (1988:209–11) with commentary 487–9.

the details that there was a single *theōros* called Kephisogenes, that Heraclides bribed the priestess with myrrh, having been advised by the Delphic *mantis*, and that when the text of the oracle was read out in Heracleia, he fell over and hit his head on the ground. The fake oracle specified that after his death Heraclides was to be buried ‘by the Potniai [i.e. the Eumenides], in the grove of the *parthenoi* of Heracleia’: perhaps not the best deities to mess with.

Oracular fraud was a real risk for cities and something they must have been concerned to guard against. One way would be to have several delegates who witness the delivery of the oracle jointly, ideally drawn from different groups within the city, and in fact, sources do suggest that there were usually several delegates.<sup>86</sup> Sometimes more complex methods were used. The Athenian decree prescribing the manner of consultation in the matter of the *Sacred Orgas* in 352/1 BC gives a unique account of procedure followed: Apollo is to choose between two answers written on tin-sheets, which the *epistates* of the *prutaneis* rolls up, wraps around with wool and places in a bronze urn. After this has been shaken, the strips are taken out and one is placed in a golden urn and the other in a silver urn, which are then deposited on the Acropolis.<sup>87</sup> These are then sealed with the Athenian public seal, and any Athenian is invited to add his counter seal.<sup>88</sup> Three Athenians, one from the *boulē*, were selected to go to Delphi and make the inquiry. The question put to the oracle must have been a choice between gold or silver. If this was usual procedure, it seems odd that it is spelt out in such detail, so it is probably a special arrangement, but we do not know what circumstances necessitated it.

Another method of fraud prevention would have been to insist that the oracle be transmitted from sanctuary to city in written form, which would at least obviate accidental corruption. Even more effective would be the use of a seal, as was understood by no less an author than William Shakespeare, whose *Winter's Tale* (Act III, Scene 2) makes use of this idea. Two oracle delegates are sent by Leontes king of Sicily to the ‘Isle of Delphos’ (apparently a standard Elizabethan geographical misunderstanding),<sup>89</sup> and when they return, the ‘officer’ makes a speech which clarifies the mechanism:

<sup>86</sup> Six: the consultation by Paros and Pharos, *SEG* 23:489; four: Miletus: *LSAM*47 (228–227 BC); three: decree of the *Sacred Orgas* (below).

<sup>87</sup> *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.204; RO no.58 discuss the historical background; *LSCG*32; Bowden (2005:92); Parker (1994:306–6, n.28 = reprint 84 and n.28).

<sup>88</sup> For the Athenian public seal, see Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 44.1 with Rhodes (1981:532); Haensch (2006:256–60).

<sup>89</sup> See Spencer (1952).

You here shall swear upon this sword of justice,  
 That you, Cleomenes and Dion, have  
 Been both at Delphos, and from thence have brought  
 The seal'd-up oracle, by the hand deliver'd  
 Of great Apollo's priest; and that, since then,  
 You have not dared to break the holy seal  
 Nor read the secrets in't.

Shakespeare borrowed much of this, though not the sealed oracle, from a romance by Robert Greene, published in 1588.<sup>90</sup> The only ancient source that mentions a sealed oracle in a similar context is a short text transmitted in the Suda and ancient paroemiographers as part of an explanation for the proverbial expression 'the three things of those [condemned] to death' (τὰ τρία τῶν εἰς θάνατον). Here is the text from the Suda (τ 154).<sup>91</sup>

... the one who enquired of the Delphic oracle received oracles sealed, and it was declared that if he breaks it, his punishment would be one of three things: to be deprived of either his eyes or his hand or his tongue.

The only indication that sealed responses were actually used is an Athenian inscription from the Roman period that has been heavily but convincingly supplemented:

We have sent the answer [and the god's oracle)] to you, [having sealed it with a public seal].<sup>92</sup>

This is an unusual text – uniquely, communication between the consultants and the oracle is expressed in the exchange of a pair of letters – and the circumstances of consultation are unusual as well, since one Athenian sacred *genos*, the Gephuraiοι, is sending members of another, the Bouzugai, to make the enquiry on their behalf.<sup>93</sup> That is the sum of our knowledge of sealed oracles in the ancient world, except that we know that it was

<sup>90</sup> *Pandosto: the Triumph of Time*, for which see Bullough (1975:169–70). In *Pandosto*, the king of Bohemia sends six delegates to the 'Isle of Delphos' and the written oracle is discovered behind the altar. It is not sealed, but they are told not to read it.

<sup>91</sup> ... ὁ μαντευόμενος ἐν Δελφοῖς σεσημασμένους ἐλάμβανε τοὺς χρησμούς, καὶ προεῖρητο αὐτῷ, εἰ λύσει, ζημία μία τῶν τριῶν· ἢ γὰρ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτὸν ἔδει στερηθῆναι ἢ τῆς χειρὸς ἢ τῆς γλώττης. The text of the paroemiographer Zenobius, *CPG* 1.164, adds after λύσει the clause πρὸ τῆς νενομισμένης ἡμέρας ('before the customary day?'). See the testimonia collected in *PCG* 2.27 for Alexis fr.8. Zenobius attributes it to 'Aristides', possibly Aristides of Miletus (second century BC): see *FHG* 4.327 fr.33.

<sup>92</sup> *SEG* 30.85, 25–7: τὰν οὖν ἐπερώτασιν [καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄπε]στάλμεθα π[ο]θ' ὑμὲ [σφραγισάμενοι τᾷ δημοσίᾳ σφρα]γείδι. For the restoration, Oliver (1980:40–2). Haensch (2006:267–8) shows that a common use of public seals was to protect messages during transportation.

<sup>93</sup> See §18.2, p.311.

the custom in Roman Anatolia for questions to be submitted to the god on a sealed tablet, in the expectation that the answer would miraculously come back without the seal being broken. Lucian says that Alexander of Abonoteikhos, the False Prophet, found ingenious ways of undoing the seals without the consultants realising.<sup>94</sup>

Joseph Fontenrose argued on the basis of the Suda passage that the use of sealed envelopes containing responses was standard practice at Delphi in the case of consultations made by envoys, when the true enquirers were not present, which would seem to cover all the cases of oracle delegates covered in this chapter.<sup>95</sup> He further suggested that in the case of envoys the communication of the oracle was made by the *prophētēs* whereas when the enquirers were present themselves, the Pythia spoke to them directly. I note that a counterexample to this second point seems to be Theognis' poem, in which *prima facie* the Pythia communicates directly with the *theōros*. On the broader issue, while the use of sealed responses would have been an effective strategy, there is little evidence in favour of it, and it surely counts against it that there are many cases where envoys are clearly not using them – Theognis' poem would make no sense if the response was sealed. I therefore conclude that though sealed responses were used sometimes, and the idea of them was well known to ancient scholars, it does not look as if it was a consistent policy, and it may have been introduced fairly late. Probably it was an exceptional measure, used in unusual cases, not unlike the tin sheets and urns of the Sacred Orgas decree.

<sup>94</sup> Lucian *Alex.*20–1. Plut. *De def.or.*45, 434d–e says that a similar method was used in the oracle of Mopsos and Amphilochus in Cilicia.

<sup>95</sup> Fontenrose (1978:196–232, esp.217–18 with n.27). Fontenrose also suggests that in cases when the enquirer did not want the envoy to know the enquiry, it was submitted in written form, as described in the Σ on Ar. *Ploutos* (see n.73 above). As he observes, however, if this has been the practice at Delphi, some lamellae ought to have survived, as at Dodona.



## 7.1 Introduction

If a state wanted to have an offering conveyed to a sanctuary, it either had to use its own people or get it done by someone else. Transportation by proxy is not well-attested, although it is the method imagined to operate in the case of the Hyperborean offerings to Delos, which somehow passed from the Scythians or Arismapeans with the help of various groups en route.<sup>1</sup> The Hyperboreans were supposed to have resorted to this technique after the original conveyers of the offerings, the Hyperborean Maidens and the five *perpherees* ('transporters'),<sup>2</sup> failed to return, and they decided that in future they would leave their offerings at the border for others to pick up.

The close association between *theōroi* and the conveyance of offerings can be illustrated by an entry in the lexicon of Hesychius (fifth century AD), where they are defined as those 'delivering' (*apagontas*) 'offerings' (*aparkhai*).<sup>3</sup> We have already seen various cases of *theōroi* transporting things, including animals to sanctuaries for sacrifice at festivals and oracles between sanctuaries and their cities, but their role as official couriers on behalf of their cities was much broader. Cargoes known to have been transported by *theōroi* include precious dedications, clothing for statues, items of cultural significance, sacred fire and crowns to be used in festivals. Some of the contributions to finance the rebuilding of the Delphic temple in the

<sup>1</sup> See Hdt. 4.32–6. For the 'Hyperborean ritual': Seltman (1928); Tréheux (1951); Bruneau (1970:38–44); Castelnovo (2005). Evidence that some sort of ritual was actually staged: ID100.49 (372/1 BC), IG2<sup>2</sup>.1636 (= ID104 (3)) face A, 8, (367 BC).

<sup>2</sup> Van Windekens (1957:65) cites Ahrens (1862:340–2) for *Perpherees* being the same as Hyperboreans, i.e. 'conveyers'.

<sup>3</sup> Hesychius: θεωρικῶς· ὡς θεωρὸς ἐστεφανωμένος· θεωροὺς δὲ ἐκάλουν τοὺς τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀπάγοντας· ἐστεφάνουν γὰρ οὗτοι τὰς ἀπήνας ('In a theoric manner: garlanded like a *theōris*; they called those delivering *aparkhai* to the gods *theōroi*, for these garlanded their wagons'). For ἀπάγω see Pl. *Phd.* 58b; IG12.4.332b, 57 (App.#C7); PEP (Priene) 11, 3, referring to the Panionion; Hdt. 5.82.3, Plut. QC1.10, 628f11, Cleidemus FGrH323F22, Aristid. *Isthmian Oration Regarding Poseidon* 28.12; Philost. *Her.* 53.9 = 67.19DeLannoy; Σ Ar. *Av.* 147b (Holwerda 1991:28) = Suda s.v. Σαλαμινία ναῦς. At Plut. *Demetr.* 11.1, ἀνάγοντες might be emended to ἀπάγοντες. At Ar. *Peace* 714 the same combination is used of giving *Theoria* to the Athenian *boulē*.



fourth century BC might also have been brought by *theōroi*.<sup>4</sup> They might also act as couriers for the text of honorary decrees.<sup>5</sup>

The context for this is, of course, that in ancient Greece as in many ancient cultures the relation between worshippers and gods is commonly expressed in the form of gifts from the former (both individuals and communities) to the latter. The choice of gifts is not random, but is determined by the traditions of the sanctuary and the expectations of those who use it – hence we can talk of a ‘votive system’.<sup>6</sup>

In general, there are two main types of evidence for patterns of offerings. First, for some sanctuaries and for some periods we have cult inventories or offerings lists. To give some examples:

- the inventories from Hellenistic Delos mention many dedications by *theōroi*.<sup>7</sup>
- inventories from fourth century Athens enumerate civic dedications of golden crowns presented to Athene by states belonging to the Second Confederacy (378–338 BC). *Theōroi* are presumably involved in delivering these also, although the format precludes their being mentioned.<sup>8</sup>
- offering lists from Hellenistic Didyma list *phialai* and other dedications by individuals as well as communities.<sup>9</sup> The communities that appear in the inventories include a few whose interest in Didyma can be explained by their being regarded as colonies of Miletus (Cyzicus, Kios), but the majority, cities in Caria, Ionia and Aeolis, were not Milesian colonies, and

<sup>4</sup> See §2.1.5, pp.25–7; §17.3.4.

<sup>5</sup> On two occasions Samothrace, having honoured a poet, asked that the first *theōroi* to arrive from the relevant city should be given the decree to take home with them: *I.Lasos* 153, 31–2 (200 BC); *I.Priene* 68, 10–11 (around 100 BC); see Rutherford (2007a). When around 200 BC Elis wanted to send the text of an honorary decree to its *theārodokos* on the island of Tenedos, it arranged for it to be given to Elean *theāroi* going to Miletus for the Didymeia: *I.Olympia* 39, 35–40 (= PerlmanEC O.2). Similarly, a decree by the Athenian cleruchs on Hephaistia on Lemnos from the second century BC states that it is to be proclaimed in Athens by the *stratēgoi* and the *theōroi* who are from time to time sent there: *IG2<sup>2</sup>*.1223, 9–10. A Cyzicene decree reporting a Delphic oracle was inscribed at Delos and Delphi, in the later case transmitted there by three Cyzicene *theōroi*, who may have been the same ones who consulted the oracle: Delian copy: *IG11.4*.1027 with *IG11.4*.1298; Delphian copy: *FD* 3.342; RigsbyA165 with Rigsby (1996:340–50). In the decree included in the text of Dem.18, 91 (cf. S. Lewis (1996:71)) Byzantion thanks Athens for military support against Philip and says that *theāriai* are to go to the four Panhellenic festivals and announce the bestowal of crowns on Athens; this document is probably a late forgery, however: Yunis (2001:30).

<sup>6</sup> Prêtre and Huysecom-Haxhi (2009); for votives in general, Linders (1987); and relevant articles in *ThesCRA* I by Parker (2004a with bibliography) and Boardman (2004).

<sup>7</sup> See §2.1.1; §17.2.2.

<sup>8</sup> There is an excellent summary of the data in Harris (1995:238, with table on 251).

<sup>9</sup> Dignas (2002) has suggested that the lists from Didyma should be seen as lists of offerings rather than true inventories. For *phialai* as dedications, Boardman (2004: 305–6).

must have been interested in Didyma because of its religious authority.<sup>10</sup> The inventories say nothing about the delegates, though one related decree calls them *hieropoioi*.<sup>11</sup>

- an inscription from the shipwreck off the coast of Mahdia seems to list various types of dedications brought to Ammon in Libya and his fellow deities by Athenian *theōroi*; the stone was probably originally displayed in the sanctuary of Ammon in the Piraeus, and is the only surviving evidence that cities kept detailed records of dedications sent to a sanctuary. More evidence about Ammonian *theōriā* comes from an inventory list found in Athens, which seems to list inter alia dedications made by *theōroi* returning from the oracle of Zeus Ammon.<sup>12</sup>
- finally, the famous Chronicle from Lindos includes records of a few early war tithes dedicated by cities, some of them transcribed from historiographical sources, most of them probably of dubious reliability.<sup>13</sup>

Second, we have literary sources. Eratosthenes recorded that at the oracle of Ammon at the Siwa Oasis there were dolphins mounted on small columns bearing the inscription ‘Of the Cyrenaean *theōroi*’: implausibly, he took this as an indication that Ammon had once been on the coast.<sup>14</sup> The historian Theopompus of Khios wrote a treatise about offerings plundered at Delphi by the Phocians during the Third Sacred War.<sup>15</sup> And of course Pausanias lists the more impressive dedications at Delphi and Olympia, which often have an accompanying story.

Motivations for making a public dedication were varied. Much of it may just be a general desire to keep the god on one's side, or to display a city's wealth to other states. Offerings could also be made on the instruction of oracles (e.g. the Athenian dedication at Dodona mentioned by Hyperides).<sup>16</sup> Two specific types are:<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For references, cf. Günther (1971: 124–7). See further §17.3.2.

<sup>11</sup> *Milet* I.141, 13 and 53, relating to Kios. At Didyma 446, 9, apropos of a reference to a city of Amorgos, the supplement *theōroi* has been suggested.

<sup>12</sup> *SEG* 46.122 (App.#C3); *SEG* 21.562 (App.#C4). See below §7.3.

<sup>13</sup> Blinkenberg (1941: no.2); Higbie (2003). Examples include: C6–10: Phaselis over the Solymoi; C11–14: Geloians over Ariaion; C56–9: Akragas over Minoa; C75–79: Soloi with the help of the hero Amphilokhos over an unknown enemy: see Higbie (2003:127), ad loc.

<sup>14</sup> Str. 1.3.4–16, who records the views of Eratosthenes fr.15 Roller (2010), who drew on inter alia Strato of Lampsacus (fr.91 Wehrli) and of Hipparchus who refuted them (Dicks 1960: fr.9). Dicks (1960:119) suggests that the dolphins were not on pillars (στυλιδίων) but on small masts (στυλίδων).

<sup>15</sup> *FGrH* 115F247–9; a similar work by Anaxandrides of Delphi, *FGrH* 404F1.

<sup>16</sup> See §7.3, pp.118–19.

<sup>17</sup> On occasions for dedications, see Parker (2004a: 278–80).

- spoils from a victory over another group, Greek or non-Greek; such as the bronze horses and captive women dedicated at Delphi by Tarentum after its victory over the Messapians;<sup>18</sup> or the bronze figures representing a procession and sacrifice offered by Orneai after their victory over Sicyon (this was a substitute for a real daily procession which Orneai had originally vowed);<sup>19</sup> or again the bronze statue of Apollo dedicated by Peparethos at Delphi after its sailors captured two Carian ships.<sup>20</sup> In 334–328 BC, the Athenian cleruchs on Samos sent *theōroi* to Delphi once every two years, on each occasion to present the god with a gold crown, qualified as an *aristeion*, a ‘prize in victory’.<sup>21</sup>
- a thank offering or tithe for a blessing bestowed by Apollo; for example, the first monument Pausanias describes at Delphi is the bronze bull of the Corcyreans, made by Theopropos of Aegina, and supposed to be a tithe from the proceeds of abundant catches of tunny-fish, which the Delphic oracle had earlier facilitated.<sup>22</sup> The Siphnian treasury at Delphi also fits into this category.<sup>23</sup> A ‘golden harvest’ was dedicated at Delphi by Myrina, Apollonia and Metapontum.<sup>24</sup>

Among common types that could be dedicated were the *phialē* (ceremonial dish) and the crown. Another was the *stlengis* or *stlengidion*, apparently a tiara; *stlengidia theōrika* are mentioned in the Delian inventories in the second century BC.<sup>25</sup> A surviving excerpt of Theopompus’

<sup>18</sup> Paus.10.10.6; Jacquemin (1999:no.45).

<sup>19</sup> Paus.10.18.5. Elsner (1996); Jacquemin (1999:no.381).

<sup>20</sup> FD 4.179 = CEG 1.325; (Jacquemin 1999:no.387).

<sup>21</sup> IG12.6.263–5 = Bousquet (1959:152–5). An ἀριστεῖον is associated with *theōriā* also in *I.Priene* 45,11 (second century BC). On the term ‘ἀριστεῖον’: Pritchett (1974–91: 2, 276–90).

<sup>22</sup> Paus. 10.9.3–4. Jacquemin (1999:no.122). The base survives; for a speculative restoration of the inscription, see Vatin (1981:440–9), but see SEG 31.546–56. There was also one at Olympia: Paus. 5.27.9.

<sup>23</sup> Hdt. 3.57; Jacquemin (1999:no.441).

<sup>24</sup> Myrina: Plut. *De.Pyth.or.*15, 401f.; Jacquemin (1999:no.371); Apollonia: Plut. *ibid.*; Jacquemin (1999:no.65); Metapontum: Str. 6.1.15, 264; Jacquemin (1999:no.365). The meaning of ‘harvesting’ (θέρος) in this context is uncertain: Jacquemin (1999:167).

<sup>25</sup> Treasury of the Athenians: ID1409, Bc, col.II, 57, 9, ID1443B.II.1, 41, ID1446, 11. See also Erotian, *Vocum Hippocraticarum Collectio* 77, 15Nachmanson: σπλεγγίδα· Ἡρακλείδης μὲν ὁ Ταραντίνος διὰ τοῦ ρ γράφας στρεγγίδα ἐν β’ Ἑξηγητικῶι τῆς δ’ Ἐπιδημίας χρυσὰ φησι ταινίδια εἶναι, οἷς χρῶνται τινες τῶν θεωρῶν, οὐ κατὰ λόγον νοήσας. οὐ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ρ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ λ γράφεται. καὶ οὐκ ἔστι χρυσοῦν ταινίδιον, ὡς αὐτὸς οἶεται, ἀλλ’ ἡ συνήθης ξύστρα, καθὼς καὶ Μένανδρος μέμνηται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων. (*stlengis*: Heraclides of Tarentum writing *strengis* with the rho in Book 2 of his commentary on Book 4 of the Epidemics says that they are golden strips which some *theōroi* use, incorrectly. It is not written with a rho but with a lambda. It is not a golden strip, as he thinks, but an ordinary razor, mentioned in Menander and other ancient writers.) Cf. Coupry (1954:290).

work on the offerings looted at Delphi mentions several miscellaneous public donations: four golden *stlengidia* given by the Sybarites, a silver *karkhesion* (a type of cup) given by the Phokaiaians, an ivy crown of gold from the people of Peparethos, and a laurel crown made of gold from Lampsacus.<sup>26</sup> Some offerings were contributions to the religious infrastructure, such as the Chian altar at Delphi.<sup>27</sup> Another possible offering was money, such as the three talents given to Apollo during the fourth enactment of the *Pūthais* (see below, §7.2), or 300 drachmas conveyed to Tyre for Herakles-Melqart by *theōroi* sent by Jason the High priest of Jerusalem around 173 BC.<sup>28</sup>

## 7.2 *Aparkhai*

Hesychius, cited above, defines *theōroi* through their function as conveyers of *aparkhai*. The term *aparkhē* seems originally to have meant ‘beginning’, and it is applied to ‘first fruits’, i.e. the first part of any produce, and then to any offering to a deity – even a poetic competition can be an *aparkhē*.<sup>29</sup> It has the apparent implication of regularity and obligation.<sup>30</sup>

In fact, our sources often link *aparkhai* with *theōroi*. In 331–328 BC, Priene chooses two *theōroi* to bring the *aparkhai* (here, as often, the word appears in the plural) to the Panathenaia in Athens and perform sacrifices.<sup>31</sup> The Delian inventories of the third century BC include several *phialai* labelled *aparkhē*, all of them dedicated by Koan *theōroi*.<sup>32</sup> A Samothracian decree from 240 BC records that *theōroi* from Iasos brought a *thūsia*, *aparkhē* and *theōriā*.<sup>33</sup> The Athenian decrees describing the fourth enactment of *Pūthais* use the formula ‘the dispatch of the *Pūthais* and the *aparkhai*’, where the offering seems to have been three talents.<sup>34</sup> We have also seen that *aparkhai*

<sup>26</sup> Theop. 115FGrH248 = Ath. *Deip.* 13.604f–605d; for the Peparethian crown, see Bruneau (1987:475), who shows that ivy is found on the local coinage.

<sup>27</sup> Amandry (1986); Jacquemin (1999:no.108). <sup>28</sup> *Pūthais*: see §7.2; Jason: see §16.4, p.277.

<sup>29</sup> In *FD* 2.48.12 = *SIG*3.711L, the Delphic decree for the Dionysiac Artists. Pomtow restored ἀπαρ[χαί]ς ἀγ[ώ]νων. At *FD* 3.338, 8: a grammarian is honoured for the *aparkhē* of his skill. For metaphorical use in Delphic inscriptions see van Liefferinge (2000:150–1). Pl. *Prt.* 343b speaks of the Seven Wise Men making an *aparkhē* of wisdom at Delphi.

<sup>30</sup> On the term, see now Jim (2011b). <sup>31</sup> *I.Priene* 5, 11.

<sup>32</sup> See Bruneau (1970:97–101), nos. V, XI, XII, XX. For the use of the term at Delphi, see Jacquemin (1999:92), whose general discussion of the terminology of offerings at Delphi (89–100) shows that this was not a particularly common one.

<sup>33</sup> *SEG* 43.715, 3 (App.#D3).

<sup>34</sup> *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.2336, 2–3; *FD* 2.6, 3, *FD* 2.48, 11; similar language apropos of *Pūth* 2 (*FD* 2.46.1) and *Pūth* 3 (*FD* 2.13, 19; *FD* 2.54, 34 with Tracy (1975b: 195–6)).

were given to *theōroi* who announced festivals on behalf of cities and sanctuaries; like ordinary *aparkhai* these seem to have been destined for the gods whose festival was being announced, but, unlike them, they are conveyed there by representatives of the sanctuary itself.<sup>35</sup> The earliest attestation of the word *aparkhē* in the context of *theōroi* are the records of the sixth century magistrate-*theoroi* from Thasos, where it is found twice, apparently defining a time period ('during the first *aparkhē*', 'during the second *aparkhē*'), and, though the interpretation of these texts is uncertain, one plausible view is that making an offering at a major sanctuary was an important duty of these magistrates.<sup>36</sup>

*Aparkhai* could also be sent by a colony to its *mētropolis*, or at least a major cult associated with its mother-city. In 228 BC, the beleaguered Milesian colony of Kios sent two delegates called *hieropoioi* to Miletus to request a suspension of the *aparkhai* regularly sent to Apollo Didymeus consisting of *phialai*. Miletus seems to have consented to a temporary suspension, even though it regarded it as technically against the law, but says that in future *aparkhai* must be resumed 'in accordance with what was agreed by our ancestors'.<sup>37</sup> It is not clear whether the other *aparkhai* mentioned above were obligatory in the same way, and, if they were, what the authority behind it would have been.

Athens worked the term into its imperial taxation system, applying it to the one-sixtieth share of the tribute (one mina per talent) that went to Athene Parthenos.<sup>38</sup> *Aparkhai* in the literal sense of 'first fruit offerings' is the basis of another imperial initiative made by Athens in the 420s BC when it ordered the allies and invited other Greek states to make an *aparkhē* (*aparkhsthai*) of grain and possibly olives to Eleusis.<sup>39</sup> The offerings of allied states were to be delivered by 'selectors' (*eklogeis*), but those of other Greek states were to be brought by delegates referred to vaguely as 'those bringing' (*hoi agagontes*). The context for this was probably a festival, perhaps the *Proērosia*.<sup>40</sup> *Theōroi* are never mentioned in the context of this procedure,

<sup>35</sup> See §5.2.2, p.80. <sup>36</sup> See §8.3; App.#C11.

<sup>37</sup> *Milet* I.3.141, with commentary and translation in *Milet* VI.1, 175–6. The law: ll.27–8; ancestors: ll.33–4; *aparkhai*: ll.27 and 33; *phialai*: ll.12, 23–4.

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, the title of the accounts of the Hellenotamiai from 454/453 BC, *IG*1<sup>3</sup>.259, 1–4, or those of 421–0, *IG*1<sup>3</sup>.285, 7–8.

<sup>39</sup> *IG*1<sup>3</sup>.78 (= Clinton no.28a); see Smarczyk (1990:154–298); cf. *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.140 (= Clinton no.142; *LSS*13), 353–352 BC; Smarczyk (1990:224–52).

<sup>40</sup> *Proerosia*: Parker (2005:331–2); Simms (1975); *Mysteries*: Smarczyk (1990:184–215). How many states outside the Athenian Empire actually took the Athenians up on this invitation is hard to determine, but probably not very many. According to *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.1672, 271–77 (Clinton no.177, 400–6), from 329/8 BC, the practice of sending *aparkhai* to Eleusis was confined to Attica and Athenian cleruchies: Drumos (400), the Amphiareion (401–2), Salamis, Skyros (404), and Myrina (405) and Hephaistia on Lemnos (406).

but a tangential link with them is implied by an aetiology for it, which says that when the Athenians first sacrificed the *proërosion* ('pre-harvest sacrifice') on behalf of everyone, and in gratitude all people sent *aparkhai* of all their harvest to Athens, Abaris the Hyperborean came to Greece as a *theōros*.<sup>41</sup>

### 7.3 Offerings and oracles

A common pattern at all times is for cities to make offerings to oracular sanctuaries. A particularly clear and elaborate narrative describing such an offering comes, surprisingly, from a Roman historian writing about Roman history. This is Livy's account of Camillus' capture of the Etruscan town Veii (supposed to have happened in 396 BC), which is framed by two state delegations to Delphi.<sup>42</sup> The first, undertaken by envoys called *oratores* or *legati*, is sent to consult the oracle about the portent of the Alban Lake rising. The answer instructs Rome to draw off the water, and, when victory is secured, to send a thank offering to Delphi. The purpose of the second delegation is to dedicate a krater to Delphic Apollo, as the oracle had ordered, but it is delayed by uncertainty about how big the offering should be, and whether Camillus or the people as whole is responsible for it. Eventually it sets off, led by three prominent Romans as *legati* (in Plutarch's version, the second delegation becomes a traditional festive *theōriā*, with a ship's crew distinguished for their *euandria*, like the Athenian *theōriā* to Delos in Xenophon).<sup>43</sup> The second delegation runs into trouble when it is captured by pirates from Lipari, but they received protection from the Liparian general Timasitheus, who has them transported to Delphi and then back again to Rome. The krater is said to have been displayed in the treasury of Massalia, later to be looted by the Phocians.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Σ Ar. *Knights* 729a (Jones and Wilson (1969:174, 5–13)). The same story is attributed to Lycurg. *Against Menesaikhhmos* or *Dēliakos*, XIV.5 Conomis. Abaris resembles the primeval Hyperborean maidens, whose journey to Delos, accompanied by five *περφερέες*, suggests a primeval *theōriā*. On the Hyperborean Maidens see above, §7.1.

<sup>42</sup> The main source is Livy 5.15–28; first delegation: 5.15–16; *oratores*: 5.15.4, 16.1; *legati*: 5.16.8; delay: 5.23.8–12, 25, 7–10, 28, 1–5; second delegation: 5.28.2–4. Other sources: Diod. Sic. 14.93, 3–4; Plut. *Camillus* 3–8; Appian 2 *Italica* 8.1.

<sup>43</sup> Plut. *Camillus* 8.4: ἐλόμενοι δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων θεωροῦς, καὶ ναῦν μακρὰν εὐανδροῦντι πληρώματι καὶ κόσμῳ πανηγυρικῶι κατασκευάσαντες, ἐξέπεμψαν; cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.3.12 (cited in §13.3) for θεωρία and εὐανδρία.

<sup>44</sup> Treasury of Massalia: Appian *Italica* 8; on the use of a foreign treasury, cf. Jacquemin (1999:107), citing CID4.27, a decree for Eudoxus of Argos; GD (Site) 63–4.

Whether Rome really did maintain a relationship with Delphi this early is questionable. Offerings by the Liparians (or the ‘Knidians in Lipara’, as they are called) are known from Delphi in the fourth century, commemorating battles against the Etruscans.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, the story of the Liparians facilitating Roman contact with Delphi could have been invented to give Rome the backing of Delphic Apollo in its war against the Etruscans, whose links with Delphi seem to be much older.<sup>46</sup>

The sending of offerings to oracles *via theōroi* is in fact well attested in the Greek world in the same period. A good example is the above-mentioned inventory found in the Mahdia-shipwreck, listing offerings made in past years by the Athenian *dēmos* to Ammon (363/2 BC).<sup>47</sup> The recipients mentioned in the decree seem to be the Ammonian triad known from Pausanias’ account of Elis, namely Ammon himself, Hera Ammonia and Parammon.<sup>48</sup> Dedications listed include a cup (67), four gold plates (*lepidēs*: 83) and crowns (84). The text also seems to mention *theōroi* (35, 59). Alphonse Dain took the decree as referring to the cult of Ammon in Piraeus, but more recently Georg Petzl has argued that it was concerned with ‘Festgesandtschaften’ to Ammon, which it legislated in the damaged first part and gave examples of in the second.<sup>49</sup> He even thinks that the top of the decree is an iconographical representation of Athenian *theōroi* presenting themselves to Ammon (see Figure 1).<sup>50</sup> In line with this is a fragmentary Athenian inventory which records dedications, some of them by Athenian *theōroi* who have most likely returned from the oracle of Ammon in Libya. As restored by Woodward, there were two delegations comprising three *theōroi*, each of which took gold.<sup>51</sup> Almost five hundred years later (AD 123–36), the religious organisation of Ammoneitai at Cyzicus received an oracle from Ammon which, if Werner Peek’s reconstruction is correct, instructed them, *inter alia*, to send delegations of *theōroi* back to the oracle with sacrifices. It was in the oracle’s interests to ensure that the relationship with client-states continue. The same mechanism was probably already operating in the fourth century BC.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *FD* 4.181–5; Paus. 10.16.7. <sup>46</sup> See §16.4, p.274. <sup>47</sup> *SEG* 46.122 (App.#C3).

<sup>48</sup> Paus. 5.15.11. For Parammon, F. Colin (1997).

<sup>49</sup> Petzl (1994:386); older view: Dain (1936:17–18); Woodward (1962:6)

<sup>50</sup> For an illustration of the image, see Meyer (1989:282 A57 with Taf.19.1).

<sup>51</sup> *SEG* 21.562 (App.#C4). Woodward (1962) is still the main treatment. For background, Parke (1967:218); Garland (1987:134). The two delegations are App.#C4 ¶9 and ¶7.

<sup>52</sup> *SGO*08/01/01; *ed.pr.* Merkelbach-Schwertheim (1983), who restored the oracle to say that the delegates were to be sent to Claros, but Peek (1984) saw it as telling them to abandon Claros (the most well attested and probably the most important oracle in Asia Minor at the time) and send delegations to Ammon.



In the second half of the fourth century, Athens is also known to have sent an offering to Dodona. In Hyperides' speech *In Defence of Euxenippos* (330–324 BC) one of the charges against Euxenippos is that of allowing Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, to dedicate a *phialē* for the statue of Health in the territory of Athens. To refute that charge, Hyperides recalls an incident a few years earlier when Olympias rejected offerings sent to Dione on Dodona on the instructions of the oracle. This is usually thought to have happened sometime after the death of Alexander I of Molossia in 331 BC, when Olympias might reasonably be thought to have acquired more influence.<sup>53</sup> Hyperides' point is that the indignation the Athenians felt on account of Olympias' rejecting the Athenian offering is inconsistent with blaming Euxenippos for having accepted an offering from her. The passage is as follows (c.24–5):<sup>54</sup>

Olympias has made complaints about what happened at Dodona; unfair complaints, as I myself have proved, twice already, in the people's assembly before yourselves and the rest of the Athenians. Contrary to what her spokesman said, her complaints against the polis were inappropriate. Zeus of Dodona commanded you, though the oracle, to embellish the statue of Dione. You made a face as beautiful as it could be and all the other accompaniments. You prepared a great deal of expensive finery for the goddess. You dispatched a *theōriā* and sacrifice, amply supplied with money. You embellished the image of Dione in a manner worthy both of yourselves and of the goddess. Hence the subject of Olympias' complaints, when they came. Her letters pointed out that Molossia, the site of the temple, is her country; we, consequently, had no right whatever to stir anything up there (Trans. after Whitehead (2000:166).

The Athenian offering had three parts: first a *prosōpon* for the goddess together with all the accompaniments; second 'expensive finery'; and third a '*theōriā* and *thūsia*'. The most unusual part is the *prosōpon*, which is most likely a mask (the same as *prosōpeion* or *prosōpidion*).<sup>55</sup> Votive masks are a

<sup>53</sup> Alexander I's widow Cleopatra, the daughter of Olympias, was *theāroдокος* for Argos in Epeiros: PerlmanEC A.1.i, 11, and it is possible that she remained in control for several years, while Olympias exerted influence from Macedonia: see Hammond (1980:473–6); Perlman (2000:102); Whitehead (2000:155–7).

<sup>54</sup> ὑμῖν Ὀλυμπιάς ἐγκλήματα πεποιήται περὶ τὰ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οὐ δίκαια, ὥς ἐγὼ δις ἦδη ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων πρὸς τοὺς ἡκοντας παρ' αὐτῆς ἐξήλεγξα οὐ προσήκοντα αὐτὴν ἐγκλήματα τῇ πόλει ἐγκαλοῦσαν. ὑμῖν γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Δωδωναῖος προσέταξεν ἐν τῇ μαντείᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Διώνης ἐπικοσμήσαι· καὶ ὑμεῖς πρόσωπόν τε ποιησάμενοι ὥς οἷον τε κάλλιστον καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ ἀκόλουθα, καὶ κόσμον πολὺν καὶ πολυτελῆ τῇ θεῷ παρασκευάσαντες, καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ θυσίαν πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποστείλαντες, ἐπεκοσμήσατε τὸ ἔδος τῆς Διώνης ἀξίως καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῇ καὶ τῆς θεοῦ. ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑμῖν τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἦλθε παρ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, ὥς ἡ χώρα εἴη ἡ Μολοττία αὐτῆς, ἐν ἣ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν· οὐκ οὐκ προσήκειν ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐκεῖ οὐδὲ ἐν κινεῖν.

<sup>55</sup> So Nestle (1891). See the discussion in Whitehead (2000:226).



common dedication in cult inventories and in other sources.<sup>56</sup> They were usually made of precious metal, although masks or veils of silk, wool or linen could be dedicated as well.

This is the only case where an offering explicitly described as having been brought by *theōroi* is said to have been rejected by the sanctuary authorities.<sup>57</sup> The idea of rejecting a dedication was not unheard of, however, as we see from an incident a few years before this in 340–339 BC, when Amphissa proposed at an amphiktionic meeting that Athens be fined fifty talents for dedicating (or re-dedicating) some golden shields with the slogan ‘Athenians from the Medes and Thebans when they fought against the Greeks.’ The pretext was that when the dedication was made, the new temple had not yet been properly consecrated.<sup>58</sup> By contrast, Olympias’ reason for rejection, to judge from Hyperides’ account, was not that Athens had broken any rules, but simply that Molossia belonged to her – an outright denial of the principle that the great sanctuaries were common to all Greeks.<sup>59</sup> In the background may lie Olympias’ own religious or religio-political agenda, about which we are not well informed.<sup>60</sup>

There may be evidence of an earlier offering-bearing *theōriā* sent by Athens to Dodona in a passage in Demosthenes’ *In Against Meidias* (343 BC), which cites four oracles, the third and fourth purporting to be from Dodona. Of these, the earlier one warns the Athenians that they had missed the time for sacrifice and *theōriā*, and orders them to send nine *theōroi*, a

<sup>56</sup> Examples: a πρόσωπον of gilded silver in the Parthenon inventory from 433 BC, weighing 116 dr: Harris (1995: 91) (‘mask’); several in the inventories of the Athenian Asklepieion, e.g. IG2<sup>2</sup>.1533, 4 and 10, IG2<sup>2</sup>.1534.112; several in the Delian inventories: Hamilton (2000: 469) (‘faces’); in inventories from Oropos a προσώπιον weighing 29dr.: 324.68Petrakos, and a πρόσωπον weighing 9dr.: 324.69Petrakos, cf. 325.20Petrakos; an inventory from Didyma (SEG 38.1201, 12) has silk προ[σ]ωπίδια (veils?): Günther (1988a:227). For a Near Eastern parallel, see Archi (2005).

<sup>57</sup> For rejection of *theōriā* in general, see §15.1, pp.252–3.

<sup>58</sup> Aeschin. 3.116; see Sánchez (2001:228–35). For the verb ‘ἐξαρέσασθαι’, translated here ‘consecrate’, see Bommelaer and Bommelaer (1983). Another disputed offering over which the Amphiktyony is supposed to have adjudicated is the tripod dedicated after the Battle of Plataea, which Pausanias inscribed with his own name: Ps. Dem. 59:97–8; Sánchez (2001:103–4).

<sup>59</sup> Common sanctuaries: Neer (2007:226); Baslez (1999:389n.5). Cf. the dispute between Hierapytna and Itanos over the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios in 140 BC (Chaniotis (1996:no. 49) = *ICret*.3.4.9); Chaniotis (1988c:26–8)).

<sup>60</sup> For speculations on Olympias’ religious attitudes, see Baslez (1999). Could the offence have lain in the mask? According to Paus. 3.16.1 a priestess at Sparta who ‘adorned’ (ἐπεκόσμησε) the statues of one of a pair of deities with a πρόσωπον of modern workmanship was subsequently warned in a dream not to do the same for the other statue. On the other hand, it is difficult to see how Olympias could have been offended by this if the oracle had ordered it in the first place.

sacrifice of ten animals and also ‘a bronze table for the dedication made by the Athenian *dēmos*’, which seems to imply that Athens had earlier dedicated a building. The authenticity of these oracles is uncertain, though Douglas MacDowell in his commentary is reassured by the fact that they are ‘only marginally relevant’, i.e. they do not look like they have been made up to suit the context.<sup>61</sup>

## 7.4 Fetching

As well as making deliveries *to* the sanctuary, *theōroi* can also fetch things *from* it. The Athenian decree from the early third century BC which praises Kallias of Sphettos for, among other things, generously financing an Athenian *theōriā* to the Ptolemaia in Alexandria also mentions that he arranged that the Athenian *theōroi* elected with him should transport back to Athens a sacred offering from Ptolemy – tools (*hopla*) for the ship used in the Panathenaia on the occasion of the first enactment of it after the liberation of the city, apparently a sort of exchange for the offerings taken to Alexandria by the *theōroi*, which we know from other sources included golden crowns.<sup>62</sup> T. Leslie Shear plausibly interpreted these tools as hemp ropes, used to keep upright the mast that held the *peplos*.<sup>63</sup>

*Theōroi* can also be sent with the express purpose of fetching items. In some cases, they even bring people, as, according to an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander, *theopropoi* were sent to fetch three *mainades* from Thebes to serve in a cult of Dionysus that was being set up.<sup>64</sup> Objects of great cultural significance can be sent for as well, as when in 373 BC the Ionians, who wanted to move the site of the Panonion from Priene to Ephesos, having consulted Delphi, sent *theōroi* to Akhaia in the Peloponnese in order to bring back copies of so-called *aphidrūmata* (the term refers to sacred objects used to begin and found a new cult)<sup>65</sup> located at the city of

<sup>61</sup> Or.21.53. MacDowell (1990:270–1). For the offering, see the discussion of Quantin (2008:25). Thompson (1982) suggests that a bronze statuette of a boy holding a dove from about the same period found at Dodona might have been dedicated by a young man on an Athenian *theōriā*.

<sup>62</sup> SEG 28.60, 66–70 (App.#D2). Golden crown: Nesiotic Decree: IG12.7.506; crowns: Samian decree for Boulagoras: IG12.6.11, 29; letter to Xanthos: SEG 36.1218, 11 (App.#D12).

<sup>63</sup> Shear (1978:39–45). For Mikalson (1998:109) the need to supply ropes suggests ‘prior neglect and uncertainty concerning the cult’. The gift of the ropes resembles the gift of a mast and yard by Lysimachus in 299/298 BC: see IG2<sup>2</sup>.657, 14. On these gifts as symbolising the modest piety of the rulers, Kuhn (2006:275–6).

<sup>64</sup> I.Magnesia 215, 30–1: δὶὰ τῶν θεοπρόπων. The decree is a Roman copy of a Hellenistic original: Henrichs (1978:123–4).

<sup>65</sup> Anguissola (2006a:641), referring to the discussion of Malkin (1991); cf. also Na’aman (2005).

Helike.<sup>66</sup> Myth-historical traditions connected this area with the Homeric Akhaioi, who are supposed to have taken refuge here after the Dorian migration; they displaced the Ionians, who moved on to Athens, and this became the base for the Ionian migration.<sup>67</sup> The focal point of the Panionia festival, usually held at Priene, was a sacrifice to Poseidon Helikonios, and this was (against etymological plausibility)<sup>68</sup> traced back to the cult of Poseidon at Helike. A reference to this sacrifice in the *Iliad* may well indicate that this tradition was already known to its author around 700 BC.<sup>69</sup>

According to Heraclides of Pontus' account, the Ionian *theōroi* sent to recover the *aphidrūmata* got permission from the Achaean Confederacy, but the citizens of Helike, together with those of nearby Bura, having been warned by an oracle, would not allow them to sacrifice at the altar of Poseidon in Helike, and:<sup>70</sup>

... they argued against the Ionians in the matter of the *aphidrūmata*, saying that the sanctuary was not the common property of the Achaeans, but belonged to themselves.

They went so far as to seize the Ionian *theōroi*, and this impious crime, Heraclides explains, was the reason why Helike and Bura were subsequently buried under the sea following an earthquake in the winter of 373 BC<sup>71</sup> (which is also the only reason this story is recorded). Strabo tells us that, in spite of everything, the Ionians finally received their *aphidrūmata* the next year.

The transportation of an *aphidrūma* from an original cult to an offshoot must have been a common event, which usually passed off without trouble. The transporters may not always have been called *theōroi* (in the famous case of the foundation of Massalia, for example, the *aphidrūma* was carried by Aristarkha, the priestess of Artemis Ephesia)<sup>72</sup>, but in many cases they probably were.

Another case of theoric fetching may be implied in an inscription from Ephesos dated 334–281 BC, which records the imposition of the death

<sup>66</sup> Heraclides Ponticus fr.46a (= Str. 8.7.2, 385) and 46b (= Diod. Sic. 15.49).

<sup>67</sup> See Str. 8.7.1, 384. Paus. 7.init. On these traditions, Vanschoonwinkel (1991:367–98).

<sup>68</sup> The epithet Helikonios seems rather to point to Mt Helikon than to Helike, however, as Aristarchus already knew: see Schironi (2004:fr.53 (EM p.547, 15–21 = Apollodorus FGrH244F353); Vanschoonwinkel (1991:376); Mylonopoulos (2003: 380–1); and Herda (2006b:68–9), who argues that Ionia may in fact have been settled from Boeotia.

<sup>69</sup> Il.8.203. For these sites, Mylonopoulos (2003:29–31) (Aigai) and (id.:35–40); (Helike: said to be Mycenaean) id. 394–5. This connection was symbolised in genealogical terms by the tradition that Ion and Akhaïos were brothers, first in Ps. Hesiod *Catalogue of Women*, fr.10a23West.

<sup>70</sup> Diod. Sic. 15.49.2. <sup>71</sup> Lafond (1998); for the geology, Piccardi (2000).

<sup>72</sup> Str. 4.1.4.

penalty on a number of men who attacked Ephesian *theōroi* on a journey to a sanctuary of Artemis in Sardes.<sup>73</sup>

The speakers on behalf of the goddess condemned them to death in accordance with the introduction to the case, that when the *theōroi* had been sent by the city for [the?] cloaks for Artemis in accordance with the ancestral law, and when the offerings and the *theōroi* had reached Sardes and the temple founded by the Ephesians, they committed impiety against the offerings and the *theōroi*. The punishment in the case is death...

This sanctuary of Artemis had been founded by Ephesos, which makes it likely that the goddess's cult title was 'Ephesia',<sup>74</sup> and suggests that whatever ritual was being performed was designed to consolidate the relationship between mother-and-daughter cults. It may be, as some scholars have suggested, that the background to the assault was local resistance to what was perceived as religious expansion by Ephesos.<sup>75</sup> The *theōroi* are described as having been sent ἐπ[ι] χιτῶνας or perhaps ἐπ[ι] τοῦς] χιτῶνας, a baffling phrase. Were they delivering robes to adorn the goddess of Sardes?<sup>76</sup> or were they bringing robes from Sardes to Ephesos, in which case we have a sort of 'exchange' of offerings?<sup>77</sup> or is ἐπ[ι] χιτῶνας a place name?<sup>78</sup>

The second view is attractive, because one would expect the daughter cult to honour the mother cult rather than the other way round; on the other hand, if the daughter cult was the agent, we might expect them to send their own *theōroi*. So the bottom line is that we cannot be certain what the background was to this extraordinary text.

## 7.5 Fire rituals

Another item transported from sanctuaries is sacred fire, just as in modern times the 'Holy Fire' that appears miraculously in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is brought from there to Greece and other

<sup>73</sup> *I.Ephesos* 2 (App.#C8.1), on which see the useful commentary in SEG 36.1011. Robert (1967) linked with it another Ephesian inscription (*I.Ephesos* 2010 (App.#C8.2)). On the route, see Bengisu (1996:10–11).

<sup>74</sup> As it is in a decree of the Roman period: RigsbyA214.47.

<sup>75</sup> Sokolowski (1965:429); cf. Hanfmann (1987:5). A central tenet in this view is that one of the assailants comes from Hiera Kome (ll.41–2), which is thought to be a centre of the worship of Anahita, the Persian Artemis: see Ricl (2002:205n.32).

<sup>76</sup> Sokolowski (1965); Engelmann (1986:33); Masson (1987).

<sup>77</sup> Wankel (1977:221); id. in *I.Ephesos* 1, p.9; id. (1987): exchange offerings: Wankel (1987:80), citing Merkelbach.

<sup>78</sup> Robert BE1965:no.342; apparently accepted by Hanfmann (1987) and Dusingberre (2003:236).

countries.<sup>79</sup> The Athenian *Pūthais* to Delphi around 100 BC seems to have included a fire-carrier who brought sacred fire back to Athens.<sup>80</sup> It has been argued that Delphic fire was reintroduced into Athens at the beginning of the civil year, which suits the hypothesis that the *Pūthais* takes place towards its end.<sup>81</sup> In the same way, Pausanias describes how the Argives brought fire from the temple of Artemis Pyronia on Mt Krathis in Arcadia.<sup>82</sup> The Mouseia festival on Mt Helikon in the Hellenistic period was attended by ‘fire carriers’ representing the city of Thespiiai and the Dionysiac Artists of the Isthmian *Koinon*, who presumably transported home the sacred fire of the Muses.<sup>83</sup>

Apart from a possible reference in a Koan cult regulation,<sup>84</sup> the only source for export of Delian sacred fire is Philostratus’ account in the *Heroicus* of the dispatch of a fire-bearing *theōris* from Delos to Lemnos, where there was a tradition that all fire on the island became impure<sup>85</sup> at intervals and had to be renewed.<sup>86</sup>

And the island of Lemnos is purified every ninth year<sup>87</sup> for the deed that was once done by the women on Lemnos at Aphrodite’s instigation concerning their

<sup>79</sup> On this fire ritual, see e.g. Egender (2004) and Bernstein (2012), the latter a popular article from the *Huffington Post*.

<sup>80</sup> *FD* 2.13 (*Pūth* 3): πυρφόρος ἡ ἐγ’ Δελφ[ῶν] Τιμώ; *FD* 2.32 (*Pūth* 4): Amphikrates carried off the tripod and the fire-bearing woman (τὴν πυρφόρον). Boethius (1918:78 etc.), Parker (1983: 23, 25–6); Parker (2005:84). The carrying off of the Delphi tripod, attested also for *Pūth* 2 when Alkidamos brought it on his chariot (*FD* 2.33), seems to be a distinct ritual, perhaps symbolising the foundation of the Athenian Pythion: see Boethius (1918:74–9).

<sup>81</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 2, p.351; see Boethius (1918:73–4). Schober (1931:124) connects with the altar of Hestia. For the date of the Hellenistic *Pūthais*, §13.5.

<sup>82</sup> Paus. 8.15.9.

<sup>83</sup> Aneziri (2003:137), referring to victor-lists from the Thespian Mouseia festival, her Gb5 and Gb6 (*SEG* 32.436–7). The participle of the verb πυρφορέω is used.

<sup>84</sup> See §13.6.

<sup>85</sup> For the need to extinguish and renew impure fire, compare Plut. *Aristid.* 20.4 on renewal of fire from Delphi after the Battle of Plataia, with Euchidas as *pūrphoros*, and Plut. *Num* 9 on renewal of fire from the sun.

<sup>86</sup> *Heroicus* 53.5–7 = 67.7–14 De Lannoy; ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ τῷ περὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Λήμνῳ γυναικῶν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ποτὲ πραχθέντι καθαίρεται μὲν ἡ Λήμνος καὶ καθ’ ἐνάτου ἔτους [Wilhelm: καθ’ ἕνα τοῦ ἔτους MS; see next note] καὶ σβέννυται τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πῦρ ἐς ἡμέρας ἑννέα, θεωρὶς δὲ ναὺς ἐκ Δήλου πυρφορεῖ, κἂν ἀφίκηται πρὸ τῶν ἐναγισμάτων, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Λήμνου καθορίζεται, μετέωρος δὲ ἐπισαλεύει τοῖς ἀκρωτηρίοις, ἔς τε ὅσιον τὸ ἐσπλεῦσαι γένηται. θεοὺς γὰρ χθονίους καὶ ἀπορρήτους καλοῦντες τότε καθαρὸν, οἶμαι, τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ φυλάττουσιν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ θεωρὶς ἐσπλεύσῃ καὶ νεῖμῳται τὸ πῦρ ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην διαίταν ἔς τε τὰς ἐμπύρους τῶν τεχνῶν, καινοῦ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν βίου φασὶν ὄρχεσθαι.

<sup>87</sup> The manuscript reading is the meaningless καθ’ ἕνα τοῦ ἔτους. De Lannoy reads καθ’ ἑκάστων ἔτος (‘every year’), Wilhelm (1939) suggested καθ’ ἐνάτου ἔτους (‘every ninth year’), which I follow here; that reading is also accepted by Follet (2004a).

husbands. The fire on the island is extinguished for nine days, and a *theōris*-ship carries fire from Delos, however. If it arrives before the offerings for the dead, it does not put in anywhere on Lemnos, but rides at anchor off the headlands out at sea until it is permitted by divine law to sail in. During that period they guard the fire out at sea by invoking chthonian and ineffable gods. When the sacred ship sails in and they distribute the fire to its usual places, especially to the crafts that make use of fire, that moment is the beginning of a new life.

Lemnos, the island of Hephaistos, was proverbial for the fierceness of the local fire, and it is the last place one would think would need the import of fire from abroad.<sup>88</sup> If that is one reason for distrusting Philostratus' account, another might be that 'Lemnian *theōris*' could be explained as an artful reminiscence of Theōris, the woman of Lemnos accused of witchcraft, mentioned in a speech ascribed to Demosthenes.<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, as a native Lemnian, there is a good chance that Philostratus knew what he was talking about. One aspect of his account that looks authentic and early is the close association between the *pūrpheia* ritual and the myth of the crime of the Lemnian Women, which itself is usually taken to be old.<sup>90</sup> Just as the basic structure of the ritual is a liminal period in which chthonic powers are appeased, followed by purification, so the myth involves a double impurity: first, the women insult Aphrodite and are punished with a foul smell (first impurity); this drives their husbands into the arms of their Thracian slave-girls, and the women kill them (second impurity). In the myth, a sort of resolution, if not purification, comes with the arrival of Jason and the Argonauts, which restores the relation between the sexes to normality, and the symbol of this resolution is the birth of Euneos ('he of the good ship'), child of Jason and Hippolyte, who supplies the Greek army in the *Iliad*.<sup>91</sup> Thus, the Delian *theōris* (effectively 'good ship') that brings the fire to Lemnos would be duplicating the mythical visit of the Argo.<sup>92</sup>

The arrival of the Delian *pūrpheia* must have coincided with a festival, presumably a new year festival. As Burkert observed, it seems likely that Hephaistos played a large role in this (which would imply that it took place

<sup>88</sup> See Martin (1987). <sup>89</sup> [Dem.] 25.79–80. On Theoris, see Collins (2001).

<sup>90</sup> Dumézil (1924); Burkert (1970).

<sup>91</sup> It is worth recalling that Euneos goes on to become the eponym of the Athenian *genos* of the Euneidai, who accompany the *Pūthaiis* to Delphi. If the *pūrpheia* to Lemnos was carried out under Athenian control (see below), could the Euneidai have been aboard, revisiting their ancestral island? On the Euneidai, Burkert (1994), Parker (1996:297–8), and below §10.5, p.168.

<sup>92</sup> The relationship between the Argo and Lemnian Women is reversed in a version of the myth reported by the historian Myrsilos of Lesbos (*FGrH477F1a*; Burkert (1970:7)), who attributes the origin of the foul smell to the magic of Medeia when the Argo was returning from Colchis.

at or near Hephaistia in the north-east of the island), but there will have been involvement too for the smith-deities the Kabeiroi, worshipped at the nearby Kabeirion, who are known to have had a role in the myth. Is it possible that the Horaia festival at the Kabeiron, visited by the *theōroi* from Lemnian Myrina (see above), had something to do with this?<sup>93</sup>

In view of the traditions about native ‘Lemnian Fire’ which imply that Lemnos should be an exporter of fire rather than an importer, the possibility arises that the fire-bearing *theōris* from Delos is an innovation, perhaps introduced by the Athenians who established a cleruchy on Lemnos around 500 BC; before this, the source of new fire would have been somewhere on Lemnos itself.<sup>94</sup> The institution of the Delian theoric *pūrphoria* could have been part of a programme of political control, suppressing Lemnian ritual independence and subordinating the island to external Apolline authority.

<sup>93</sup> Festival and Hephaistos: Burkert (1970:3); Kabeiroi left the island after the crime of the women: Photius s.v. Κάβειροι; Burkert (1970:11); Blakely (2006:36–8).

<sup>94</sup> For the establishment of the cleruchy, see *IACP* 756 with nn.502–3 (G. Reger).

## 8.1 Introduction

For anyone new to the study of *theōroi*, it will come as a matter of considerable interest that excavations conducted in the ancient city of Thasos in the late nineteenth century revealed records of *theoroi* appointed every year for over two centuries, displayed at one of the gates of the old city (the so-called ‘Passage of the *Theōroi*’). Such a person will also be interested to learn that in some of their earliest attestations Thasian *theoroi* are correlated with something called an *aparkhē*, which immediately suggests dedications at Panhellenic sanctuaries. However, it will come as a disappointment to such a person to discover that these Thasian *theoroi* have usually been regarded not as sacred delegates at all, but as magistrates. In fact, Thasos is one of a number of Greek cities, including its own mother-city Paros, where *theāroi/theoroi* is the term for a group of civic magistrates who seem, on the face of it at least, to have nothing to do with visiting foreign sanctuaries.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it is hardly surprising that a word meaning ‘observer’ should have this application, since several other attested names for magistrate have a similar meaning, including the Spartan *ephoros*.<sup>2</sup>

The possibility that there was no link at all between magistrate-*theōroi* and the sort of *theōroi* whom cities sent to sanctuaries must be acknowledged at the outset. However, it is also possible that the two are connected in some way, or ways, or perhaps had been in the past. The aim of this chapter is to evaluate the evidence on either side of this issue. I begin by surveying the distribution of *theōroi* magistrates in the Greek world, covering Arcadia (§8.2), Paros and Thasos (§8.3), Aegina, where the evidence is oblique but suggestive, (§8.4) and a few other places (§8.5). Finally, I shall attempt to synthesise the data and make some suggestions about what, if anything, we can say about the relationship between magistrate-*theōroi* and sacred delegates (§8.6).

<sup>1</sup> For earlier surveys of the evidence for magistrate-*theāroi/theoroi* see Bultrighini (1980); Bill (1901:196); Ziehen (1934c:2239).

<sup>2</sup> Other examples are the Spartan βιδαῖος (Dimitrova (2008:11) and the Boeotian κατόπτας; Roesch (1965:208–9).



## 8.2 Arcadia

The highest concentration of magistrate-*theōroi* is in Arcadia (see [Map 9](#)). They are found in Mantinea (fifth–fourth centuries BC), Tegea (fourth century BC),<sup>3</sup> and Orkhomenos (fourth–third centuries BC). At Orkhomenos, they were the eponymous magistrates, and in a legal ruling about borders from the 360s, there are five *theaoroi*, mentioned alongside five *polemarkhoi*.<sup>4</sup> We find them associated with the *polemarkhoi* also at Mantinea, where, according to Thucydides, they administered an oath relating to a peace treaty to the *dēmos*, *boulai*, and other magistracies.<sup>5</sup> A relatively new piece of information comes from a fourth-century synoecism decree between the Arcadian cities of Mantinea and Helisson published in 1987, among the clauses of which is the following:<sup>6</sup>

... There shall be a *theāros* from Helisson as from other *poleis*. The sacrifices shall be sacrificed at Helisson and *theāriai* shall be received in accordance with tradition.

This second sentence seems to guarantee religious independence for Helisson, by allowing it to sacrifice and receive sacred delegations in its own right. The first sentence is trickier: the ‘other cities’ will be other ones that have undergone synoecism with Mantinea, and there is independent evidence that Mantinea was formed from several villages in this way.<sup>7</sup> One possibility is that the *theāros* here is simply a festival delegate, destined either for festivals within the Mantineian microregion or further afield. This seems to be what is demanded by symmetry with the second sentence. Other decrees that regulate *sumpoliteia* or *isopoliteia* between states seem to put stress on participation in festivals and sacrifices.<sup>8</sup> However, since there was a group of magistrates at Mantinea called *theāroi*, it may well be that synoecism between Mantinea and other cities was realised in political terms by Mantinea granting the others the right to contribute a member to the group, and that it is not a general capacity to send *theāroi* to any

<sup>3</sup> Tegea (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.7) and Mantinea (Thuc. 5.47.9; cf. *SEG* 37.340).

<sup>4</sup> *Proxeniā*-decrees: Plassart and Blum (1914); eponymous till third century: Sherk (1990a:264); ruling about borders: *IPArk* no. 14, 30.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist.* 5.47.9

<sup>6</sup> *SEG* 37.340, 8–10 (RO no.14). θεαρόν ἦναι ἐξ ἑλισφό[ν]-τι κατάπερ ἐς ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλιν. τὰς θυσίας θύεσθαι τῇ ἀς ἡγε- / λισόντι καὶ τὰς θεαρίας δέκεσθαι καὶ τὰ πάτρια. I am grateful to William Mack for discussing this passage with me. On political background, see Hansen and Nielsen (2004b:90–1).

<sup>7</sup> Ephorus *FGrH* 70F79; Diod. Sic. 15.4.4; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7; cf. *IPArk* p.103 with references.

<sup>8</sup> See the treaty between Myania and Hypnia, studied by Bousquet (1965), who lists other cases on p.666; also RO, p.66; *isopoliteia*: see the treaty between Miletus and Tralles discussed at §15.3, p.259.

sanctuary that is being referred to here, but the particular one of sending them to Mantinea. The Mantineian *theāroi* are usually thought of as a wholly political organisation, but this view probably reflects the modern tendency to draw a clear distinction between politics and religion, whereas from the Arcadian perspective, there would have been a fundamental conceptual similarity between sending a *theāros* to attend a festival or sacrifice, and sending one to take part in a common council meeting. The crucial difference is that Helisson's scope for sending out *theāroi* of any sort is now limited to sending one to Mantinea; otherwise, it looks as if Helisson would have been represented at common-Greek festivals by Mantineian delegates.

### 8.3 Paros and Thasos

The island of Paros also had magistrate-*theōroi*, and so did its colony Thasos, founded in the seventh century BC. For Paros, the evidence is a single sacred law from the late fifth century BC forbidding the cutting down of sacred wood; offenders are to be taken before the *theoroi*, and the *theoroi* are to administer an oath to the *neokoros* of the temple to report incidents.<sup>9</sup> For Thasos we have extensive lists of *theoroi* (the local form has a short second vowel, as perhaps at Paros) covering the sixth to the third centuries BC, discovered by Emmanuel Miller in the late nineteenth century. These were displayed in the so-called 'Passage of the *Theoroi*', a passageway dating from the early fifth century BC connecting two zones within the city, leading into the Agora from the north-east.<sup>10</sup> At an earlier point, it was the site of one of the city-gates. Both its walls had sculpted reliefs: on the north-western side Apollo holding a lyre and the Nymphs, together with a prescription about ritual, and on the south-eastern side Hermes and the Kharites on either side of a functioning altar.<sup>11</sup> The lists of *theoroi* were inscribed on the north-western wall, and the practice of inscribing them began in the fourth century BC, although the lists themselves date back two centuries earlier.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> IG12.5.108 = LSCG 111; Bultrighini (1980:137–9); Picard (1923:260–1). Parian *theōroi* are restored in a decree in which Paros guarantees peace between Thasos and Thracian Neapolis: IG.12.5.109, 5; Rubensohn (1902).

<sup>10</sup> See Grandjean and Salviat (2000:82–7), with bibliography on p.87; Blondé, Muller and Mulliez (2000).

<sup>11</sup> The ritual prescription is IG12.8.358. Pouilloux (1954:340–1), id. (1979), 54.340–1 sees in the images a meeting between indigenous gods and those of the colonists. Duchêne (1992:93–4) suggested that the passage that might be the 'road of the shrine of Kharites' referred to in an early inscription from Thasos. Date of image of lyre-player around 495–480 BC: Bélis (1995).

<sup>12</sup> Salviat (1979:111); Graham (1982); IG 12.8.89–128. See the table in Pouilloux (1954: 286).

From about 540 BC the Thasian *theōroi* were appointed in groups of three every year. They made up part of the Thasian government, along with three (usually) archons, one of whom was (usually) the eponymous magistrate. One text refers to the rule of the 360.<sup>13</sup> One famous Thasian *theoros* in the fifth century may have been painter Polygnotos.<sup>14</sup> Euryanax, son of Timoxenos, *theoros* around the mid-fifth century, was probably brother of the famous athlete and politician Theogenes.<sup>15</sup> The fixed point in the record is Antiphon, son of Critoboulos, who was a member of the college of *theōroi* at the time of the oligarchic revolution on Thasos in 411 BC, and whose illness and recovery are referred to in the Hippocratean *Epidemics*.<sup>16</sup>

Before that, in the mid-sixth century, the epigraphic records seem to indicate that they were appointed in larger groups for specific purposes, and quite possibly not every year.<sup>17</sup> The last point is reminiscent of a passing remark made by Aristotle in the *Politics* that: ‘In ancient times, peoples appointed *dēmourgiai* and *theōriai* lasting a long time.’<sup>18</sup> Since *dēmourgoi* were magistrates, it is usually assumed that *theōriā* here refers to a general magistracy as well, rather than to a long-term sacred embassy performing an extended tour of extraterritorial sanctuaries. There are three phases: in the first, they are coordinated with the ‘first *aparkhē*’, in the second with the rule of ‘the twelve’ and in the third with ‘the second *aparkhē*’. The relevant headings are:<sup>19</sup>

IG12.8.273, 1–2: In good fortune [these were *theoro*]i in the first *aparkhē*  
(then 12 names)

IG12.8.275, 5–6: While the twelve ruled these were *theoroi*  
(then at least 5 names)

IG12.8.274.2–3: During the second *aparkhē* these were *theoroi*  
(then 12 names)

<sup>13</sup> Pouilloux (1954:400); Sherck (1990b:292–4); a good survey in *IACP* s. Thasos 780 (G. Reger). On 360: IG12.8.276, 5–7.

<sup>14</sup> See IG12.8, 277, 44 (p.99); suggested by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1884:323n.37); Jacobs (1893:23); Pouilloux (1954:49); Lippold in *RE* 21.2, s.v. Polygnotos (col. 1630); cf. Fredrich in IG12.8, p.77.

<sup>15</sup> Euryanax: Pouilloux (1954:74). Another interesting case is Antipappos the son of Oigeus (*theōros* around 488) who is probably the brother of Antipatros, mentioned in Herodotus’ account of the expedition of Xerxes (7.118; Pouilloux (1954:265)). Some others are mentioned in the Hippocratic *Epidemics*: Deichgräber (1982:25); Dugand (1979:149–52).

<sup>16</sup> *Epid.* 1.15. Pouilloux (1954:263); Deichgräber (1982:16).

<sup>17</sup> See Graham (1982:114–16) (= id. (2001a:245–50)); id. (2001b:396–7); Salviat (1979:120–1).

<sup>18</sup> *Pol.* 5.10.5; 1310b, 20–22: αἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν αἰρετῶν ἐπὶ τὰς κυρίας ἀρχάς (τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ δῆμοι καθίστασαν πολυχρονίους τὰς δημιουργίας καὶ τὰς θεωρίας). (Other (tyrannies arise) from those elected to absolute magistracies. (In ancient times, peoples appointed *dēmourgiai* and *theōriai* lasting a long time).)

<sup>19</sup> IG12.8.273, 1–2 (with Dunant and Pouilloux (1958:231–2). See App.#C11.

Since the *aparkhē* seems to be in each case correlated with the names of the magistrates that follow, it has been suggested that it refers to a phase of government, meaning the same as *arkhē*, i.e. ‘control’.<sup>20</sup> Salviat argued that the point was independent rule from Paros, adducing a passage of Pindar, where Teucer *aparkhei* on Cyprus, which seems to mean ‘rules far away’.<sup>21</sup> He also pointed to evidence for mother-cities appointing magistrates to supervise their colonies, and particularly to the thirty-seven *nomophulakes* who perform exactly this role in Plato’s *Laws*.<sup>22</sup>

However, *aparkhē* also has the more general sense of ‘first fruit offering’, and Salviat mentions a suggestion by Claude Vatin that it refers to the colonists who are a ‘sacred offering’ sent by their mother-city or Delphi, a practice attested in foundation stories.<sup>23</sup> A. J. Graham preferred to take it as ‘first-fruit offering’ in the conventional sense, comparing the case of the island of Siphnos, which made offerings of gold at Delphi, and he suggests that the context for Thasian *aparkhē* might have been ‘the discovery or winning control of a new mine or seam’.<sup>24</sup> He does not say where he thinks the Thasian *theōroi* would have dedicated their *aparkhē*, but Delphi seems a good candidate, not only because of the parallel with Siphnos, which Herodotus says dedicated a tenth part of the revenue from its gold and silver mines at Delphi, but also because Pythian Apollo is the poliadic deity of Thasos.<sup>25</sup> Hence it might be suggested that the role of being a *theoros* on Thasos had two components: inside the polis, serving as a magistrate, and outside the polis, at least originally, representing one’s city at extraterritorial sanctuaries, the latter role a religious one, and the former a political one. The use of the term *theoros* seems to reflect a recognition that power *within* the polis goes along with powerful connections *outside*.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Jacobs (1893:15). <sup>21</sup> Salviat (1979:120–1); *Nem.* 4.47

<sup>22</sup> *Laws* 6.752b–3d; he also points to ten founders of *Laws* 3.702c; an example from the real world are the ἀπ[οικιστῶν] and ten γερόνομοι involved in the Athenian decree setting up the colony at Brea, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 46.8–12.

<sup>23</sup> First fruit offerings: §7.2; Salviat (1979:120), referring to Ducat (1974:100–6). Plut. *Thes.* 16 (= Arist. fr.485) mentions an ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχή in the context of an offering sent by Crete to Delphi. The chorus of Euripides’ *Phoenissai* (282) describe themselves as an ἀκροθίνιον sent to Delphi.

<sup>24</sup> Graham (1982:116) = id. (2001a:250); Siphnos: Hdt. 3.47; Paus. 10.11.2.

<sup>25</sup> Jim (2011b) follows a similar general interpretation, but thinks the sanctuary was Samothrace. Kostoglou-Despoini (1976) speculatively linked the Thasian *theōroi* with Delos on the basis of iconography.

<sup>26</sup> Notice also that one Thasian magistrate-*theōros* also functioned as *theārodokos* for Epidauros in the fourth century BC: Perlman (2000:40 with her PC: no.263). Antiphon, son of Sophocles, a Thasian *theōros* at Samothrace (*IG* 12.8.172 (Dimitrova:no.24), 17) may be from the same family as Sophocles, son of Antiphon, who was a *theoros* at Thasos (*IG* 12.8.312); another Antiphon son of Sophocles is commemorated in a funerary epigram from Thasos (c.100 BC) as having died before the age of 30: *IG* 12.8.441a; see Dimitrova:61. Other suggested equivalences between Thasian *theōroi* at Samothrace and *theōroi* at Thasos mentioned by Jacobs (1893:47) are not convincing.

## 8.4 A problem case: Aegina

Magistrate-*theōroi* on the island-polis Aegina are attested in a scholion to a passage of Pindar's *Third Nemean Ode*, where Pindar says that the victory of the Aeginetan Aristokleidas has associated the island with fame and the 'Theārion of the Pythian One' with the victor's 'splendid endeavours'.<sup>27</sup>

A wild shout befits Aristokleidas, the victor  
who links this isle with glorious praise  
and the august Theārion of the Pythian One  
with his splendid endeavours.

This is the only use in Classical Greek of the noun or proper-noun *theārion* or *theōrion* (to use the Ionic equivalent),<sup>28</sup> although in some much later Greek texts it is found in the sense 'box in the amphitheatre' (i.e. 'viewing place').<sup>29</sup> The passage suggests that the Theārion was some sort of building or institution,<sup>30</sup> and that Aristokleidas or his family were linked to it. Pindar's text has often been taken to imply that the poem was performed in the Theārion, in which case the sense 'viewing place' would be appropriate.<sup>31</sup>

The scholia to the passage tell us that this was a meeting place for Aeginetan *theōroi*. In fact, they give three slightly different explanations:<sup>32</sup>

Scholion A: there is in Aegina a temple of Pythian Apollo, in which the *theōroi* guarding the divine things live; *theōroi* are guards of the gods (*theophulakes*, a *hapax*)

Scholion B: others say that in the temple of Pythian Apollo there is a dwelling called the Thearion for the reason that magistrates called *theōroi* live there.

Scholion C: Theārion of the Pythian One: a public place on Aegina where symposia take place. It derives its name from *theōroi* who are sent to Apollo.

<sup>27</sup> *Nem.*3.67–70: βοᾷ δὲ νικαφόρῳ σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδῃ πρέπει, / ὅς τάνδε νᾶσον εὐκλείῃ προσέθηκεν λόγῳ / καὶ σεμνὸν ἀγλααῖσι μερίμναις / Πυθίου Θεάριον.

<sup>28</sup> For Sokolowski's suggestion of a Theorion in a Delian sacred law, see §2.3, 31n.

<sup>29</sup> LSJ cite PSI8.953.62 (sixth century AD); cf. also θεωρεῖον used by Hesychius to gloss θαυσίκριον.

<sup>30</sup> 'College' in Slater (1969:s.v.); Erbse (1969:272): 'Angehöriger des Kollegiums der Theāroi'.

<sup>31</sup> Currie (2005:338n.220) for earlier references; Burnett (2005:151).

<sup>32</sup> Scholion A (Drachmann (1927:3, 59, 4–6)): ἔστιν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ θεωροὶ διηιτῶντο οἱ τὰ θεῖα φυλάσσοντες· θεωροὶ γάρ οἱ θεοφύλακες. Scholion B (Drachmann (1927:3, 59, 6–8)): οἱ δὲ, ὅτι ἐν τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ οἶκος ἐστι καλούμενος Θεάριον διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἱ καλοῦνται θεωροὶ ἐνταῦθα διαιτᾶσθαι. Scholion C (Drachmann (1927:3, 59, 9–11)): Πυθίου Θεάριον· τόπος ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δημόσιος, ἔνθα τὰ συμπόσια εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν θεωρῶν τῶν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα πεμπομένων.

The three scholia agree, then, that the Theārion has something to do with Aeginetan *theōroi*, although they differ in the analysis they give of them: Scholion A calls them ‘guards of the gods,’ i.e. religious officials; Scholion B says they are magistrates, i.e. non-religious officials; and Scholion C says they are delegates sent to Apollo, the most usual sense of the word in religious contexts. Notice also that whereas Scholia A and B say that the *theōroi* ‘live’ in the *Theārion*, Scholion C says merely that it is a public building where there were symposia, and that it was named after the *theōroi*.

Excavations at Colonna on Aegina in 1979 revealed the foundations of a large square structure from the archaic period north of the temple of Apollo. This has been identified with the Theārion partly because of Pindar's specification that it belonged to Pythian Apollo, but primarily because it is now known that its walls, which were reused as part of the acropolis-wall in the third century AD, had written on them names of individuals (second century BC) and references to public dining and a holy *pentapolis* (third century AD).<sup>33</sup> The foundations of the building are also compatible with the function of a dining room, mentioned by Scholion C.<sup>34</sup> It is difficult to believe that the five settlements implied in the term *pentapolis* were on Aegina itself, so maybe we should think of an otherwise unknown religious league in the Saronic Gulf, comparable to the Kalaurian amphiktion.<sup>35</sup>

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the addressee of another Aeginetan victory ode by Pindar was the son of a man called Theārion. This is the boy-athlete Sogenes, whose victory was celebrated in the *Seventh Nemean*. This name could perhaps indicate a family association with *theōroi*,<sup>36</sup> although this was not an uncommon name: in Classical Athens there was a famous baker called ‘Theārion,’ for example.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Names of individuals: Felten (1975:43–8; IG4<sup>2</sup>.805–34); *dēmothoiniai* (id.:48–50; IG4<sup>2</sup>.841–2, 844–7 etc.). *Pentapolis*: IG4<sup>2</sup>.835, 5, 836, 5, 837, 5, 839, 4, 841II, 6 843.

<sup>34</sup> *Alt-Ägina*, I.2 50–2. Felten (1975: 50–2) had already made the link between the inscriptions and the scholia to *Nemean* 3, but the connections with the foundations of the neighbouring building was first made by Hoffelner in Walter-Karydi and Hoffelner (1994:138–48).

<sup>35</sup> See Felten (1975:50–2); the point is already made by Welter (1925:320) (... wohl eines religiösen Verbandes, der Aegina und die benachbarten Inseln umfasste ...), although he still thought Colonna was a temple of Aphrodite.

<sup>36</sup> Currie (2005:338n.217), with earlier references.

<sup>37</sup> Ar. PCG3.2.35, fr.1 (*Aiolosikon*), id. PCG3.2.112, fr.177 (*Gerutades*); Pl. *Grg.*518b; Ath. 3.112d–e = LGPN II (Attica) 211, Θεαρίων no.2 (the same entry lists four others with the same name from Athens); LGPN I (Aegean islands) 211 lists one name from Crete (third century BC); LGPN III.A (Peloponnese) 200, lists two from Epidaurus (fourth century BC), one from Hermione (third century BC), one from Troizen (second century BC), one from Messenia (first century AD), and one from Calabria (first century BC); LGPN III.B (Central Greece) 187 has one from Phokis (second century BC); LGPN IV (Macedonia, Thrace, etc.) has none; LGPN V.A (Coastal Asia Minor: Pontus to Ionia) lists several from Sinope

Taken together, the evidence is heterogeneous and confusing. Not only is it from different periods, but the disagreements between the scholia shows that there was no hard information around, and it seems likely that the scholiasts were guessing, working from the reasonable assumption that the Theārion was connected with Aeginetan *theāroi* of one sort or another. To be specific, the author of Scholion C started from the premise that *theōroi* were ‘sacred delegates sent abroad’, and reasoned that these could not also live in the Theārion, at least while they were abroad, so that it had to have a different function. Equally, the authors of Scholia A and B may have started from the premise that the Theārion was where the *theāroi* lived, which meant that they could not be delegates sent abroad, and must have been local magistrates.

Even if the scholiasts were guessing, they may have been guessing right. Pindar himself seems to guarantee that the building had a religious function when he connects it with Apollo and calls it σεμνόν. And it seems reasonable that the building had something to do with *theōroi* in one of the attested senses.<sup>38</sup> However, we cannot hope to do much more than to sketch out some possibilities.

Most scholars have preferred the ‘sacred delegate’ sense, which seems to suit the religious context.<sup>39</sup> The idea that Aegina had magistrate-*theōroi* has not been so popular. On the other hand, the possibility envisaged by Scholion A that the Aeginetan *theōroi* were sacred officials but not delegates has not appealed, presumably because this does not occur elsewhere in the record. The usual view has been that these Aeginetan *theāroi* visited regional or Panhellenic sanctuaries, especially (in view of ‘Puthios’) Delphi. Strong mythical and poetic connections between Delphi and Aegina are evidenced by Pindar's Sixth Paean and the myth of the Aeginetan drought in which the Greeks, prompted by Delphi, beseeched Aiakos to intercede with Zeus. Perhaps *theōriai* to Delphi started or ended at the Theārion.<sup>40</sup> It

(fifth–third centuries BC). The name also occurs in a dedication to Apollo Koruthos from Messene, as restored by Diakoumakou (2004–9: [Ἀπ]όλλων[ι] / [Κ]όριθν[οι] / [ἀν]έθηκε [κ/αἰ] Φειδάλη-/ [οἱ] Θεάριον/ [καὶ] Πραξίας; in the older interpretation, θεάριον was taken as an adjective qualifying the object dedicated ([κ]όρυθα): see Zunino (1997:151, 168–77); editio princeps Versakes (1916:115–17, no.8); SEG 55.502 etc. Based on these data, there seems to be a concentration of the name in the Argolid, perhaps associated with Apollo Theārios at Troizen.

<sup>38</sup> See Bultrighini (1980:142–4); Walter-Karydi in Walter-Karydi and Hoffelner (1994:133–4); Currie (2005:333–8).

<sup>39</sup> Currie (2005:333) observes that Pin. *Nem.* 3.69 calls the building σεμνόν, and Walter-Karydi (2000:95) thinks an objection to the hypothesis of magistrate-*theāroi* is that there was a *prutaneion* on Aegina, whereas the *theāroi* are said to dine in the *Thearion*.

<sup>40</sup> *Paeans*:334. Kurke (2005:120–2) thinks they may have started on Mt Hellanios, and used the *thearion* as a way-station.



has also been suggested that members of this mysterious organisation (the other four cities apart from Aegina itself?) may have sent delegates to Aegina on the occasion of the dispatch of sacred delegation from Aegina to Delphi, and perhaps some of these delegates actually took part in the *theōriā* to Delphi.<sup>41</sup>

Tom Figueira thought instead of relations with the cult of Apollo Puthaieus in Argolid, to which we know that Aegina was strongly attached in the Archaic period.<sup>42</sup> This is an attractive idea – it would be one of a number of ways in which Aegina's struggle for independence shaped its religious structures and identity – though not everyone will be convinced that the epithet Puthios is the same as Puthaieus. Maybe some regional importance for the activity of *theāroi* in the Argolid is also implied by Apollo's epithet Thearios at Troezen.<sup>43</sup>

Another function of the *Theārion* might have been to receive sacred delegations from other Greek cities, also called *theāriai/theāroi*; the Aeginetans certainly saw themselves as a Panhellenic centre (cf. the sculptures of the Aiakeion described by Pausanias).<sup>44</sup> Bruno Currie has recently suggested that a delegate from Molossia was present in Aegina at the performance of *Nemean* 7,<sup>45</sup> and there could easily have been numerous delegates attending from different places. It is worth remembering that when Plato in the *Laws* is discussing how Magnesia will deal with various types of strangers who come from abroad, he specifies that the second type, described as *theōroi*, whose motivation is to watch and listen to musical performances, should be provided with 'lodgings at temples prepared for the entertainment of men.'<sup>46</sup>

As I said, the hypothesis that the Aeginetan *theāroi* were political magistrates, or combined a political role with sacred duties, has been less popular, partly because the only evidence for it is Scholion B.<sup>47</sup> The exception here is Figueira, who interprets the *theāroi* as originally delegates to Apollo Puthaieus at Asine in the Argolid in the period before independence, who subsequently achieved a degree of political power on Aegina through their

<sup>41</sup> Felten (1975:50–2). For other cases, see §11.1, p.176.

<sup>42</sup> Hdt. 5.83.1; Figueira (1981:176–7); Burnett (2005:142–4) seems to accept that the *Theārion* is linked to Apollo Puthaieus, without actually arguing for it.

<sup>43</sup> See §8. 5 below. <sup>44</sup> Paus. 2.29.6.

<sup>45</sup> Currie (2005:340–3) on Pin. *Nem.*7.64–5. <sup>46</sup> *Laws* 12, 953a; see §19.4.

<sup>47</sup> See Bultrighini (1980:142–4), though he seems to be ignorant of the archaeology and Roman epigraphy. Bultrighini wondered why a young athlete like Aristokleides would make a dedication to a board of magistrates (1980:143); for an answer to that, see Rutherford (2010a:125–8).



religious expertise in that cult.<sup>48</sup> The very fact that Aegina had a special building for its *theāroi* might itself suggest they had an unusually important role. The location of the Theārion in sacred space next to the temple of Apollo counts against it only if we believe in a rigorous demarcation between religious and political authority in Archaic and Classical Greece. Figueira's idea that the Aeginetan *theāroi* combined the roles of magistrates and sacred delegates seems to me plausible, even if we reject the connection with the Argolid.

## 8.5 Other cases

An early-fifth-century bronze tablet published by Rudolf Wachter in 2003 records an action undertaken by certain Ariston and his three daughters, involving the presence of a *theāros*, a *hierathūtās* ('sacrificer') and *apophūlioι*. Wachter suggested that the action was that of dedication at a sanctuary, and the *theāros* was a member of a sacred delegation. However, it was subsequently pointed out by Julián Méndez Dosuna that the action was simply adoption, in which case the *theāros* was probably a local magistrate.<sup>49</sup> Wachter argued on the basis of dialect and the distribution of the term *hierathūtās* that the origin of the tablet was probably a Rhodian colony on Sicily, i.e. Acragas or Gela.

Pellene in Achaea also had *theāros*-magistrates in the third century BC, as we see from a legal agreement between it and Delphi, which lays down that in cases of theft a citizen of Pellene should be taken before the *boulē* at Delphi, and a citizen of Delphi taken before the *theāroi* in Pellene.<sup>50</sup> From Naupaktos across the Gulf of Corinth we have a series of manumission decrees, mostly from the mid-second century (when Naupaktos was under Aetolian control), where the eponymous magistrate is the secretary (*grammateus*) of the *theāroi*.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Figueira (1981:320–1): 'They were the official representatives of the Aeginetans to the cult that was associated with Argive hegemony over the island. They may have been the leading or among the leading magistrates of dependent Aegina. When Aegina revolted from Epidaurus, the *theāroi* may have played a role in the struggle and in the subsequent return of Aegina to friendship with Argos. The antiquity of the office of *theāros* won prestige from comparison with the magistracies inaugurated after Aegina's independence.'

<sup>49</sup> SEG 53.1039; Méndez Dosuna (2005), revising the earlier interpretation of Wachter (2003).

<sup>50</sup> FD 1.486; Haussoullier (1917).

<sup>51</sup> IG9.3.624, 639 etc.; also IG12.5.527A1 (treaty with Keos). The secretary is eponymous magistrate: Sherk (1990b:247). For speculations on the historical and political significance, see Bultrighini (1980:135–7).

In addition, dedications to Apollo by *theāroi* are attested from Megara and Pergamum, both from the third century BC. At Megara there are two inscriptions, both dedicated to Apollo Prostaterios, each with six names with patronyms and an aulete, the same in both: Aglonikos the son of Onumas.<sup>52</sup> The Pergamene inscription, dedicated to Apollo without epithet, has eleven names with patronyms. In both cases, the absence of further identification surely implies that these are local citizens. They could be a political or religious board, or they could perhaps be *theōroi* returning from Delphi or another sanctuary of Apollo (cf. the dedication by the Cyrenaean *theāroi* to Delphi).<sup>53</sup> Their presence at Troezen has been posited on the basis of Apollo's epithet Thearios, attested there and in Troezen's colony Theangela in Caria,<sup>54</sup> but there could be other explanations for the epithet.<sup>55</sup>

## 8.6 Summation

Magistrate-*theōroi* are thus attested in Arcadia, Paros and Thasos, a Dorian area of Sicily, as well as Naupaktos, and Pellene, and other possible cases come from Aegina, Megara and Pergamum. Of these, the only cases where the evidence is pre-Hellenistic are Arcadia, Thasos (which means Paros too), Sicily and possibly Aegina. There is a natural tendency to want to trace a geographical spread from one area to others. Arcadia looks like a good bet for the origin, and one can tell a reasonable story about how it might have spread from there to the rest of the Peloponnese, as well as Paros and Pergamum.<sup>56</sup> Bultrighini thought rather of the aristocratic tribal society of the Dorians and of the Sparta *ephoroi*, whom he sees as analogous to *theāroi*.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Megara: IG7.39 and 40 (see §6.1); cf. Bultrighini (1980:134–5); Pergamum: *I.Pergamum* I.4 (App.#D1); Robert (1927).

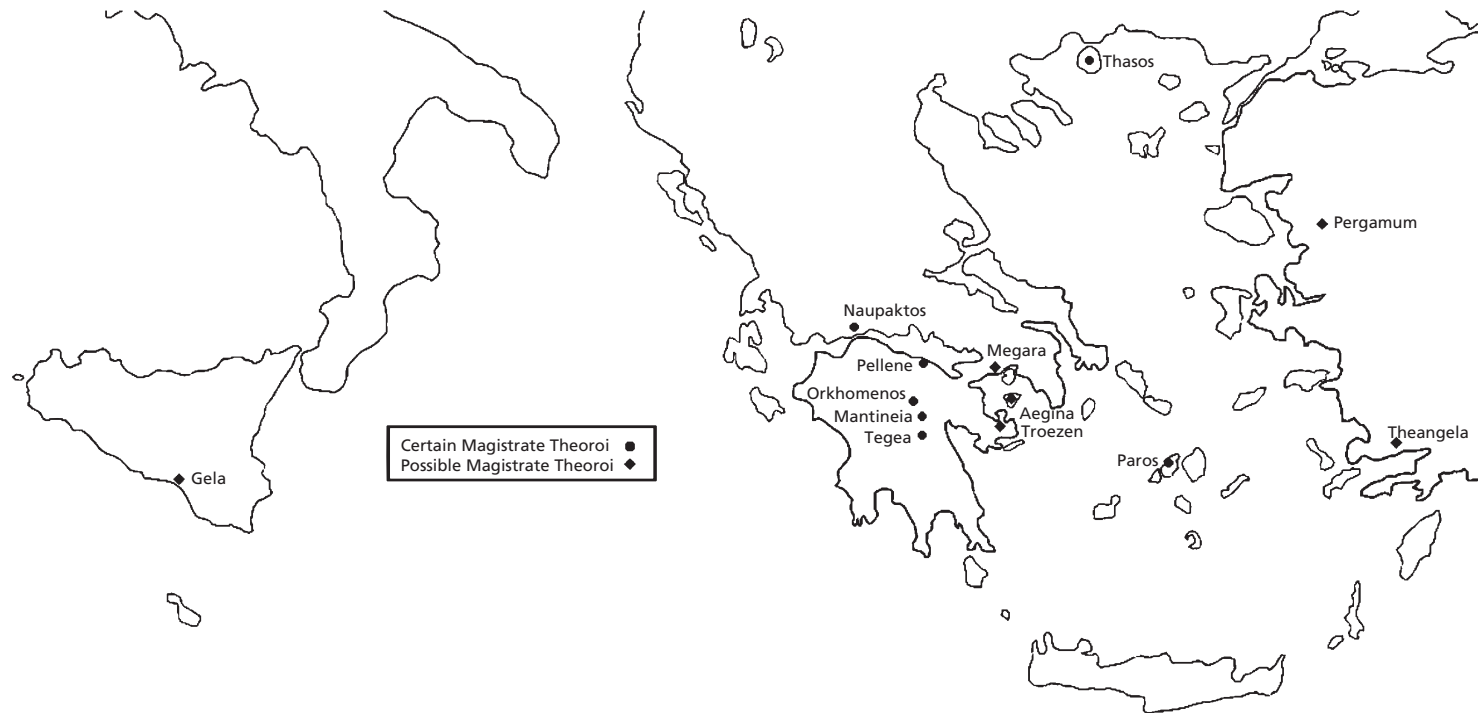
<sup>53</sup> Cyrenaean *theāroi*: SEG 20.707 (App.#C6); cf. also the homecoming dedications of the Athenian *theōroi* to Ammon: SEG 21.562 (App.#C4.)

<sup>54</sup> Troezen: Paus. 2.31.6; IG4.748, 16, restored in IG4.755, 11; Theangela: Wilhelm (1908:no.7, 3 and no.8, 6, pp.71–2). The epithet also occurs in Plut. *De E*, 21, 394a and in Hesychius s.v.

<sup>55</sup> This view was proposed by K. O. Müller (1844:II, 14), cited by Bultrighini (1980:141–2). For an alternative view see §11.1. Some have thought that there were magistrate-*theōroi* at Oropus on the basis of a single fragmentary inscription (IG7.424 = Petrakos (1997:no.289)), but Petrakos and other scholars now read the proper name Theōros there.

<sup>56</sup> Boards of magistrate-*theāroi/theōroi* start in Arcadia and spread from there: Robert (1927:212–13), who suggested that the presence of magistrate-*theōroi* at Paros/Thasos and Pergamum might be due to Arcadian influence.

<sup>57</sup> Bultrighini (1980:145–6).



Map 9. Distribution of magistrate-*theōroi*

They always appear in groups, i.e. boards of magistrates, which will in all cases have been one of a number of administrative bodies in the polis. None of the surviving sources gives us a detailed account of their activities, and they may have had different roles in different places. In Sicily and at Naupaktos they are witnesses.<sup>58</sup> In Mantinea and Paros they administer oaths. At Paros and Pellene, infringements of rules are reported to them. In the agreement between Delphi and Pellene, they have a legal responsibility parallel to that of the *boulē* in Delphi. At Thasos they record honorary decrees for *proxenoi*.<sup>59</sup> There is little sign of religious activity, except that at Paros they were responsible for a sanctuary, and at Megara and Pergamum where they make dedications. The early Thasian *theoroi* and the Aeginetan *theāroi* may also have had religious duties, depending on how we interpret them.

A number of scholars have seen magistrate-*theōroi* as ‘guardians of the laws’ or *nomophulakes*, a category of magistrates well known in the Greek world, and even attested on Thasos.<sup>60</sup> This view goes back to Jacobs in 1893, and was supported by Pouilloux in 1954, and more recently by Salviat, who, as we have seen, interpreted the Thasian *theoroi* as *nomophulakes* appointed by the mother-city to oversee its colony.<sup>61</sup> This is a plausible hypothesis, which suits the meaning of the word *theōros*, but there is no hard evidence.<sup>62</sup>

A different speculation about the early history of magistrate-*theōroi* was made by Lillian Jeffrey in a paper on *dēmiourgoi*-magistrates. On the basis of Aristotle’s remark in the *Politics* about the *polukhroniā* of early *dēmiourgiai* and *theōriai*, she argued that these long-term *dēmiourgoi* and *theōroi* were semi-official groups of prominent and respected citizens maintained by the archaic polis who performed various services in public life, including expeditions abroad, and exercised a sort of supervisory role.<sup>63</sup> She adduced the parallel the Spartan ‘benefactors’ (*agathoergoi*) referred to

<sup>58</sup> So according to IG12.8.263 three Thasian *theōroi* were witnesses to the confiscations in 411 BC.

<sup>59</sup> Thasos: IG12.8.267, early third century BC; IG12.8.Supp.351, 352, 358, fourth–third centuries.

<sup>60</sup> They are referred to by Xen. *Oec.*9.13, and Cicero *De leg.* 3.20. See Ziebarth in *RE* 17.1 (1937) 832–3, s.v. Thasian νομοφύλακες are mentioned in IG12 (suppl.) 437 (c.300 BC).

<sup>61</sup> Jacobs (1893:48); Pouilloux (1954:241); Salviat (1979:120–1).

<sup>62</sup> Notice that the Mantinea–Helisson treaty (SEG 37.440,19) mentions a board of magistrates called θεσμοτοαροί, which Dubois (1988:287–8) suggests might be θεσμοθεαροί, with –τοαροί dissimulated from –θεαροί, so that it would mean ‘watchers of the θεσμοί [laws?]', though these would apparently be different from ordinary θεαροί at Mantinea. Contrast the earlier analysis of Waanders (1987) in an appendix to Te Riele (1987).

<sup>63</sup> *Pol.*5.10.5; 1310b, 20–2 (cited in n.18 above); Jeffrey (1973–4:322): ‘Why was πολυχρονία allowed to *dēmiourgoi* and *theōroi*? The answer might be, because their powers were not in a

by Herodotus, five former knights (*hippeis*), who, during the year after following their retirement, were sent out by the Spartan state to different places; one of them was Likhas, who discovered the bones of Orestes while on an unofficial mission to Tegea.<sup>64</sup>

None of the extant evidence states explicitly that duties of magistrate-*theōroi* included representing their cities at extraterritorial sanctuaries, and it remains to address the issue of whether there was or had ever been a connection between them and delegate-*theōroi*. Any connection, if there was one, is likely to lie in the marked tendency (which I discuss elsewhere: see Chapter 15) for the religious duties of delegate-*theōroi* visiting sanctuaries to coincide with implicit or explicit political activities on behalf of their cities. A city's decision to send a delegation to a sanctuary and thereby to participate in a common cult inevitably has political significance, because it says something about the city's status and its relations to other cities, and the same goes for the specific ritual activities it engages in there.

Accordingly, I would suggest two alternative models for how magistrate-*theōroi* and delegate-*theōroi* might be connected. First, it makes sense that the ruling elite of a city – who are the magistrates – would be closely involved in liaising with sanctuaries and/or oracles, which are sources of political influence and power. The occasional presence of civic archons in sacred delegations can be explained in the same way.<sup>65</sup> One would have thought that the involvement of civic magistrates would be particularly crucial in the case of oracles: the authority of Delphi is known to have been of vital importance for the political constitutions of some cities, e.g. Sparta, and the religious system of others, e.g. Athens (for which Pythian Apollo seems to have functioned as the religious *exēgetēs*).<sup>66</sup> If the *aparkhai* associated with the Thasian *theōroi* was conveyed to Delphi, as I have suggested, then perhaps divination was originally their expertise as well. But oracles do not have to be involved, since political prestige attaches to a much wider range of activities at sanctuaries. All of this is in line with the hypothesis advanced by the anthropologist Mary Helms twenty-five years ago that traditional societies associate power in the community with power abroad.<sup>67</sup>

particular sphere, but still floated in the public-duty category – i.e., a man might understandably be elected into office for a lengthy period if he could act now as a diplomat abroad, now as a authority to enforce certain legal penalties, and now as a benefactor to finance and oversee some public building or festival.'

<sup>64</sup> Hdt. 1.67-8.

<sup>65</sup> CID1.7 (App.#B3), A9; Daux (1949a:67), referring to Sauciuc (1914:103); see §12.1.2.

<sup>66</sup> See §10.4, p.168.

<sup>67</sup> Helms (1988:163): 'Generally speaking, political-religious specialists are acquainted with powers and with distance, geographically as well as supernaturally defined. Their intellectual

Once this hypothesis of a combined magistrate and oracle delegate is formulated, the further (and possibly unanswerable) question arises as to how it originated. If we follow Figueira's thesis about the Aeginetan *theāroi*, that they owed their status to their traditional role of representing the city at the sanctuary of Apollo Puthaieus, then perhaps the *theōros*-delegate had priority. Or should we go back to Jeffrey's idea that at an early stage (in the eighth century BC?), the *theōriā* was a general magistracy whose roles included foreign affairs, which would perhaps have come to include liaising with foreign sanctuaries?

There is also a second model that could explain the link between magistrate-*theōroi* and delegate-*theōroi*, namely that a board of magistrate-*theōroi* in a city originates in delegates sent to a common council. As we have seen, the treaty between Mantinea and Helisson implies that members of the board of Mantineian *theāroi* come from towns that have undergone *sumpoliteia* with Mantinea, including Helisson. Support for the idea that the *theāroi* in this case are thought of as at least partly religious can be found in the fact that Helisson's sending its delegate to Mantinea is correlated with the religious rights of holding sacrifices and receiving *theāriai*. For the idea that religious delegates sent to a common festival could also function as members of a political council, one can compare the operation of Hellenistic leagues, where federal festivals attended by *theōroi* from member cities were organised alongside council-meetings and in at least some cases religious and political delegates were identical.<sup>68</sup> Here it is worth going back to the *pentapolis* mentioned in the Roman inscriptions believed to relate to the Aeginetan Thearion. Earlier on, I mentioned the hypothesis that meetings of delegates from 'five cities' might have taken place on the occasion of the dispatch of Aeginetan *theāriai*. But it is also possible that these delegates from the *pentapolis* were called *theāroi* and the *Theārion* was named after them. The ritual might thus be a fossil from an early stage in the formation of the state of Aegina. This is an appealing idea, but it depends on the assumption that there was continuity in religious practice over seven centuries.

Here, then, are two reconstructions which may help to bridge the gap between magistrate-*theōroi* and delegate-*theōroi*. These are not mutually exclusive, and it may even be that both of them are true for different times and geographical zones. None of this amounts to proof that the two forms

and experiential horizons extend beyond those of ordinary folk. They may travel further, perhaps with greater safety. Their fame and reputations are more widely flung. Their knowledge of the customs, language and religions of outsiders is more complete ...'

<sup>68</sup> See §15.3.

were connected, and it remains possible that the use of the word *theōros* of a class of magistrate (an ‘overseer’ or guardian of the laws) was independent. Nevertheless, the fact that the duties that delegate-*theoroi* carried out on behalf of their communities included political ones seems to justify us keeping open the possibility that there was some sort of connection, at least in the distant and unrecorded past.

Since the primary meaning of the word *theōros* is ‘spectator’, it seems likely that watching will have at least some relationship to the activities of sacred delegates called *theōroi*. In the first half of this chapter I explore what that might be. In the second half, I examine a related phenomenon where *theōros* seems to mean something like ‘sightseer’.

### 9.1 *Theōriā*, festival and visuality

I begin with two things that are certain. First, Greek religion, like most other ancient religions and many modern ones, attached immense significance to visual experience.<sup>1</sup> The gods themselves, conceived as perfect versions of human beings, were thought of as capable of making unexpected epiphanic interventions in the world of men;<sup>2</sup> the major sanctuaries were laid out as spectacular attractions for the visitor, full of eye-catching buildings and dedications; and the great festivals held at these sanctuaries were essentially elaborate spectacles, often built round an *agōn* of one sort or another.

Second, the words *theōros*/-ia/-eō are used for all sorts of religious viewing; the only area where they seem not to be used is mystery cult, where initiates view in secret.<sup>3</sup> They are commonly used of viewing festivals, as at the start of Plato’s *Republic*, where Socrates describes a visit

<sup>1</sup> Assmann (1994) for visual culture in Egyptian religion; Eck (1985) for vision and religion in Egypt; for visuality and Greek religion: Kindt (2012:39–54); Platt (2011).

<sup>2</sup> See Platt (2011:50–60).

<sup>3</sup> A special term for a viewer in the context of the mysteries is ἐπισπότης, which is used of the second grade of initiation at Eleusis: Plut. *Dem.*26.1; Mylonas (1961:238–9, 274–9); Dowden (1980). On the vision of the initiate, see Seaford (1994) and id. (1986); Lada-Richards (1997) on ritual viewing in Sophocles’ *Philoctetes*; Sourvinou-Inwood (2003:246–50) on the *anaktoron* in the Eleusinian Mysteries as a model for the tragic stage. At Samothrace, visitors are honoured with the double formula μύστης εὐσεβῆς καὶ θεωρός, but these are different categories. At E. *Ion* 1229ff. the chorus express their shame that a ‘sleepless viewer’ (θεωρός... ἄσπντος) should witness a ritual dance at Eleusis which is probably a poetic expression for an initiate.



to the newly established festival of Bendis in the *Piraeus*, probably in 429 BC.<sup>4</sup>

I went down yesterday to the Piraeus with Glaukon the son of Ariston to pray to the goddess and to see (*theasasthai*) how they would organise the festival since they were doing it for the first time. The procession of the locals seemed excellent to me, and the one the Thracians sent was just as good. Having prayed and viewed (*theōresantes*), we returned to the city.

Note here that the verbs *theāomai* and *theōreō* seem to be synonymous. Occasionally, *theōros*-/ia/-eō were also used of viewing cult statues, as in Semos of Delos' account of the Pythagorean philosopher Parmeniskos of Metapontum, who lost the power of laughter after visiting the cave of Trophonius, but regained it when he saw the aniconic statue of Leto at Delos, which he had thought was 'a statue remarkable to contemplate' (ἀγαλμά τι θεωρήσειν ἀξιόλογον),<sup>5</sup> or in a fragment of the fifth century philosopher Democritus of Abdera who described statues as: 'Images conspicuous for viewing (*theōriē*) in respect of clothing and decoration, but empty of heart'.<sup>6</sup>

To put these two points together: the close association of delegate-*theōroi* and festivals with competitions and spectacles gives us an easy way of explaining the origin of the term *theōros*. An attender is necessarily also a watcher, since festivals are essentially performances designed to be watched. As I have suggested, this terminology must go back to the time when the full cycle of Panhellenic Games was established early in sixth century BC, and perhaps much earlier than that.<sup>7</sup>

If this is right, the issue arises, whether being an observer was one of the key roles of the *theōros*-delegate in the fifth century and later. Seventy years ago, this question was answered in the affirmative by the great Hungarian scholar of ancient religion Karl Kerényi, who, putting his own metaphysical

<sup>4</sup> *Rep.*327a. Κατέβην χθές εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος προσευζόμενός τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἑορτὴν βουλόμενος θεάσασθαι τίνα τρόπον ποιήσουσιν ἅτε νῦν πρῶτον ἄγοντες. καλὴ μὲν οὖν μοι καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πομπὴ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, οὐ μέντοι ἦττον ἐφαίνετο πρέπειν ἢν οἱ Θράκες ἔπεμπον. προσευζόμενοι δὲ καὶ θεωρήσαντες ἀπῆμεν πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ. For the date of the introduction of the cult of Bendis, see Planeaux (2000–2001).

<sup>5</sup> Athen. 14.614b = Semos *FGrH*396F10. See Kindt (2010) and (2012:38–42). Polemo *Peri Hellados* fr.55Preller (= Ath.13, 606ab) reports an anecdote about the *theōros* who was so moved by a statue in the treasury of Spina that he made love to it, but this does not tell us anything about religion. In Aeschylus' satyr-drama with the alternative titles 'Theōroi' or 'Isthmiasai' (*TGF* 3.78a; see §20.2) a group of satyrs wonder at their own images on the temple; perhaps the title 'Theōroi' refers to them as 'viewers,' but even if it does, we cannot know how old the title is.

<sup>6</sup> VSB195: εἶδωλα ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ διαπρεπέα πρὸς θεωρίην, ἀλλὰ καρδίας κενεά.

<sup>7</sup> See §3.2–3; Boesch (1908:7).

slant on it, argued that *theōriā* should be seen as the peak of Greek religious experience.<sup>8</sup> In support of this, he claimed that ‘festivities and the standpoint of the viewer are for the Greeks inextricably bound together’,<sup>9</sup> and also, more mysteriously, that in taking on the role of spectators, we approach the condition of the gods, who, as we know from Homer, act as an audience of human behaviour (which in his view also explains why *theōriā* was such a key symbol for philosophers).<sup>10</sup> Thus the role of *theōroi* brings together the two crucial elements of festivity and the standpoint of the viewer.<sup>11</sup>

Before we get too carried away, it needs to be pointed out that there are two apparent problems with the idea that one of the key roles of the delegate-*theōros* was to be an observer or spectator. First, if it were, we might reasonably expect to find some signs of it in the documentary record. For example, in the case of the delegate-*theōroi* who represented cities at the Panhellenic Games, and accompanied athletes from their cities, it could have been expressly stated somewhere that their official duties included the role of a proxy-spectator, witnessing and reporting on the competition, and on any misdemeanors that occurred.<sup>12</sup> However, no explicit information survives confirming this hypothesis, while many of the activities that *theōroi* were most associated with – sacrificing, making offerings and reporting oracles – do not seem to have had all that much to do with watching.

There is also a second problem. Although the primary meaning of *theōros* seems always to have been ‘watcher’, some ancient scholars were

<sup>8</sup> Kerényi (1942:100–21); developed in the English adaptation of 1962 (141–54). He uses Θεωρία as the title of the first section of the fourth chapter: ‘Höhepunkte der griechischen und römischen religiösen Erfahrung’. Kerényi was following Otto’s thesis that Greek religion was essentially a visual experience: Otto (1929:210): ‘Sie zeugt von einer höheren Erkenntnis, in der Begreifen und Schauen eins und dasselbe sind’.

<sup>9</sup> Kerényi (1942:116): ‘Festlichkeit und der Standpunkt des Zuschauers sind für die Griechen unlösbar verbunden.’

<sup>10</sup> Kerényi (1942:115–16): ‘Der Standpunkt des Zuschauers ist für die Griechen an sich schon göttlich: ihn einzunehmen bedeutet für sie die göttliche Erfüllung des Daseins schlechthin’ (‘For the Greeks, the standpoint of the spectator is itself divine. To adopt this standpoint means the divine fulfilment of existence’; cf. Hulme (1962:142–3)). For the Homeric gods as a divine audience, see Griffin (1978). For philosophy, see §19.2.

<sup>11</sup> Hulme (1962:152): ‘The official festival “visitors” or envoys combined in their office the two outstanding qualities of Greek religiosity, the festive quality and the standpoint of the onlooker. The festival embassy itself was called θεωρία and was sent out by a state on a “visit of inspection”, or “spectatorship” – to some distant place where a deity had once appeared to men and where the occasion was now celebrated in a festival.’ This does not seem to correspond exactly to anything in Kerényi (1942), though see pp.116 and 118.

<sup>12</sup> So Ebert and Siewert (1999:410): ‘Aus einem privaten Fall war eine Angelegenheit der polis geworden, wozu der offizielle, in der Heimat erstattete Bericht über das olympische Geschehen durch die athenischen Theoren bzw. durch ihren Leiter, den Architheoros, ganz wesentlich beigetragen haben wird.’

uncomfortable with this, and preferred to associate it with the word *theos*, drawing a clear distinction between it and the *theātēs*, which does have the meaning ‘spectator’ (As we have seen, modern linguistics has also explored etymologies of *theōros* corresponding to these two positions<sup>13</sup>). Our sources for this are the Atticist lexicographers of the Roman period, among them a certain Lysimakhides, who, disagreeing with the view of Caecilius of Caleacte that *theōros* was much the same as *theātēs*, argued that the real meaning of the verb *theōrein* was ‘care for the god’, the second part being related to *hōrā*, an old poetic word for ‘care’.<sup>14</sup> Other ancient lexicographers reconciled these views by positing two senses of *theōros*, or even two homonyms, one meaning ‘viewer’ and the other ‘god-carer’.<sup>15</sup> The lexicographer Pollux thought that the second *theōrein* originally meant ‘rush (*orouein*) to the god’.<sup>16</sup> These sources are late, but they may have earlier

<sup>13</sup> See §1.2.

<sup>14</sup> This view is stated by Ammonius *Peri diaph.lex.* no.226, who assigns the other view, that it is related to *θεατής*, to Caecilius of Caleacte: θεωρός καὶ θεατῆς διαφέρει. θεωρός μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ εἰς θεοῦ πεμπόμενος, θεατῆς δὲ ὁ ἀγώνων καὶ θεάτρων. Εὐριπίδης ἐν Ἰωνί ‘πότερον θεατῆς ἢ χάριν μαντευμάτων’, τουτέστι θεωρός καὶ Αἰσχύλος: ‘βοᾷς τοιοῦδε πράγματος θεωρός ὦν’. ἀμαρτάνουσιν οὖν οἱ λέγοντες ‘θεωρῆσαι με δεῖ τὸν ἀγῶνα’, δέον εἶπεν ‘θεάσασθαι’. διαστέλλει δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιμελῶς Λυσισμαχίδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Κεκίλιον Περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ῥητόρων, καὶ πολλῶν παραθέσεις ποιεῖται. καὶ ἔστι τὸ θεάσασθαι, ὥσπερ πρόκειται, παρὰ τὴν θέαν· τὸ δὲ θεωρεῖν, φησὶν, οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ τῶν θεῶν ὥρεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ φροντίζειν. διὸ καὶ τοὺς τῶν θεαμάτων ἔνεκεν πεμπτομένους, σὺν θυσίαις δὲ καὶ εὐσεβείαι, πάντας ὠνόμαζον θεωρούς· καὶ τὸ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διδόμενον θεωρικὸν οὐχὶ διὰ τὰς θέας, ὡς Κεκίλιος ὑπέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖν καὶ ἐπιθεῖν (‘ἐπιθεῖν coni. Valckenaer non recte ut Wuensch monet’) καὶ εὐφραίνεισθαι. (‘*Theōros*’ and ‘*theātēs*’ differ: a *theōros* is a man sent to the gods, while a *theātēs* has to do with contests and theatres. Euripides says in the *Ion* (301): ‘a *theātēs* or for the sake of oracles?’, i.e. a ‘*theōros*’. And Aeschylus [fr.289 Radt.] ‘You shout, being the *theōros* of this thing’. Those who say, ‘I must *theōrein* this contest’ are at fault, since *theasasthai* is right. Lysimachides [FGrH366F9] makes this distinction clear in his *Against Caecilius Concerning Attic Orators* [cf. fr.155 p.168 Ofenloch], and gives many parallels. And *theasasthai*, as is proposed [?], from *thea*; *theōrein*, he says, is nothing other than *hōrein*, i.e. care for, the god. For that reason, they call those sent for the sake of spectacles, with sacrifices and piety, *theōroi*; and the *theōrikon* given to Athenians is not for the sake of spectacles, as Caecilius understands, it, but worshipping the gods at festivals and rushing around and being festive.)

<sup>15</sup> So Harpocration Θ19 s.v. *theōrika* (cited in Bader (1972:223)): θεωροὶ μέντοι λέγονται οὐ μόνον οἱ θεαταί, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ εἰς θεοῦς πεμπόμενοι, καὶ ὅλως τοὺς τὰ θεῖα φυλάττοντας ἢ τῶν θείων φροντίζοντας οὕτως ὠνόμαζον· ὥρην γὰρ ἔλεγον τὴν φροντίδα· ὥρην γὰρ τ’ ὀλίγη πέλεται νεϊκέων τ’ ἀγορέων τε (Hes. *Op.*30). (‘The word *theōroi* means not just spectators, but those sent to the gods, and they generally apply this term to those who guard divine things or care for them; for *hōre* means ‘care’: ‘For there is little care for quarrels and assemblies’ (Hes.*Op.*30). The link with *hōre* is found also in the *Suda* s. θεωροί.

<sup>16</sup> Pollux II 55: καὶ θέα καὶ θεᾶσθαι καὶ θέαμα καὶ θέατρον καὶ θεατῆς καὶ συνθεατῆς, καὶ θεωρός καὶ συνθεωρός, συνθεωρία καὶ θεωρία καὶ θεωρικόν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅσ’ ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεᾶσθαι λέγηται· οἱ γὰρ Πυθῶδε θεωροὶ καὶ θεωρικὴ ὁδὸς καὶ θεωρὶς ναῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς θεὸν ὁρούειν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ· λέλεκται. (*Theā*, *theāsthai*, ‘*theāma*’, *theātron*, *theātēs*, *suntheātēs* and *theōros*, *suntheōros*, *suntheōriā*, and *theōriā* and such words as are derived from *theāsthai*. For ‘*theōroi* to Delphi’ and the ‘*theoric* road’ and a ‘*theoris* ship’ are derived from those in it rushing towards the god.)

roots.<sup>17</sup> One might wonder why such a need was felt to distinguish the word from *theātēs* if a strong intuitive link existed between *theōroi* as spectators.

The only explicit evidence that suggests that the duties of a *theōros* involved being a sort of official observer comes from a set of inscriptions of the Roman period which attribute to someone – always an aristocratic woman – the honour of having been appointed a *theōros* of a major festival. Two of these inscriptions are from Sparta (about AD 200) and record the careers of women who had the title ‘priestess and *theōros* for life of the most solemn contest of the Hyakinthia’<sup>18</sup> and four of them (about the same time) are from Ephesos, and refer to the local Olympia festival.<sup>19</sup> Here is *I.Ephesos* 891 (= App.#5):

Her native city [honours] Claudia Basilo, woman of consular rank, *theōros* of the Olympia.

In this context, Louis Robert interpreted *theōros* as the privilege of ‘witnessing’ the competition, and he compares this with Pausanias’ account of how the priestess of Demeter Khamune at Olympia observes (*theātai*) the competition from an altar of white marble, clearly a privileged form of viewing,<sup>20</sup> and he suggested that contemporary Olympia was the inspiration for the practice. Robert makes a clear distinction between this and the delegate-*theōros* who represents his city at a festival (prior to this, Dieter Knibbe had in fact suggested that the Ephesian *theōroi* in these texts were indeed delegates at the festival).<sup>21</sup>

Far from privileged viewing being alien to Classical Greece, however, it is implied in the concept of *prohedriā* (‘privileged seating’) which is occasionally bestowed on *theōroi*. *Prohedriā* is one of two awards that Argos gave to visiting *theōroi* from Aspendos in the late fourth century BC.<sup>22</sup> An even

<sup>17</sup> An association between the θεωρός and the divine is already being implied in Aristotle’s discussion of contemplation (θεωρία) of the divine (τὰ θεῖα) (see §19.2), and in the controversy over the Athenian decision to call the ambassadors sent to Demetrius θεωροί, it being presupposed there that the θεωρός is reserved for the gods (see §3.4, pp.43–4).

<sup>18</sup> IG5.1.587, 4 (Pompeia Polla, early second century AD) and IG5.1.586, 6 (Memmia Xenokratia; for the latter, see Spawforth (1985:207–8).

<sup>19</sup> *I.Ephesos* 891–6. H. Müller (1980); Robert (1974); id. (1967:72).

<sup>20</sup> Paus. 6.20.9; viewing the games was forbidden to married women, though allowed for maidens: Paus. 5.6.7–8; see Zoumbaki (2001:149–50); Robert (1974:179–80); van Bremen (1996:88–9).

<sup>21</sup> Knibbe (1968–71:49).

<sup>22</sup> SEG 34.282, 10 (App.#C9). It is found also in the Delphian award to the Tetrapolis: App.#E2, 7. Samothrace bestowed it on *theōros* called Praximenes from Kos by Samothrace in the third century BC, but that seems unlikely to imply any special link between that award and his religious duties: IG12.4.148, 30–1; his brothers are awarded it also: l.36.

earlier case is its award to Athens at the Isthmian Games, which Plutarch reports was mentioned by Hellanikos of Lesbos (fifth century BC) and Andron of Halikarnassos (fourth century BC). He adds the detail that the area of privileged seating awarded was equivalent in size to the sail of the *theōris* ship when spread out, and that the award had been arranged by Theseus himself, who in some traditions had founded the Isthmian Games. The *theōris* will presumably have been the famous ship said to have been preserved since the time of Theseus, the colour of whose sail played a critical role in the story, and which, to judge from this evidence, was used to ferry *theōroi* across the Saronic Gulf to Corinth.<sup>23</sup>

He made an agreement with the Corinthians that they provide Athenians arriving for the Isthmian Games with privileged seating as big as the area covered by the sail of the *theōris* ship when spread out, as related by Hellanikos (*FGrH* 323aF15 = 165Fowler) and Andron of Halikarnassos (*FGrH* 10 F 6).

Whatever we make of the Attidographic *Tendenz* here, there seems no reason to doubt that Athens really did have *prohedriā* at the Isthmian Games, and especially in view of the reference to the *theōris* ship, we would expect that *theōroi* will have been among those benefiting.<sup>24</sup> In this case at least, then, the act of viewing by Athenians, including *theōroi*, at a Panhellenic festival was the subject of rules agreed between the two cities involved. If there was one case like this, there could easily have been many others.<sup>25</sup>

In fact, there is no reason to doubt that one of the main activities expected of *theōroi* at festivals was official spectatorship, it being understood that through their agency, the ultimate official spectator is the polis itself. The most common objects of viewing, and the ones that seems to define their role, would have been the *agōnes* held there, primarily athletic and equestrian ones, but musical ones at some sanctuaries as well. If this is never singled out for praise in honorific decrees, the reason could be that it was considered unremarkable, being the default activity of *theōroi*. As to the verbal hair-splitting of the lexicographers, they may perhaps have been confused by the untidy multiplicity of the roles of *theōroi*, many of which did

<sup>23</sup> *Thes.*25 ἔταξεν οὖν καὶ διωρίσατο πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους, Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ἐπὶ τὰ Ἰσθμία παρέχειν προεδρίαν, ὅσον ἂν τόπον ἐπίσχηι καταπετασθὲν τὸ τῆς θεωρίδος νεὼς ἱστίον, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἀνδρῶν ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἱστορήκασιν.

<sup>24</sup> See the sensible comments of Jacoby on *FGrH*323aF15.

<sup>25</sup> So the decree between Argos and Aspendos (*SEG* 34.282, 10 (App.#C9)) gives Aspendian *theōroi* the right to lead the procession and (if Stroud's supplement is right) to be 'invited to *prohedriā*': see §12.5, p.207. In the third century BC the Amphiktions honoured a man who had helped with the *kosmos* for Athene Pronaia with the right of pitching his tent first at the *Pulaiā* (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 422 = *CID*4.54).

not involve viewing in any obvious sense. In any case, one might question how much grammarians of the Roman era would have known about traditional Greek festival culture, which by their time was already dying out.

A further question is to what extent the ‘official viewing’ of the *theōroi* covered any other rituals at the sanctuary. This idea becomes plausible if one considers the inherently theatrical nature of Greek sanctuaries and the ceremonies performed there, which implies the expectation of an audience.<sup>26</sup> One example might be the ritual from Hellenistic Delos, where ceremonial dishes paid for by visiting *theōroi* were presented to Apollo by the Delian Maidens; there is no proof that the *theōroi* themselves were the audience for this, but it makes sense that they would want to observe its correct performance on behalf of their city.<sup>27</sup> In some sanctuaries, key rituals at a festival may have been performed in front of an audience viewing from a theatre, as may have happened in Hellenistic Samothrace.<sup>28</sup> Greg Nagy has suggested that at oracles, the official viewing duties of the *theōroi* might have included witnessing the delivery of an oracle by the *prophētēs*.<sup>29</sup> But the ceremonies that *theōroi* would perhaps have had most interest in viewing would be ones carried out by *theōroi* from other cities. Great political significance was attached to such ceremonies, whether they were joint activities, dramatising the momentary unanimity of participants (e.g. the all-important ‘joint sacrifice’), or epideictic pageants staged by individual delegations. All such activities make most sense if it is presupposed that other cities are there as a virtual audience, viewing them through their *theōroi*. It follows that at a typical festival *theōroi* participate both by performing rituals and by watching them being performed, and, in the case of collective rituals, we may even want to say that they perform these duties simultaneously. It is their role as performers of rituals for the gods that tends to be singled out in honorary decrees (this is also what the lexicographers latch on to), but their other role as proxy audience, acting as eyes and ears of the cities that send them, is no less important for that.

<sup>26</sup> See further §12.1, p.193. For the theatrical nature of Greek cult, see Mylonopoulos (2011:50–3); for ritual and theatre in general, Schechner (2003).

<sup>27</sup> See §14.2, pp.238–9.

<sup>28</sup> See Mylonopoulos (2011:51–2); for religious plays staged at Samothrace see Rutherford (2007a). The function of the *theatron* at Olympia mentioned by Xen. *Hell.*7.4.31 remains mysterious.

<sup>29</sup> See Nagy (1990:62): ‘Thus the *prophētēs* is the one who declares the message of victory at the games and the *theoros* is the one who witnesses the message and takes it back to the polis to declare it.... Similarly ... the *prophētēs* is the one who declares the message in the Oracle at Delphi, and the *theoros* is the one who witnesses the message, takes it back to the polis and declares it.’ The only reference to *prophētai* in the context of athletic competitions comes in Bacch. 10.28, where the context is the Isthmia: Ἰσθμιονίκαν / δῖς ν[ι]ν ἄγκ]αρυξαν εὐβούλων [ἄεθλάρχ]ων προφᾶται.

## 9.2 Intellectual journeys and sightseeing

Herodotus and other sources occasionally give *theōriā* as the motivation of travelling philosophers and wise men. Solon of Athens is represented by Herodotus as leaving Athens and going off to Lydia and Egypt on the pretext of *theōriē*, though his real motivation is to make sure that his laws were not changed. Croesus, according to Herodotus, says that he ‘travelled over much land philosophising for the sake of *theōriē*’. Aristotle and other sources give his motive as *theōriā* and trade. Parallel to Solon is the mysterious Anacharsis of Scythia, who comes to Greece just as Solon leaves it, and whom Herodotus describes as ‘surveying (*theōrēsās*) much land and receiving much wisdom’. It is uncertain how widely this sense was used before Herodotus, or how it fits into the general picture of the semantic development of *theōriā*. It looks like it might be related to a different sense of the word, that of ‘philosophical contemplation’, which is itself, however, somewhat coloured by religious *theōriā*.<sup>30</sup>

The Herodotean sense may be echoed in Isocrates’ speech *Trapeziticus*, the speaker of which, the son of a nobleman called Sopaïos from the Cimmerian Bosphorus,<sup>31</sup> announces that he has been sent off by his father to Athens and the rest of Greece for the sake of travel and *theōriā*.<sup>32</sup>

And learning both about the city and about the rest of Greece, I conceived a desire to leave home. So my father, having filled two ships with grain, and giving me money, sent me off for the combined purpose of trade and *theōriā*. Pythodorus the Phoenician introduced Pasion to me and I opened an account at his bank.

Al Moreno in a recent study has argued that Sopaïos and his son belonged to a group of Athenians, Bosphorans and others associated with Isocrates and his circle who dominated the grain trade between the Black Sea and Athens at this period. In Athens, besides carrying out work for his father, the son will have been a pupil of Isocrates, studying the finer arts of rhetoric and philosophy. The opening of the speech is strategic: the speaker wants to present himself in a good light to his audience, and the idea ‘*theōriā*’ implies a combination of cultured leisure and, if not piety, at least curiosity about the world and the gods. The phrase *kata theōriān* is difficult to pin down. It could mean ‘visiting festivals as a *theōros*’, but here it probably implies that

<sup>30</sup> See §14.3, pp.334–6. Hdt. 1.29, 4.76.

<sup>31</sup> Isocr. 17.4. See Moreno (2007:175–6); Gajdukevic (1971:80–1).

<sup>32</sup> πυνθανόμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐπεθύμησ’ ἀποδημῆσαι. γεμίσας οὖν ὁ πατήρ μου δύο ναῦς σίτου καὶ χρήματα δοὺς ἐξέπεμψεν ἅμα κατ’ ἐμπορίαν καὶ κατὰ θεωρίαν· συστήσαντος δέ μοι Πυθοδώρου τοῦ Φοίνικος Πασίωνα ἐχρώμην τῇι τούτου τραπέζῃ.



the purpose of the son's presence in Athens is partly learning about philosophy, which is exactly what Isocrates teaches him.<sup>33</sup> Maybe there is a hint that the son is a latter-day Anacharsis, coming from the north to explore the intellectual wonders of Greece.

Words of the *theōros/iā/eō* family are occasionally associated with sightseeing, though in earlier texts that idea is usually expressed by *theā-/theātēs/theāomai*. In Euripides' *Andromache*, Neoptolemus and those with him spend three days at Delphi devoting their eyes to *theā* and looking round the sanctuary, behaviour which is so unlike Neoptolemus' actions on previous visits to Delphi that it arouses suspicion. Euripides also uses *theātēs* in this sense. Herodotus mentions the presence of Greek *theētai* in Egypt who arrived in the aftermath of Cambyses' invasion.<sup>34</sup> Other evidence of Greek tourists in Egypt survives in the form of graffiti; thus, on one of the inner walls of the mortuary temple of the pharaoh Seti I at Abydos (thirteenth century BC), known to the Greeks as the *Memnonion*, a group of visitors commemorated their visit by writing that each of them ἐθήσατο ('watched'; the Ionic form of θεάομαι); in the same place the presence of a Cypriot visitor is recorded in the Cypriot script: *e-ta-we-sa-to* (= ἐθαήσατο).<sup>35</sup>

As for *theōriā* in the sense of sightseeing, there may be an early instance of this sense in Thucydides' analysis of the motives that led young Athenian men to want to take part in the expedition to Sicily; they were motivated 'by yearning for absent sight and observation and were optimistic that they would be safe' (τῆς τε ἀπουσίας πόθῳ ὄψεως καὶ θεωρίας, καὶ εὐέλπιδες ὄντες σωθήσεσθαι).<sup>36</sup> The word may well be chosen because it also had the grandiose sense of contemplation, however.<sup>37</sup> Another possible case is a summary of a narrative from Hyperides' speech the *Dēliakos* preserved by a scholion on a late Greek rhetorician which reports that certain Aeolians were murdered on the island of Rheneia while visiting Delos, describing them as 'rich, having much gold, away from their own country *kata theōriān Hellados*'.<sup>38</sup> The last phrase might mean something like 'on a sightseeing

<sup>33</sup> Moreno (2007:175), citing Isocr. *Antid.*224, on those who come from Sicily and Pontus to be educated by Isocrates; *ibid.* 295–6: 'We therefore see again that this was not just an academy of paideutic rhetoric and conservative politics, but a kind of headquarters for some of the most active individuals in the fourth-century Athenian grain supply ...'

<sup>34</sup> *Andr.*1086–8; *Ion* 301 (cited by Ammonius, see n.14) and 656; Hdt. 3.139.

<sup>35</sup> Perdrizet and Lefebvre (1919:no.424); Masson (1961:no.379); Rutherford (2003:178–9).

<sup>36</sup> *Hist.* 6.24.3.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. also Plut. *De ex.* 12 (604c), who says that an exile might occupy himself in visiting religious centers, if he is '*philothēōros*' (but this may mean no more than 'fond of contemplating things').

<sup>38</sup> Hyperides fr.67Jensen = Sopat. ad Hermog. IV, p.445ff.



tour of Greece'. However, such a late source need not tell us very much about Hyperides' own language and in any case, *kata theōriān Hellados* is a strange expression (does it imply visiting the whole Greek world?), and one might wonder whether the original text was the simple *kata theōriān* which can mean 'on a *theōriā*'.<sup>39</sup> In another passage, Hyperides describes how people visiting the *Pulaiā* festival twice a year (meaning primarily amphiktionian delegates, I assume) 'will be viewers' (θεωροὶ γενήσονται[αι] of Leosthenes' recent victories over the Macedonians which culminated in the siege of Lamia and Leosthenes' early death.<sup>40</sup> Here, the idea is more or less sightseeing; perhaps Hyperides is playing on the idea that the *hieromnāmones* and *pulāgorai* to the *Pulaiā* are similar in function to delegate-*theōroi*, but that would not alter the point.<sup>41</sup>

In fact, a few instances of the words *theōros/-riā/-reō* survive in documents from Egypt. The best case is a papyrus from Tebtunis dated to March 112 BC.<sup>42</sup>

Hermias to Horos, greeting. Appended is a copy of the letter to Asclepiades. Take care therefore that its instructions are followed. Good-bye. The 5th year, Xandikos 17, Mecheir 17.

To Asclepiades. Lucius Memmius, a Roman senator, who occupies a position of great dignity and honour, is making the voyage from Alexandria to the Arsinoite nome to see the sights (*epi theōriān*). Let him be received with special magnificence, and take care that at the proper spots the chambers be prepared and the landing-places to them be got ready, and that the gifts of hospitality below written be presented to him at the landing-place, and that the furniture of the chamber, the customary titbits of Petesoukhos, and the crocodiles, the necessities for the view of the Labyrinth (*pros tēn tou Laburinthou theān*), and the offerings and sacrifices be provided; in general take the greatest pains in everything that the visitor may be satisfied, and display the utmost zeal... (Trans. Grenfell, Hunt and Smyly (1902:128))

Memmius was visiting the Fayyum, 150 miles south of Alexandria. Some light on the process is shed by another much earlier letter from the 21<sup>st</sup> of September 254 BC in which Zenon's superior the *dioiketēs* Apollonius

<sup>39</sup> κατὰ θεωρίαν of state pilgrimage: decree from an unknown city (Samos?) in honour of Philistos, IG12.6.151; cf. κατὰ θιασρίαν at SEG 1.115, 6 (= Petrakos (1997:no.74)); possibly also at Joseph. JA 16.140.

<sup>40</sup> *Epitaphios* 7.25–30. Pilgrimage to the site of battles: see Elsner and Rutherford (2006b: 19–20); Rutherford (forthcoming c). Cf. also Isocr. *Philip*.142, where the Greeks ἀγαπῶσι καὶ θεωρῶσι the τροπαῖον set up to mark the defeat of the Spartans at Thermopylai.

<sup>41</sup> Delegates to the *Pulaiā* would normally have been *pulāgoroi* or *hieromnāmones* (see §4.4.3), though we cannot be sure that states would not have sent *theōroi* as well.

<sup>42</sup> *P.Tebt.*1, 33. See Lampela (1998:216n.94); Hohlwein (1940:274).

instructs him to provide for visitors (who included *theōroi* from Argos) who have been sent by the king to see (*kata theān*) the sights of the Arsinoite Nome.<sup>43</sup> Zenon, who is based at Philadelphia, is asked to send chariots, riding vehicles and packmules to Ptolemais Hormou twenty miles south to rendezvous with the party (see [Map 10](#)). The only destination explicitly mentioned in the Memmius' letter is the 'Labyrinth' at Hawara, a vast and ancient mortuary temple which had developed a rich set of cultural and historical associations, and was part of the standard route for foreign tourists;<sup>44</sup> Petesoukhos is most likely one of the gods worshipped in the form of a crocodile in the capital of the Nome, Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis.<sup>45</sup> (The papyrus itself comes from a crocodile-mummy from Tebtunis, in the South of the Fayyum.<sup>46</sup>) The Arsinoite Nome had a large number of these crocodile gods; the best known was Soukhos (Egyptian Sobek), who was also worshipped in the Nome capital.<sup>47</sup> Several Greek writers mention the feeding of Fayyumic crocodiles, and in particular Strabo gives a vivid account of how it was the custom for foreign visitors to provide an elaborate meal of cakes, meat and wine mixed with honey for Soukhos at Arsinoe, where the meal was administered by priests, who held the animal's jaws open and poured the food in.<sup>48</sup> The phrase *epi theōriān* could mean 'for sightseeing' or 'for a show', and is parallel to *pros theān* used later of the Labyrinth. Elsewhere, *epi theōriān* can mean 'to a festival', but, although there were plenty of festivals in Fayyumic towns, there is no sign that Memmius' visit coincided with any of these.<sup>49</sup> At the same time, there is a religious element in this activity, because Petesoukhos is a god. How the 'offerings and sacrifices' mentioned in the text fit is uncertain; Ulrich Wilcken suggested that these might be connected with the cult of the local king Pramarrēs.<sup>50</sup>

The practice of tourism is also revealed by visitor-graffiti left on monuments. Some of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings were already visited in antiquity, particularly KV 6, the tomb of Ramesses IX, which was

<sup>43</sup> Skeat (1974:62–6, no.1973) = App.#D7. Bell (1927). As Bergmans (1979) points out, these were probably announcing the Argive Heraia; otherwise, why were Argive *theōroi* singled out? In virtue of the myth of Danaos, visitors from Argos may well have felt a sentimental attachment to Egypt.

<sup>44</sup> For the Labyrinth, Hdt. 2.148 etc. and Lloyd (1970).

<sup>45</sup> See Rübsam (1974:34–5); see also Bernand (1975–81:1, no.12).

<sup>46</sup> 'Crocodile 17' according to Tebtunis Papyri I, xvii.

<sup>47</sup> Role in the nome: Rübsam (1974:14–17); in the capital: id. 26–9.

<sup>48</sup> Str. 17.1.38; Hdt. 2.69.

<sup>49</sup> ἐπὶ θεωρίαν: Ar. *Wasps* 1005; Pl. *Cri.*52b. For festivals of Soukhos and at the Labyrinth, see Perpillou-Thomas (1993:140–4 and 122–3).

<sup>50</sup> Wilcken in Mitteis and Wilcken (1912:1.10). On Pramarrēs, see now Widmer (2002).



Map 10. Principal sites mentioned in Egypt

clearly believed to belong to Memnon. Ancient visitors frequently say that they have seen or viewed the sights, and the verb θεωρέω occurs fifteen times in the corpus of some two thousand graffiti; there are slightly more instances of the verb θεάομαι.<sup>51</sup> Sometimes it is combined with the notion of ‘wonder’; for example:<sup>52</sup>

Ammon. Having viewed, I wondered.

A more elaborate example is this graffito, from KV2, the tomb of Ramesses IV:<sup>53</sup>

Those who smile at... have never seen the things here. Blessed are they who contemplate the things here.

<sup>51</sup> Baillet (1920–6:1.lxvi). Texts using the verb *theōreō* are nos.255, 358 (*bis*), 546, 574, 1220–1, 1323, 1353, 1418, 1434, 1449, 1780, 1786, 2108(?). For *theāomai*, Baillet (1920–6:2, no.585).

<sup>52</sup> 1418 (cf.1434). Ἀμμων / θεωρήσας ἐθαύμασα.

<sup>53</sup> Baillet (1920–6, no.255): πᾶσιν εἰ.... | οἱ μείδων-τ[ε]ς, τὰ ὧδε | οὐδέποτε εἶδ-[[ο]ν. [μα] κάρη[[ο]ι] εἰσ[ι]-|ν οἱ θεωροῦντ[ε]ς | τὰ ὧδε[ε].

This seems to echo the long tradition of the *makarismos* of the religious initiate or philosopher in Greek poetry.<sup>54</sup>

One of the main centres of pilgrimage and tourism in Roman Egypt was the Colossus of Memnon on the West Bank of the Nile at Thebes, one of two monumental statues of the pharaoh Amenhotep III, which, probably as the result of a structural damage, had started to emit an otherworldly sound at dawn.<sup>55</sup> The statue was visited by people from all over the Roman Empire, including the Emperor Hadrian, motivated by a desire to witness what was taken to be a divine sound, a sort of oracle.<sup>56</sup> Many graffiti, some in the form of poetry, were inscribed on the monument. One of these, in broken iambs, was left by a *stratēgos* (the chief officer of a Nome) with the Roman name Celer, in June AD 123:<sup>57</sup>

Celer the general was here, not in order to hear Memnon. For I was in the dust of the mounds, a *theōros* and in order to make adoration (θεωρὸς καὶ προσκυνήσων ἄμα). Memnon recognised but made no utterance. Celer went back to where he had been (?) after an interval of two days. He came and heard the voice of the god. Year 7 of the Emperor Hadrian, Epiphi 6<sup>th</sup>, first hour.

Celer seems to be saying that on the first occasion he passed by the Colossus, which made no sound, and went on to the sanctuary of Amenhotep son of Hapu (Greek Amenotes) and Imhotep (Greek Asclepius) at Deir-el-Bahari in the rocky terrain ('dust of the mounds') to the west, situated in the ancient mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut; then, on his return journey two days later, the divine voice was clearly audible. Deir-el-Bahari was home to a major healing sanctuary, and also apparently an oracle,<sup>58</sup> and in fact two graffiti by someone called Celer are known from there, in one of which he is identified as a *stratēgos*.<sup>59</sup> The line 'a *theōros* and in order to make adoration' combines together the two primary motivations that we

<sup>54</sup> See Gladigow (1967); examples include: Pindar fr.137: ὀλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κεῖν' εἶσ' ὑπὸ χθόν' οἶδε μὲν βίου τελευτάν, οἶδεν δὲ διόσδοτον ἀρχάν (blessed is he who having seen these things goes beneath the ground; he knows the end of life, he knows its Zeus-given beginning); Menander, fr.416a: τοῦτον εὐτυχέστατον λέγω | ὅστις θεωρήσας ἀλύπως, Παρμένων, / τὰ σεμνὰ ταῦτ' ἀπῆλθεν ὅθεν ἦλθεν ταχύ... (I declare this man most blessed who having contemplated these things without pain, Parmenon, these sacred things, goes back quickly where he came ...) For the latter fragment and its philosophical background, see Zuntz (1956).

<sup>55</sup> Bowersock (1984); Bernand and Bernand (1960); cf. Rutherford (2012a:705–7).

<sup>56</sup> Bernand and Bernand (1960:100). <sup>57</sup> Bernand and Bernand (1960:no.23).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Lajtar (2006: esp. 50–61). <sup>59</sup> Lajtar (2006:199 and 201).

find in accounts of visits to sites in Roman Egypt in this period: sightseeing and making a *proskunēma* or formal adoration of the deity.<sup>60</sup>

\* \* \*

Most of the evidence for the sightseer-*theōros* comes from Egypt, but that may be because the conditions there favour the preservation of graffiti, and it is likely that this use of the word was widespread outside Egypt as well, at least in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. By way of a conclusion, it is worth clarifying the relationship between the sightseer-*theōros* and the delegate-*theōros*. The delegate-*theōros* was not a sightseer, though one of the things he was expected to do was, as I have suggested, to act as an observer. His observation, however, was not carried out for his own sake but, like all his activities, on behalf of the community that he was representing. The sightseer, by contrast, acts in his own right. Finally, in so far as a clear distinction can be made between sacred and non-sacred spheres of activity in the ancient world, the delegate-*theōros* belongs primarily to the sacred sphere, even if some of his activities seem to be political, whereas the sightseer, although the sights he sees may often seem to be ones of religious significance, is not primarily motivated by a sense of religious duty, but by yearning for an unusual and memorable visual experience.

<sup>60</sup> Bernard and Bernard ad loc. and Lajtar (2006:287) interpret θεωρὸς in this inscription as 'oracular consultant', but the word is not normally used of private consultants. For the *proskunēma* see Geraci (1971).

## 10.1 Composition

*Theōriai* varied greatly in size, structure and terminology. Some consisted of a few members, often led by a designated *arkhitheōros*, in contrast to whom the other members were sometimes called *suntheōroi*.<sup>1</sup> Three is a common number, as in a Chiote decree for the Delphic Soteria, or one of the Nesiotic League for the Ptolemaia in the early Hellenistic period. Four *theōroi* and one *arkhitheōros* represented Athens at Thespiiai in the early first century BC. Five *theōroi* and one *arkhitheōros* from Miletus visit Attica twice in the early second century BC. The size of the delegations in the records from Samothrace seems usually to have been two or three per city, sometimes four, only very rarely more: twelve in the case of one *theōriā* from Khios, and seven or eight (*theōroi* + *summustai* + *akolouthoi*) in one from the polis of Dardanus in the Troad.<sup>2</sup> Literary texts sometimes mention a single *theōros* (such as Laios on his way to Delphi), but documentary records rarely mention them acting alone.<sup>3</sup>

Other terminology was used as well. In a record from the late fourth century, the Athenian *Pūthais* is said to have been brought to Delphi by a group of ten *hieropoioi*.<sup>4</sup> Samothracian records have Rhodian and Cyzicene delegations headed by the combined title ‘*hieropoioi* and *mustai*’ where we otherwise find ‘*theōroi* and *mustai*’; *hieropoioi* lead delegations on Lemnos,

<sup>1</sup> IG<sup>2</sup>.844, 65 (*theōros* + *suntheōroi*); ID372B, 22 (Bruneau (1970:99, Kos XX)); ID421, 63 (Bruneau (1970:105, Rhodes XXII)), ID1498, 9, IG12.4.31, 9; at Lysias *Or*.8.5 ξυνθεωρέω surely amounts to ‘attend the festival together’ rather than ‘take part in a common religious delegation’.

<sup>2</sup> Chiote decree: SIG<sup>3</sup> 402, 28; Nesiotic League: IG12.7.506 = SIG<sup>3</sup> 390; Thespiiai: IG<sup>2</sup>.1054; Miletus and Athens: IG<sup>2</sup>.992 and Günther (1992); Khios at Samothrace: Dimitrova:no.9 = IG12.8.162; Dardanos at Samothrace: Dimitrova:no.14 = IG12.8.173.

<sup>3</sup> Athens and Ammon: SEG 21.562, 12–3 (App.#C4); Matrophanes: SIG<sup>3</sup> 548 (App.#D14); Herodas of Priene at the Panionion: *I.Priene* 109, 53 (App.#E4) etc.

<sup>4</sup> FD 1.511 (App.#C10), for which see later instances of ἱεροποιοί in Athenian *theōriā*. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54, says that the Athenian ἱεροποιός was charged with looking after the pentaeteric festivals, which included the one εἰς Δῆλον.

and they are sent by Kios to Miletus to negotiate the sending of offerings.<sup>5</sup> The term *hieragōgos* is used in the Delian inventories apropos of envoys from Karystos, and in a Samothracian decree for Kaunos.<sup>6</sup> We have seen that the term *sunthūtēs* is used in texts from the Roman period.<sup>7</sup>

Larger *theōriai* might include an escort, comprising a *khōros* of young people who performed at a sanctuary and/or other groups. Herodotus tells us that Khios sent one hundred young men to Delphi in the sixth century BC. When all the subsections are counted, the largest of the Hellenistic *Pūthaiδes* turns out to comprise over 500 people,<sup>8</sup> and the number of Athenian *theōroi* and/or other participants visiting the Delia in the late fifth century may be deducible from the large number of gilded tiaras (*stlēnglides*) offered to the god in the late fifth century BC by the *arkhetheōroi* Nikias (103) and Kallias (119).<sup>9</sup>

No doubt there was often also an entourage of private citizens who came along to attend the ritual, and to partake in the festivities. To visit the major festivals was common: Socrates was considered unusual for never having left Athens for a *theōriā*, except once to the Isthmian Games;<sup>10</sup> Aristophanes' Philokleon had never been on a *theōriā* 'except once to Paros' and then was paid only two obols;<sup>11</sup> and Lucian's Timon claims never to have taken part in a *theōriā* to Olympia, which surely implies that ordinary

<sup>5</sup> Lemnos: Accame (1941–3: no. 6); in the context of Samothrace, sent by Rhodes (IG 12.8.186a3, 186b20 (Dimitrova: no. 50)) and by Cyzicus (IG 12.8.192 (Dimitrova: no. 58)), part of the decree recorded by Cyriacus of Ancona; for the Samothracian cases, see Cole (1984: 53); a *hieropoios* sent by Rhodes to, among other places, Didyma in the Roman period: *TiCam* 78.13–15 (with Robert (1959: 662); cf. Fontenrose (1988: 105n.37)); *hieropoioi* from Kios at Miletus: *Milet* I.3.141, 13 and 53.

<sup>6</sup> ID 291fr.b, 7–8: ὅτε ὁ χορὸς ἐγένετο] τοῖς ἱεραγωγοῖς τοῖς Καρυ[στίων; in other cases of this formula θεωροῖς is used (cf. Bruneau (1970: 94)). ἱεραγωγός also in the context of Samothrace: IG 12.8.189b.46; Marek (2006: 28, 20).

<sup>7</sup> See § 3.5, p. 49.

<sup>8</sup> Khios: Hdt. 6.27; *Pūthaiδes*: Tracy (1975b: 215–18) estimates the size of the *Pūthaiδes* as follows: *Pūth* 1 (138/7 BC): 124; *Pūth* 2 (128/7): 315–19; *Pūth* 3 (106/5): 511–15; *Pūth* 4 (98/7): 289–9. *Pūth* 4 was smaller than the two that preceded it; which has been attributed to a major slave-revolt that affected Attica in about 103 BC: see Tracy (1979).

<sup>9</sup> ID 104, 113–16; V. Chankowski (2008: 94); Hamilton (2000: 78).

<sup>10</sup> Socrates: Pl. *Cri.* 52b; ὅτι μὴ ἅπασι εἰς ἴσθμὸν appears in some manuscripts and in Ath. 5.216b, but is omitted in others.

<sup>11</sup> *Wasps* 1188–9. The ancient scholia (Koster (1978: 188) saw this as a comic way of referring to a military expedition: Σ 1189b thinks the city is Parion; Σ 1189d tries to explain τεθεώρηκα in 1188 in a different way: <ἀπ'> ἰκρίων θεωροῦντες τοὺς δύο ὀβολοὺς παρείχον ('looking <from> stern they provided the two obols'). See the excellent discussions of Pritchett (1974–91: 1, 18–19), with full bibliography and earlier references; Loomis (1998: 18).

people had.<sup>12</sup> Such private visits are probably under-represented in the epigraphical dossier, and the chances are that many of them took part under the aegis of large official delegations.

Sometimes *theōroi* in the same delegation are related to each other either as brothers or as father and son.<sup>13</sup> Other family members must surely have gone along, particularly when the escort included groups of children, and others will have taken part in an unofficial capacity as spectators. Thucydides' account of early Ionian *theōriā* to Delos implies that families travelled together, and I have suggested that there may be indirect evidence for something similar in the records of the Delphic *nāopoioi*, where groups of visitors including family members may well represent official *theōroi* travelling with their families.<sup>14</sup> The records of delegations to Claros in the Roman period also refer to people who accompany the official delegates.<sup>15</sup>

## 10.2 The *arkhitheōroi*

The *arkhitheōros* (alternative forms are *arkhetheōros*, *arkitheōros*, and *arketheōros*; the denominative verb also occurs)<sup>16</sup> was the leader of a *theōriā*. The word *arkhitheōria* is also the name of the liturgy that funded *theōriā* (see §13.2). Usually there was a single *arkhitheōros*,<sup>17</sup> but in several cases more than one is attested (see accompanying table). Notice that four of the five cases relate to Athens, and that there is only one reference to multiple *arkhitheōroi* in a literary text.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Philokleon: Ar. *Wasps*.1188–9; Timon: Lucian *Timon* 50; Arr. *Epic.* 1.6.43, says that people in general counted it a misfortune to die without seeing sights like the statue of Zeus at Olympia.

<sup>13</sup> Father and son: Dimitrova:nos.1, 9–10, and 9, 18–24; *ID*1498; brothers: Dimitrova:no.10, 27–9; *I.Priene* 108, 26–7.

<sup>14</sup> Delos: Thuc. 3.104.3; Delphic *nāopoioi*: see §2.1.5; for Klearistos of Karystos and his children, see §10.3.1, pp.161–2.

<sup>15</sup> Busine (2005:79).

<sup>16</sup> In virtue of three possible variations: χ/κ, ι/ε and ω/α, eight forms of the word are possible, and more if we allow for further variations in the penultimate syllable. ἀρχιθέωρος seems the most common form, attested in Delian inventories and in Hellenistic Athens (cf. also ἀρχιθεωρέω: *IG*12Supp.323; Dem. *In Meid.*115); common too is ἀρχεθέωρος, also attested in the Delian inventories and Hellenistic Athens; other forms found are ἀρχιθέαρος (Koan decrees), ἀρχεθεάρος (Delphi–Andros convention, *CID*1.7), ἀρκιθέωρος (Delian inventories, e.g. *IG*11.2.296, 18), ἀρκε[θέω]ρο[ς] (*SEG* 30.66.10).

<sup>17</sup> As in the Delian inventories; at Athens, Theophrastos son of Bathyllos ἀρχιθέωρος εἰς Πύθια, in 331/0 BC, *SEG* 25.177 = Lewis (1968:375); Demosthenes 21.115 (to Nemea); Kallias of Sphettos: App.#D2, 58.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. also Bousquet (1959:152–5) on *IG*12.6.263.12, where ἀρχε-]θεωρω[ν might be the genitive plural of the noun, or the nominative singular participle of the verb.



Table 6. *Multiple arkhitheōroi*

The Andros-Delphi convention (CID1.7)	three Andrian <i>arkhitheōroi</i>
The Athenian dedication at Delos from the late fifth century (IG1 <sup>3</sup> .1468, as interpreted by Coupry (1954 = App.#B5))	five Athenian <i>arkhitheōroi</i>
Ps. Andocides' <i>Against Alcibiades</i> 29	several Athenian <i>arkhitheōroi</i> .
The accounts of Delian Amphiktiony for 377–373 BC <sup>19</sup>	multiple <i>arkhetheōroi</i> , presumably Athenian (ἀρχεθεώροις T, 'To the <i>arkhetheōroi</i> one talent')
The first enactment of the Hellenistic <i>Pūthais</i> in 138/7 BC <sup>20</sup>	two Athenian <i>arkhetheōroi</i>

Some scholars have felt that when inscriptions refer to multiple *arkhitheōroi* these can never be from the same city.<sup>21</sup> However, the presence of three *arkhitheōroi* in the Andros–Delphi convention suggests otherwise.<sup>22</sup> The plural number can be explained in either of two ways: one possibility is that different *arkhitheōroi* represented different groups within the polis, who may each have their own subdelegation (as was clearly the case with *Pūth4*); alternatively, they might be co-liturgists who share the expense of funding it (making it a sort of *sunkhorēgia*), although that would not work for the Athenian delegation to Delos in 375/4 BC, when the *arkhitheōroi* were not apparently liturgists but recipients of funding.<sup>23</sup>

## 10.3 Who got chosen as *theōroi*?

### 10.3.1 Suitability

It goes without saying that *theōroi* were usually citizens of the city that sent the delegation. One of the rare exceptions is a *theōriā* sent by one of the

<sup>19</sup> RO no.28, Aa34–5 (=IG2<sup>2</sup>.1635/ID98, 34–5); cf. ID100, 41 from 372–367 BC. Notice also that Arist. *Ath.Pol.*56, 3 could be supplemented to say that the archon arranges either the ἀρχιθέωρος or the ἀρχιθέωροι for the *triakontorion* bringing the young men to Delos; the former reading has generally been preferred on grounds of space. See Rhodes (1981:626); the plural first suggested by Torr (1891:118).

<sup>20</sup> FD 2.7, 56. In *Pūth 4* (FD 2.10, II.7–14) the Marathonian Tetrapolis had its own ἀρχιθέωρος, as did the Erusikhthonidai and the *klērōtoi Pūthaistai*.

<sup>21</sup> Rhodes (1981:626); Tod (1946–8:2, 80) on the Amphiktionic accounts for 377–373 BC ('a talent paid to the leaders of the θεωρία of which the Athenian must have been by far the most splendid...'); discussed also by Dillon (1997a:127).

<sup>22</sup> Chankowski (2008:92) agrees that *arkhitheōroi* were multiple.

<sup>23</sup> For the issue of funding, see §13.2; for *sunkhorēgiā* see Wilson (2000:329n.193 and more generally 265).

Ptolemies to a Koan festival led by the eminent doctor Kaphisophon, who was a citizen not of Alexandria but of Kos itself;<sup>24</sup> another is that of Telesias of Troezen (140/39 BC), who seems to have carried out numerous religious services for Athens, including acting as *arkhitheōros* to the Herakleia and Agrionia at Thebes and the Mouseia at Thespiiai.<sup>25</sup>

Youth was no obstacle to serving as a *theōros*, at least in the Hellenistic period. A good example is the young Polemaios of Kolophon in the second century BC, who represented his city at Smyrna.<sup>26</sup> Another young *theōros* called Euphragores was the addressee of a homoerotic epigram by Dioskorides of Nikopolis, wishing him a swift return.<sup>27</sup> Although women took part in pilgrimages, and in particular girls participated in the escorts of *theōriai* as *kanēphoroi*, it is extremely rare for women to serve as extraterritorial *theōroi*.<sup>28</sup> The *theōros*-women of Roman Ephesos are probably privileged viewers.<sup>29</sup> The titles of plays by comedians of the Classical period, such as the *Women Viewing the Isthmian Games* by Sophron, show that they were about women visiting festivals but not that women were official *theōroi*.<sup>30</sup> It would be unwise to put too much credence on the Hyperborean Maidens who lead a mythological *theōriā* to Delos in Herodotus' account.<sup>31</sup>

There is, however, one case where it seems possible that a woman led an extraterritorial *theōriā*. This is Malthake, daughter by adoption of Phileinos, a member of an elite family on the island of Tenos in the time of Hadrian, who is described in one inscription as *arkhith[e]ōrēsāsa*, 'having served as *arkhitheōros*'. Her half-brother Satyrus held the same office four times.<sup>32</sup> This could have been a local festival, following the common Roman meaning of *theōriā*,<sup>33</sup> perhaps the festival of Poseidon and Amphitrite,

<sup>24</sup> IG12.4.31 (App.#D11, where I provide bibliography). Similarly, Dickie (1994:376n. 10) has suggested that the Poseidippos who led a *theōriā* from Alexandria to Delos in 257 BC or before (Bruneau (1970:95 VI) may have been the poet Poseidippos, who was a native of Pella.

<sup>25</sup> See §18.2, p.310. <sup>26</sup> Claros I, col. I, 28–46.

<sup>27</sup> AG 12.171. Τὸν καλόν, ὡς ἔλαβες, κομίσαις πάλι πρὸς με θεωρῶν / Εὐφραγόρην, ἀνέμων πρηῦτατε Ζέφυρε / εἰς ὀλίγων τείνας μηνῶν μέτρον, ὡς καὶ ὁ μικρὸς / μυριέτης κέκριται τῷ φιλέοντι χρόνος. (Zephyr, gentlest of winds, bring back to me the lovely *theōros* Euphragoras, just as you received him, contracting his absence to a few months' space; for to a lover's mind a short time is like a thousand years.). A Samothracian record mentions a Rhodian *theōros* whose father was called Euphragoras: Dimitrova:no.5, 67.

<sup>28</sup> Women: see Dillon (1997a:183–6); escorts: §10.6.

<sup>29</sup> See §9.1, p.146. <sup>30</sup> See §20.2, p.342. <sup>31</sup> See §7.1.

<sup>32</sup> See the texts listed under App.#G2.

<sup>33</sup> See §4.1, p.51. Ἀρχιθεωρός seems to mean someone who organises a festival in the Byzantine *Timarion* 6 (twelfth century AD?): ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἵσταται ἀρχιθεωρός, οἷά τις τὴν ἑορτὴν καθιστῶν ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ περὶ τῶν πρακτέων διαταττόμενος (Trans. Baldwin (1984:45): 'the archbishop presides over these men as though he were the leader of an old-fashioned embassy, supervising the festival and making sure what should be done is done'). Baldwin

whose priestess Malthake was.<sup>34</sup> However, we know that Athens was sending delegations to Delos in this period, and it is not impossible that Satyrus and Malthake were leading *theōriai* there as well. Possibly on the occasion when Malthake held the office, she held it jointly with her half-brother,<sup>35</sup> as in Heliodorus' novel *Aithiopika*, where Charicleia pretends that she and her brother were shipwrecked while leading a *theōriā* from Ephesos to Delos at the end of their tenure as priestess of Artemis and priest of Apollo to lay down their offices officially.<sup>36</sup>

Additionally, a *theōros* had to be someone whom the city could trust, and who would ensure the respect of people from other states. In the *Laws*, Plato says that the leaders of *theōriai* sent out by Magnesia should be drawn from the exclusive class of 'examiners' (*euthunoi*).<sup>37</sup> In some cases we can confirm that they were important people. The *arkhitheōros* of a six-man delegation set by Miletus to Eleusis in the second century BC was Euan-drides, son of Euandrides, a member of a distinguished family that traced itself back to Xenares' son Antenor, victor in the *pankration* at Olympia in 308 BC, a naturalised Athenian citizen whose amatory exploits are mentioned by the poet Makhon.<sup>38</sup> Another member of the *theōriā*, Hermophantos, was the son of a Likhas who was a major political player in Miletus in this period.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, a delegation from Thespias to Delphi was led by Torteas, son of Phaeinos, known from elsewhere as a significant local politician.<sup>40</sup> A group of visitors from Karystos to Delphi in 362 BC comprised Klearistos, and his children Aristis, Klearistis and Aristokles; Klearistos must have been a man of some importance, since his father Aristokles was Lysander's admiral, whose statue was on display at Delphi, and it seems possible that one of the purposes of his visit was to show his family the

(1984:91n.48) rightly sees a reuse of the language of Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*, albeit the sense has changed; the author uses *θεωρία* in the sense of festival, e.g. in c.10: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ θεωρία καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἐναγισμοῦ συνετέλεσθη σύμπαντα νόμιμα... ('And when every part of the spectacle and service had been properly concluded...').

<sup>34</sup> IG12.Supp.322.

<sup>35</sup> Stavrianopoulou (2006c:146–7) thinks this is a 'Festgesandtschaft'. On the other hand, Bielman Sánchez (2004:209–10, n. 86) sees this case as more like that of the women *theōroi* of Ephesos (see §9.1, p.146).

<sup>36</sup> See §20.4, p.351. <sup>37</sup> See §19.4; *Laws* 12.947a.

<sup>38</sup> IG2<sup>2</sup>.992. Habicht (1991a); see also Günther (1988b:409). Antenor the *pankratiastēs*: Makhon 218–25 Gow; Osborne (1981–3:3–4, 83–5).

<sup>39</sup> Honorary epigrams for Likhas and his wife survive from Miletus: SGO 01/20/33 and 34.

<sup>40</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup>585, 42, a *proxeniā*-list; cf. IG7.1727; Roesch (1965:17). In 1.58 of a list of magistrates from Thespias he has the title ὁδηγός ('path-leader') along with two others (SEG 23.271.58–60; Roesch (1965:244–5)): is this title linked to *theōriā*?

statue.<sup>41</sup> The timing suggests that he had come to the Pythia of 362 BC, perhaps as part of a *theōriā* from his home town.

Appointing the wrong person to lead a sacred delegation could create a bad impression or lead to the interests of the city being compromised. Aristotile said that the *theōriā* that Themistocles led to Olympia was regarded as inappropriate because he was a ‘low’ man, whereas that problem did not arise in the case of the Alcmaeonid Cimon.<sup>42</sup> In the same way, Aristophanes seems to level a veiled criticism at the entrusting of an Athenian *theōriā* to the politicians Androcles and Cleisthenes.<sup>43</sup>

It goes without saying that *theōroi* were supposed to behave themselves in a manner that reflected well on their polis. The Stoic philosopher Persaios of Kition told a story about some *theōroi* from Arcadia who were visiting the court of Antigonos Gonatas. Initially, they behaved in a very dignified manner at the meal. However, they lost control of themselves when the scantily-clad Thessalian dancing girls made an appearance; the point of the story is that *theōroi* of all people should know better.<sup>44</sup> The impressionable *theōros* who was moved to make love to the statue in the treasury of the Spinatae at Delphi would be another example of the behaviour not usually expected of holders of the office.<sup>45</sup>

The speech *Against Alcibiades* ascribed to Andocides makes similar criticisms about Alcibiades’ participation in the Athenian *theōriā* to Olympia in 416 BC.<sup>46</sup> Thucydides represents Alcibiades as glorying in τῷ ἐμῷ διαπρεπεῖ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάζε θεωρίας (a difficult phrase: either ‘my splendid contribution to the *theōriā* to Olympia’ or ‘the splendour of my observance/attendance at Olympia’, depending on whether we take θεωρία in the sense of state-delegation or as something like ‘action of being a spectator’). The splendour consisted in entering seven chariots, more than any private citizen had ever done, a spectacle that convinced the Greeks that Athens was not exhausted by war.<sup>47</sup> But his Olympic performance in that year was

<sup>41</sup> See CID2.1.II, 26–30; p.14; for the statue, Paus. 10.9.10; Weir (2004:77).

<sup>42</sup> EE 3.6, 1233b10–12. <sup>43</sup> Ar. *Wasps* 1187; cf. MacDowell (1971:284–5).

<sup>44</sup> Persaios of Kition, *Sumpotika Problēmata*, cited by Ath. 13.607b = von Arnim (1903–24:1.451).

<sup>45</sup> Polemon *Peri Hellados* fr.55Preller (= Ath. 13, 606ab).

<sup>46</sup> [Andoc] 4.26. On the authenticity speech see Rhodes (1994:88–91); Gribble (1997). On Alcibiades at Olympia, see now Gribble (2012). Cf. Kurke (1991:171) on ‘*megalorepeia*’.

<sup>47</sup> *Hist.* 6.16.2. Perhaps it is phrased so that it sounds like the city’s *theōriā* belonged to Alcibiades. Dover (1965:xiv) translates: ‘the splendour of my attendance at the Olympic Games’; Hornblower (1991–2008:3.342): ‘because of the distinguished way in which I participated at Olympia’. The full passage is: οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες καὶ ὑπὲρ δύνανται μείζω ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν τῷ ἐμῷ διαπρεπεῖ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάζε θεωρίας, πρότερον ἐλπίζοντες αὐτὴν

marred by several transgressions. One charge, mentioned in the ‘On the Team of Horses’ attributed to Isocrates, is that he stole one of these chariots from another Athenian citizen who had obtained it from the Argives.<sup>48</sup> The *Against Alcibiades* goes much further, alleging that he appropriated sacred vessels used by the city for the ‘common’ procession for his own use the night before, having obtained them from the *arkhitheōroi*, which made Athens look ridiculous: people thought either that the *pompeia* belonged to Alcibiades, and that Athens had to use his, or that they were the property of Athens, but that Alcibiades had such power that he was able to use them himself.<sup>49</sup> In any case, the significance of his action is to appropriate for his own use, as an individual competitor, the ritual paraphernalia that rightly belongs to the city, and was intended for use on its behalf. Furthermore, after his victories, he received special honours from delegations from several cities other than Athens: from the Ephesians, who gave him a Persian tent twice the size of the Athenian one; from the Chians, who gave him victims and food for his horses; and from the Lesbians, from whom he ordered wine and other expenses.<sup>50</sup> This amounts to a second transgression: Alcibiades not only usurps the city’s ritual programme for himself, but he also accepts and invites honours from other *theōriai*, as if his victory was as much for their cities as for Athens.

### 10.3.2 Manner of selection

Usually *theōroi* or *arkhitheōroi* would be selected by the polis. The *dokimasia* (screening) of *spondophoroi* may be described in a law from Eleusis,

καταπεπολεμησθαι, διότι ἄρματα μὲν ἑπτὰ καθῆκα, ὅσα οὐδείς πω ἰδιώτης πρότερον, ἐνίκησα δὲ καὶ δεύτερος καὶ τέταρτος ἐγενόμην καὶ τᾶλλα ἀξίως τῆς νίκης παρεσκευασάμην.  
(‘The Greeks considered our city even greater than it actually is, owing to my splendid contribution to the *theōriā* to Olympia, before that having hoped that it had been exhausted in war, because I entered seven chariots, more than any private citizen before me, and I won, and came second and fourth, and provided everything else in a manner worthy of victory.’)

<sup>48</sup> *Isocr.* 16 (c.396 BC). For the background see *Plut. Alc.* 12.3; *Diod. Sic.* 13.74. 3.

<sup>49</sup> 4.29: Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τῶν ξένων μὴ ἐγίγνωσκον ἡμέτερα ὄντα, τὴν πομπὴν τὴν κοινὴν ὁρῶντες ὑστέραν οὖσαν τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῖς τούτου πομπείοις χρῆσθαι ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς· ὅσοι δὲ ἢ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἤκουον ἢ καὶ ἐπεγίγνωσκον τὰ τούτου, κατεγέλων ἡμῶν, ὁρῶντες ἔνα ἄνδρα μείζον ἀπάσης τῆς πόλεως δυνάμενον. (Those of the strangers who did not know that they were ours, when they saw that the communal procession took place after that of Alcibiades, thought that we were using his own processional vessels: while those who had either heard the truth from our citizens or knew the ways of this man, laughed at us when they saw one that one man was more powerful than the whole city.)

<sup>50</sup> [Alcib] 4.30. A different list in *Satyrus FHG* 3.160, fr.1 (fr.20Schorn = *Ath.* 12.534d), adding ἱερεῖα καὶ κρεανομίας from the Cyzicenes.

though the text is badly damaged.<sup>51</sup> It seems that a citizen could arrange the appointment if he wanted to: in the mid-third century BC, a citizen of Kalynda in south-east Caria got himself appointed a *theōros* to Alexandria to sort out a personal financial matter,<sup>52</sup> and Dinarchus says that in 324 BC Demosthenes volunteered to serve as *arkhitheōros* to Olympia for free, so that he could meet Nicanor of Stagira.<sup>53</sup>

Certain people will have been considered more suitable than others. Where the *arkhitheōriā* was a liturgy, candidates obviously needed to be rich. Experience and skill in travelling abroad might be helpful,<sup>54</sup> qualities no doubt possessed by Eudoxus of Cyzicus (second half of second century BC), who came to the court of Ptolemy Physcon as a *theōros* and *spondophoros* presumably to announce the Cyzicene *Koreia*, and from there embarked on an expedition to India. Subsequently he returned to Cyzicus, from where he eventually set out again to attempt a circumnavigation of Africa, in which he failed.<sup>55</sup> Did Eudoxus discover his talent for exploration in Alexandria, or did Cyzicus give the original task to a man known to be experienced in long-distance travel?

Another indication may be that some *theōroi* have names that suggest a background in sacred delegations: *Theōros* (same form except for the accent) was a common name, borne by, among others, a Hellenistic painter and a Roman mime-artist,<sup>56</sup> and it may be insignificant that a knight accompanying *Pūth* 2 and an ephēbe accompanying *Pūth* 4 were both called *Theōros* (the latter's father had the same name).<sup>57</sup> More tellingly, the

<sup>51</sup> Clinton no.138 A, 1–10; cf. Clinton (1980:275–6).

<sup>52</sup> See §15.2, pp.257–8. The term is *προχειρισθείς* (line 25) as in the decree for Polemaios of Kolophon (App.#E3), I, 28–9.

<sup>53</sup> *Dem.*82: ἀρχιθέωρον αὐτόν ἐπέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ; see §15.1, p.253. According to the late A. P. Christides, in an unpublished lead tablet from Dodona someone asks the god ἡ θεωρέω ('Am I to act as *theōros*?').

<sup>54</sup> Helms (1988) on long-distance experts.

<sup>55</sup> Str. 2.3.4–5. On the festival, Rigsby (1996:341–50); Robert (1978: 469–70). On the context for Eudoxus' Indian voyage, Desanges (1978:151–73); Agius (2008:48).

<sup>56</sup> A Hellenistic painter: Plin. *NH*35.144; pantomime artist called *Theōros*, Starks (2008:125–7); the *Theoriani* were a fan club for this person in Pompeii; *Theōros* was a common name in Eretria and Rhodes (*LGPN* I.224). Another *Theōros* is lampooned by Aristophanes as an ambassador to King Sitalces of Thrace (*Ach.*134–73, *Wasps* 42ff.; *Clouds* 400; perhaps also at *Knights* 608; the name seems appropriate for a diplomat: see §15.4 and Andrisano (1984–5). *Theāros* is a father's name in a bilingual Egyptian epitaph of the Hellenistic period, where Zauzich (1995) shows it is transliterated into hieroglyphs: *SEG* 45.2124; original publication Wagner (1972:159–60). Among the more spectacular compounds is Θεαρωγένης father of Παιανίκα (*SECir.* 260).

<sup>57</sup> *LGPN* I. s.v. (24) and (3, 4).

man who got himself appointed *theōros* for Kalynda to Alexandria was called Theopropos;<sup>58</sup> a Koan *arkhitheōros* had the name Euelthon, another Pompis.<sup>59</sup> A Magnesian announcer *theōros* to Alexandria may have been called Aithalides, the same name as the herald of the Argonauts.<sup>60</sup>

### 10.3.3 Repeated service

In a decree from the mid-third century, Khios, recently admitted to the Delphic Amphiktiony, sets out rules relating to the sending of a *hieromnēmon* to Delphi, among them the rule that the same man should not be appointed twice.<sup>61</sup> As far as *theōroi* were concerned, there were no such rules, and many served multiple times, such as the Milesian Hermophantos, son of Likhas, who was *theōros* to Eleusis in the early second century BC, and served again as *arkhitheōros* of a *theōriā* to Attica some-time later.<sup>62</sup> Moskhion of Priene, according to a long decree dated some-time after 129 BC, was appointed a *theōros* a total of four times:

lines 25ff.: elected *theōros* with his brother? for an unknown sanctuary

lines 152ff.: elected one of several *theōroi* to king Demetrios I of Syria (162–150 BC; after his death, he was elected *presbeutēs* to his son Demetrios II:155ff.)

lines 159ff.: *theōros* to regional festivals in Magnesia, Tralles and Kibura.

lines 230ff.: elected *presbeutēs* and *theōros* to the *agōn* organised by the Roman consul and general M. Perperna at Pergamum in 129 BC.

He also apparently entertained *theōroi* from elsewhere (line 271). Moskhion seems to have been what the anthropologist Mary Helms would have called a long-distance expert whom Priene turned to when it needed to send a foreign mission.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> App.#D8; cf. the *genos* of the Theopropoi (?) at Eretria: §10.5, p.169.

<sup>59</sup> Euelthon: *theōriā* XXII Bruneau (1970:99) (190–181 BC); IG12.8.164, 12; Pompis: *theōriā* XX; id. (200 BC).

<sup>60</sup> *I.Magnesia* 23, 6, corrected by Rigsby (1996:198 = RigsbyA71).

<sup>61</sup> δῖς δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν μὴ ἀποδεδί[άν]τω[v: Moretti (1967–2002: no.78, 33 = FD 3.214; SIG<sup>3</sup>443).

<sup>62</sup> Earlier occasion: IG2<sup>2</sup>.992; later occasion: SEG 42.1072; Günther (1992).

<sup>63</sup> *I.Priene* 108 (= PEP (Priene) 66). Cf. also the inscription for Herodas of Priene, PEP (Priene) 51 (= *I.Priene* 109, App.#E4). Another case may be Timesiphon of Paros, who was distinguished ἐν τε ταῖς θ[εωρ]αῖς καὶ [ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις; IG12.5.130, 7–8 with supplementary note on p. 309. For long-distance experts, see Helms (1988).



## 10.4 Other officials

*Theōroi* were not the only participants in *theōriai*. The Andros–Delphi convention mentions, as having received a share of the sacrifice, three *arkhitheōroi*, a *mantis*, an archon, a herald, a flute-player (*aulētēs*), a helmsman, a boatswain and a chief rower (A 24–5), the last three connected with the sacred ship. The archon here is presumably the eponymous archon of Andros.<sup>64</sup> In the same way the Athenian archons are mentioned in the decrees relating to the last three of the four *Pūthaiides* to Delphi in the late second and early first centuries BC;<sup>65</sup> the nine Athenian archons included the six *thesmothetai*, and Demosthenes mentions that it was Athens’ traditional (*patrios*) custom to send both *theōroi* and *thesmothetai* to Delphi.<sup>66</sup> The participants in the imperial *Dōdekēis* to Delos include a *nomothetēs*, which may be something similar.<sup>67</sup> Sacred delegations attested at Roman Claros sometimes seem to have been led by a prominent local magistrate as well.<sup>68</sup>

The *aulete* in the Andros–Delphi convention might be there either to accompany the sacrifice or perhaps to provide music for the chorus, if this delegation included one. So in *Pūthais* 4 there is an *aulētēs tou theou*, and an *aulētēs* also in the Athenian *Dōdekēis*.<sup>69</sup> The presence of the *mantis* – also included in enactments of the Athenian *Dōdekēis*, and *Pūthais* – is no surprise since animal sacrifice is so central to the activities of *theōroi*.<sup>70</sup>

The primary responsibility of the herald (*kērux*) was presumably the prayer that accompanied the sacrifice, in which he spoke on behalf of the city that sent the delegation.<sup>71</sup> They probably also made announcements, including, perhaps, forthcoming festivals. There is a sacred herald (*hierokērux*) in the Chian delegations at Claros.<sup>72</sup> The Hellenistic *Pūthaiides* include three heralds: one for the Areopagus, one for the archon and one

<sup>64</sup> Daux (1949a:67), referring to Sauciuc (1914:103). <sup>65</sup> See §13.4, p.228.

<sup>66</sup> Or.19.128. For this term πάτριος, see e.g. *I.Ephesos* 2.5: κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν πάτριον, The phase πατρία θυσία is sometimes used: ID 2535 (App.#G1); Dem. Ep.3.30.

<sup>67</sup> ID2535 (App.#G1).

<sup>68</sup> Busine (2005:72). In Macridy (1912:no.25, 10 = Carie:no.132) Posidonios is both archon and *theopropos*; in SEG 37.970, two delegates from Plotinopolis are *bouleutai*.

<sup>69</sup> Andrian *khōros*: see §14.3. *Pūthais*: FD 2.6,16; *Dōdekēis*: FD 2.62–4. Daux (1949a:67) points to Arist. *Ath.Pol.*62.2 where the herald and the *aulētēs* are mentioned apropos of the archon, but he also wonders whether the *aulētēs* might not have been a naval officer. On the role of the *aulētēs* in Greek cult see also Nordquist (1994:90).

<sup>70</sup> *Pūthais*: FD 2.6, 15; *Dōdekēis*: FD 2.59–64 (two in each enactment); for a general study of the role of the *mantis*, see Flower (2009).

<sup>71</sup> For prayer, see §12.4, p.201.

<sup>72</sup> Macridy (1912:no.18, 11); id. (1912:no.5, 5); cf. id. (1912:no.24, 2), p.201.



for the god (Apollo),<sup>73</sup> and there were also representatives from the *genos* of the Kerukes (in 105 BC and 97 BC). In the Athenian *dōdekēis* one of the officials is designated as priest of Apollo and priest of Hermes Patroos of heralds.<sup>74</sup> In the late fourth century BC an Athenian citizen, Mene-saikhmos, was prosecuted for a ritual error he is supposed to have committed in the course of a *theōriā* to Delos, and the error seems to have had something to do with the presence of Diodoros (the priest?) and a herald.<sup>75</sup>

Priests are often said to have gone along, though usually in later sources. Priests of Apollo accompanied the Athenian *dōdekēis* to Delphi in the first century BC, and priests of Apollo also figure in the records from Claros.<sup>76</sup> The second enactment of the Hellenistic *Pūthais* was accompanied by a priestess of Athene called Chrysis.<sup>77</sup> When around 230–220 BC the Koinon of the Isthmian Dionysiac Artists voted to accept the invitation of Thespiiai to the Mouseia festival, they undertook to send both a priest and *theōroi* to it, as they had done before.<sup>78</sup> In Heliodorus' romance, going to Delos and organising a festival was the culmination of the yearlong duties of a priest and priestess at Ephesos.<sup>79</sup>

Another class of official included in Athenian *theōriai* to Delphi are the *exēgetai* – interpreters of matters of law and religion. At Athens, it is believed that there were three of these, one of them called *Pūthokhrēstos*, i.e. appointed by the Delphic oracle; of the other two, one was appointed from the Eleusinian Eumolpidae, and one selected by the *dēmos* from the Eupatridai.<sup>80</sup> Some of the *Pūthaiides* have two *exēgetai*: the *Pūthokhrēstos* and the one established by the *dēmos*, which means the Eleusinian one did

<sup>73</sup> *Pūth* 2: herald of Areopagus: Mnasikles (*FD* 2.3); *Pūth* 3: herald of archon: Lusimakhos (*FD* 2.4); *Pūth* 4: herald from Areopagus: Purrhos; herald of archon: Simon (*FD* 2.2); herald of god: Theaios (*FD* 2.6) (= Tracy (1975a: 7b, a)).

<sup>74</sup> *FD* 2.59 (App.#F1).

<sup>75</sup> The prosecution speech: Lycurg. frags.XIV.1–11 Conomis (1970); Mikalson (1998:24–5); the defence was ascribed to Dinarchus, fr.XLIIIConomis subtitled περί τῆς Δῆλου θυσίας according to Dionysius of Halikarnassos. K. Fiehn, *RE* 15.849 (1931) s. Menesaikhmos. Naiden (2013:233–4).

<sup>76</sup> *Dōdekēis*: *FD* 2.57, 59–64 = App.#F1; Claros: Busine (2005:72–3).

<sup>77</sup> IG2<sup>2</sup>.1136 = SIG<sup>3</sup> 711K.

<sup>78</sup> Aneziri B4A52–3 (before), B4B6–9 (present)).

<sup>79</sup> *Aith.* 1.22.2; but see §20.4, p.351.

<sup>80</sup> See Chaniotis, *NP*, s. *exegetai*. There were three *Pūthokhrēstos* ones according to Timaeus, *Lex. Plat.* s.v.: Ἐξηγηταί. τρεῖς γίνονται Πυθόχρηστοι, οἷς μέλει καθαίρειν τοὺς ἄγει τινὶ ἐνισχηθέντας. καὶ οἱ ἐξηγοῦμενοι τὰ πάτρια. Details about the period date of the introduction of the *Pūthokhrēstos exegetai*, and their number, are controversial. Contra Oliver's theory that they were not introduced till the fourth century BC, they may be attested in the Prutaneion decree, IG1<sup>3</sup>.131, 9–10 (before 420 BC); see Thompson (1971:233–4); Parker (2005:106).

not take part.<sup>81</sup> The later *Dōdekēides* to Delphi (though significantly not those to Delos) have the same two *exēgetai*, both designated as ‘from the Eupatridai’, which seems to be a break with tradition. The existence of *Pūthokhrēstoi exēgetai* shows that consultation of an external authority outside the territory of Athens was built into the Athenian religious system. In some texts, Apollo himself is given the role of *exēgetēs* for the Athenians, first around 422–416 BC.<sup>82</sup> As Axel Persson pointed out, it is easy to imagine that the *exēgetai* functioned as a local alternative to the oracle.<sup>83</sup>

### 10.5 Groups within the polis specialising in *theōriā*

Participants in *theōriai* are sometimes identified as members of special groups, some of them obviously designed for the purpose – the Attic *Pūthaistai* and *Dēliastai* – others the ostensible kinship-groups known as *genē*.<sup>84</sup> The *Pūthais*-inscriptions mention several of these:

- the Euneidai, who traced their descent from Euneos (‘he of the good ship’), a Lemnian, a child of Theseus and Hippolyte, but no connection with Delphi is known, or with Apollo, although a later source describes them as *kitharōidoi* serving at sacrifices, which at least provides a link to music;<sup>85</sup>
- the Erusikhthonidai who take part in the *Pūthais* in 97 BC must have had a long-standing involvement with Apollo, in view of the tradition reported by Plutarch that Erusikhthon transported a statue to Delos. He died on a *theōriā* to Delos and his body was brought to Prasiai, where there was a memorial to him; it is possible that the *genos* had a special association with Prasiai;<sup>86</sup>

<sup>81</sup> *Pūth* 3: *FD* 2.5; and *Pūth* 4: *FD* 2.6. cf. also *FD* 2.29, which mentions a *Pūthokhrēstos exēgetēs* for *Pūth* 2. On the families, Oliver (1950).

<sup>82</sup> *IG*1<sup>3</sup>.137 (= *LSS* 8). See also the inscription reorganising the Athenian Pythia, *LSS*14 = *SEG* 21.469.

<sup>83</sup> Persson (1918:7): ‘Nach Delphi zu fahren wäre sicher auf die Dauer schwerfällig gewesen; zu den vom Gote selbst auserwählten Exegeten zu gehen, um bei ihnen Auskunft zu bekommen, war dagegen nicht zu viel verlangt...’ Miletus once consulted Didyma to confirm a course of action proposed by a local group of *exegetai* called the Skiridai: Fontenrose (1988:R8) = *LSAM* 47.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Parker (1996:55–66 and Appendix II); D. Roussel (1976). On the *Pūthaistai* see §13.4, §18.3 and on the *Dēliastai* see §18.1, p.305, §18.3.

<sup>85</sup> Harpokration s.v. Εὐνεΐδαι, cited in Parker (1996:297); see also Burkert (1994). For the myth of Theseus and Hippolyte, see §7.5.

<sup>86</sup> The *genos*: Parker (1996:289–90); Bourriot (1976:2:1087–91); Erusikhthonidai in *Pūthais*: *FD* 2.2+10, 51; on Delos: *ID*4.1624 (*bis*), 5; *ID* 2516–8 with P. Roussel (1929:179–84); memorial at

- the Purrhakidai, whose founding hero, Purrhakos, was a contemporary of Erusikhthon, according to Hesychius; like the Erusikhthonidai they are known to have been active on Delos.<sup>87</sup>

Other *genē* mentioned in the *Pūthaïs* records are the *Kērukes* ('Heralds') and *Eupatridai*, the latter the source of one of the three groups of Attic *exēgetai*.<sup>88</sup> The Eleusinian *genos* of the *Kērukes* are known to have contributed to the *spondophoroi*, along with that of the Eumolpidai (source of another of the three groups of *exēgetai*).<sup>89</sup> Another group who may have taken part in the *Pūthaïs* are the Hebdomaistai who made a dedication to Pythian Apollo in the deme of Ikaria.<sup>90</sup>

In other cases, special groups seem to make the journey alone. So the Attic *genos* of the Gephuraioi sent delegates to Delphi to consult the oracle in the first century BC, acting on behalf of another *genos*, the Bouzugai, and not on behalf of the polis as a whole. The atthidographer Kleidemos described a delegation made by the *Aiantis* tribe to a remote cave in honour of the Sphragitid Nymphs on Mt Kithairon in commemoration of the Battle of Plataea, conveying a sacrifice funded by the city.<sup>91</sup> Two other groups, the Salaminioi and the Paraloi, seem to have had special responsibility for Athenian sacred ships.<sup>92</sup> On a smaller scale, private societies might also engage in joint attendance of festivals, such as an anonymous *sunousia* mentioned in a speech ascribed to Lysias whose activities included *xuntheōrein* of a festival at Eleusis.<sup>93</sup>

Such groups are attested in non-Athenian traditions as well. The Amphiareidai (associated with the prophet Amphiaraus?) are mentioned in a Koan sacred law from the fourth century BC regulating a *theōriā* to Delos and Delphi. In Eretria, there was a family called the Theopropoi or Theopropidai, which has been linked to the *theopropoi* who consulted Delphi. In Hadrianic Cyzicus an obscure oracle of Ammon seems to have been

Prasiai: Paus. 1.31.2; Plutarch F158Sandbach = Eusebius *PE* 3.8 (= Tresp (1914:79)), says that the statue of Erusikhthon was used (sent?) ἐπὶ θεωριῶν (during festivals? for the purpose of *theōriai*?). Some scholars have identified the statue mentioned by Pausanias and Plutarch with a colossal statue of the Imperial period known from Prasiai: references can be found in Vermeule (1962:72–4), and Kron (1988:no.6); for the statue see §2.3. Erusikhthon is also involved in *theōriā* in Callimachus *Hymn* 5. On the figure in myth, see Robertson (1984:385); Rutherford (2005d).

<sup>87</sup> The Delian inscriptions are *ID*66 and 67, both around 400 BC; also in *ID*1416. See further Parker (1996:308), Bourriot (1976:2, 1162–5), Lambert (1997:105n.81).

<sup>88</sup> For the Athenian Eupatridai, Gehrke, in *NP* s.v.

<sup>89</sup> *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.1236, 15 = Clinton no.221 (around 180 BC). For the *Kērukes* see also §18.3, p.314.

<sup>90</sup> *SEG* 32.244; Voutiras (1982); see §18.3, p.315. <sup>91</sup> For these, see §18.4.

<sup>92</sup> See §11.2. <sup>93</sup> Lys. 8.5; cf. Todd (2007:ad loc.).

obtained and publicised by a local group appropriately called the Ammoneitai.<sup>94</sup>

## 10.6 The escort

### 10.6.1 Composition

A *theōriā*, particularly one attending a festival, might be accompanied by an official escort, which took part in processions and/or performed choral song or engaged in other displays. An example I have mentioned many times already are the one hundred young men sent to Delphi by Khios according to Herodotus, all but two of whom died in a plague.<sup>95</sup> Another escort is mentioned in an origin-story for the First Sacred War, which is supposed to have started when the Cirrhaeans abducted Megisto, daughter of the Phocian Pelagon, as well as the daughters of the Argives on their way back from Delphi.<sup>96</sup> In the fourth century, Athens sends young men called *ēitheoi* to Delos. In the first century AD, Kaunos sends *neoi* to Samothrace.<sup>97</sup> Choruses accompanying delegations are common at all times, but they are particularly well attested in the fifth century BC, when Pindar and other poets wrote songs for them, and also in the Roman Empire, when Claros received choruses from all over Asia Minor and further afield; *ēitheoi* is still a common term in the records.<sup>98</sup> Another function of some escorts may have been to provide security from attack; thus, Dio of Prusa mentions that some *theōroi* crossing the desert to the oracle of Ammon were escorted by horsemen and archers.<sup>99</sup>

The fullest accounts of escorts come in the records of the Hellenistic *Pūthaidēs* and also in the novelist Heliodorus' ekphrasis of the Ainianian *theōriā* to Delphi. The four enactments of the *Pūthais* were all slightly

<sup>94</sup> Amphiareidai: see §13.6; Theopropoi of Eretria: Porph. *Abst.*2.9 = 537PW with their note; Theopropidai: DL 2.125 with Knoepfler (1991:171n.3: 'Génos (?) non attesté par ailleurs, dont le nom suggère qu'il avait un caractère sacerdotal (comme ceux des Kéryces et de Eumolpides à Éleusis); on devait y recruter les *théopropoi* ou consultants officiels de l'oracle delphique.'). Ammoneitai: see SGO 08/01/01; Merkelbach-Schwertheim (1983); Peek (1984). The image of Ammon appeared on coins of Cyzicus as early as the fifth century BC: see Parke (1967:220). Notice also the Amphikleidai of Sicilian Naxos who made a dedication at Delos: see Rutherford (1997); Malkin (2011:115–16).

<sup>95</sup> *Hist.*6.27.

<sup>96</sup> Ath. 13.560c = Kallisthenes of Olunthos *Peri Tou Hierou Polemou* FGrH124F1.

<sup>97</sup> Athens: Arist. *Ath. Pol.*56; Kaunos: Marek (2006:no.28, 19).

<sup>98</sup> See §14.3.1–2. For *ēitheoi* at Claros see *Carie*:nos. 26, 28, 143–6, 194, 196.

<sup>99</sup> Dio 5.25; cf. §11.4.

different, but all included subdelegations of ‘*Pūthaïst* boys’ (starting at 39, reaching a maximum of 69 in *Pūth* 3), *kanēphoroi*-girls (ranging between 11 in *Pūth* 3 and 8 in *Pūth* 4), and ephebes (69–97–66 in *Pūth* 2–4).<sup>100</sup> In some of them *hippeis* are present to ‘join in escorting’ (*sumparapempson-tes*).<sup>101</sup> In the later enactments, two other categories of *Pūthaïstai* are found, one comprising adult representatives of various special groups and of the Tetrapolis and the other consisting of *Pūthaïstai* ‘Chosen by Lot’ (*Pūthaïstai klērōtoi*). The later three enactments were also accompanied by a large delegation representing the Athenian branch of the Artists of Dionysus.

Compared with these numbers, Heliodorus’ Ainianian *theōriā* is on a modest scale. The procession begins with a hecatomb and other sacrificial animals led by herdsmen, who are apparently going to kill them (unlikely in real life).<sup>102</sup> Then come a group of singing girls (no number is specified), divided into two groups, one carrying baskets, the other trays of food. They were followed by fifty ephebes on horseback, also arranged in two groups so as to surround Theagenes, ‘the *arkhitheōros* in the middle’ (μεσεύοντα τὸν ἀρχιθέωρον). Elaborate Second Sophistic fiction though this clearly is, it strongly resonates with the Athenian *Pūthaïs*, except that *ephēboi* and *hippeis* have been fused into a single image, and there is no pedestrian chorus of men to balance the *kanēphoroi*.<sup>103</sup>

### 10.6.2 The significance of young people’s involvement

It is striking that so many of the participants in the escorts are young. The most straightforward way of interpreting the presence of young people is to say that city-states were taking the opportunity to display the strength of their young people to the wider world. Something similar was observed by the anthropologist Roy Rappaport in his study of New Guinea’s contemporary Maring culture. Examining the Kaiko festival which is visited by groups of dancers from neighbouring communities, he analysed their behaviour as ‘epigamic’, i.e. aimed at mating, and ‘epideictic’, i.e. aimed at imparting information about the density of the population, information that would tend to influence future decisions made by communities.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>100</sup> See further §13.4. <sup>101</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup> 697G (FD 2.27); Bugh (1988:195–6).

<sup>102</sup> τῶν τελουμένων (Aith. 3.1.3); later on (3.5.2) the killing is presented in almost mystical fashion (‘by one hand’).

<sup>103</sup> For more on historicity, see §20.4. On the historical reality behind Heliodorus’ ephebes, see now Chankowski (2010:412–13).

<sup>104</sup> Rappaport (1967:193–6); the terminology comes from the zoologist Wynne-Edwards (1962:16–17).

‘Epideictic’ and ‘epigamic’ are useful terms for thinking about the escorts that accompanied *theōriai* as well: they are epideictic in so far as the sending groups of young men to perform at sanctuaries is a way for a community to display its potential military strength; as for the epigamic function, we need only think of stories about romantic relationships that begin when one of the partners is dancing at a sanctuary.<sup>105</sup>

For much of the twentieth century, it was standard practice to interpret rituals in which young people play a part as vestiges of tribal ‘rites of passage’, marking maturation or at least progression from one age-class to another. Ideally, the classic van Gennepian triad of separation, segregation and reaggregation would be superimposed on the ancient evidence. More recently, however, some general doubt has been cast on this model.<sup>106</sup> In several cultures, pilgrimage to a distant location seems to function as a maturation ritual,<sup>107</sup> but it is uncertain to what extent this happened in Greece. Young men visiting Delphi sometimes dedicated their hair to the god, though the references are always to private individuals rather than state-delegates.<sup>108</sup> Maturation is also suggested by some myths associated with *theōriā*, such as that of Theseus and the Dis Hepta.<sup>109</sup> One exceptional case where a maturation-rite and civic *theōriā* seem to coincide is the atypical Delphic Septerion ritual. In Plutarch’s version of this, a boy or young man flees Delphi after setting fire to a hut, which was taking to symbolise the lair of the Delphic dragon (making the young man the ritual avatar of Apollo), though it could be interpreted in other ways as well.<sup>110</sup> He wanders as a fugitive through North Greece (the parallel with the Spartan *krupeteia* is hard to resist). Eventually he reached Thessaly, where he is purified in the

<sup>105</sup> Such as Acontius and Cydippe; I discuss this theory further in Rutherford (forthcoming a).

<sup>106</sup> See Dodd and Faraone (2003).

<sup>107</sup> Examples include pilgrimage to Sabarimalai in Kerala in South India, on which see Younger (2002:17–25), and the *primeros* in Huichol Indian pilgrimage, discussed by Myerhoff (1974:139–43).

<sup>108</sup> Thphr. *Char.*21.4 (*Mikrophilotimia*) mentions a man who goes to the extreme of having his son’s shearing ritual carried out at Delphi; Plut. *Thes.*5, says that Athenians believed that in the time of Theseus it had been customary to dedicate adolescent hair at Delphi, indicating that the custom was no longer practised; Theopompos *FGrH*115F248 (= Ath. 13.605a) seems to imply that a son of Pythodoros of Sicyon came to Delphi to dedicate his hair in the fourth century BC. See, in general, Leitao (2003). Rhianus, *AG* 6. 278, which Sommer (1912:26) takes as another example may not be one after all, since the epithet Delphinios need not refer to Delphi. At Delos Delian maidens dedicated their hair: Hdt. 4.33ff.; Call. *Del.*296–9; Paus. 1.43.4. Calame (1977:1, 197–9) (= Calame (1997:108)).

<sup>109</sup> For Theseus’ role in Athenian *theōriā* see index s.v.; the case for Theseus-myth as a model for the maturation of Athenian boys was made by Jeanmaire (1939:228–372); for application to literature: Segal (1979).

<sup>110</sup> Plut. *De def.or.*15.417e–418d.

River Peneius (a river that, in a tradition probably at least as old as Pindar, is linked to the Underworld). After that he returns to Delphi along the Pythian Way.<sup>111</sup> The other principal source is Aelian, who is probably drawing on the fourth-century historian Theopompos, and this is strikingly different: the Delphians sent noble children to Thessaly, accompanied by an *arkhitheōros*, who made a big sacrifice there and then returned, bringing laurel from the very tree where Apollo purified himself, perhaps the very laurel that is later used for victors in the Pythian Games.<sup>112</sup> These two elements – adolescent initiation pivoting on the young Apollo's purification and daphnephoric *theōriā* – could be explained as distinct phases within the Septerion (before purification: chthonic and hidden; after purification: celebratory), or distinct aspects of it (the *daphnēphoriā* being the ritual while Apollo's flight is the accompanying myth). From a diachronic perspective, it is possible that the two aspects reflect an originally tribal ritual which has been reshaped to suit the framework of polis-religion.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>111</sup> The Septerion was interpreted as a rite of passage by Brelich (1969:426); *hiketes, obbligato al digiuno, presso un fiume collegato agli inferi, il pais delfico rappresenta perfettamente le condizioni dell' iniziando allontanato della propria comunità e precipitato in uno stato di crisi nell' angoscioso ambiente del non-abitato*. For the chthonic associations of the river, cf. also Pin. *Paeon* 10a, with *Paeans*:200–5 ('A2'). Calame (1977:190–4, cf. 117–24) also points to a similar laurel-carrying ritual from Thebes, the *daphnēphoriā*, which involved children, and which he sees (192) as a 'replica' of the Septerion.

<sup>112</sup> Aelian *VH*3.1 = Thphr. *FGrH*.115F80.

<sup>113</sup> I discuss this further in Rutherford (2005a).

### 11.1 The mission begins

In Plato's well-known account, the Athenian *theōriā* to Delos started when the priest of Apollo garlanded the stern of the boat, presumably the famous *theōris* of Theseus, whom he mentions just before.<sup>1</sup> Wearing a garland (*stephanos*) is a defining sign of the *theōriā*, the only item in their apparel which is regularly mentioned.<sup>2</sup> Thus, in Euripides' *Hippolytus* Theseus, returning from Delphi to Troezen, learns from the *choros* that Phaedra has already hanged herself, and utters these poignant lines, which contrast his theoric status with the situation he now faces: *Why am I wearing this garland of leaves on my head, unhappy theōros that I am?*<sup>3</sup> Garlands might also be placed on a wagon used by a sacred delegation.<sup>4</sup> These would be made of an appropriate foliage, laurel in the case of Apolline sanctuaries.<sup>5</sup> Some texts suggest that as well as wearing foliage, they also carried branches of it: Varro says that those setting out for Delphi from Rhegium (civic delegates?) took with them branches from a laurel tree connected with the purification

<sup>1</sup> Pl. *Phd.* 58c.

<sup>2</sup> One source mysteriously tells us that *theōroi* used golden strips or ribbons (*tainidia*): Heraclides of Tarentum, cited in Erotian, *Vocum Hippocraticarum Collectio* 77, 15Nachmanson, so interpreting the word στελεγγίδια; see §7.1, p.113n. A Koan decree (IG12.4.207, 7 = App.#D9) seems to refer to the *theōroi* wearing something, but it is not clear what. Delegates visiting partner cities in Hellenistic Crete were required to wear a distinctive cloak, according to Chaniotis (1996:131–2).

<sup>3</sup> 806–7: αἰαί, τί δῆτα τοῖσδ' ἀνέστεμμαι κάρα / πλεκτοῖσι φύλλοις, δυστυχῆς θεωρός ὦν. Here θεωρός means both 'sacred envoy' and 'spectator', i.e. with respect to the situation Theseus finds at Troezen. Perhaps δυστυχῆς θεωρός echoes the similarly oxymoronic δυσχερῇ θεωρίαν at Ps.Aesch. PV807. So at E., *Suppl.* 97, Theseus' comment on the mourning suppliant women at Eleusis that their clothes are οὐ θεωρικὰ probably means that they are not befitting a festival (θεωρία).

<sup>4</sup> In general: Blech (1982:366), citing Σ Ar. *Pl.* 21 (Chantry (1994:12)); on crowns in the *Ploutos*: Groton (1990); crowns on theoric wagons: Hesychius s.v. θεωρικῶς (cited in §7.1). A *theōros* from Spina left a garland on a statue as payment for having sex with it: Polemon *Peri Hellados* fr.55Preller (= Ath. 13, 606ab). At Achilles Tatius 7.12: the priest wears a crown of laurel as sign that the *theōriā* has arrived. According to a Σ on Ar. *Pl.*, those consulting the Delphic oracle gave written questions wrapped in garlands: see §6.4, p.104n.

<sup>5</sup> By contrast, the *theōroi* in Philostratus' *Heroicus* wear garlands of amaranth (see §20.3).



of Orestes, and we may think also of the branches carried back from Thesaly by the young man in the Septerion ritual.<sup>6</sup>

The use of garlands by *theōroi* should be distinguished from the more general association of garlands with festivals.<sup>7</sup> Thus, when in the early third century BC the Koans sent *theōroi* to Delphi to celebrate the defeat of the Gauls and decreed that citizens back in Kos should wear garlands at the same time, this may be less a specific identification with the *theōroi* than a general expression of festive behaviour.<sup>8</sup> As far as *theoroi* are concerned, donning the garland is a sign of assuming a sacred status, a rite of passage, as it were, between normal life and the special status which goes with the sacred mission.

Other rituals must have taken place at departure as well, such as divination.<sup>9</sup> A cult regulation from early Hellenistic Cyrene, recently published by Catherine Dobias-Lalou, mentions a sacrifice called the *Protheāria*, apparently offered by the local *tamiai*, and to judge from its name, this might have preceded the dispatch of *theāroi*.<sup>10</sup> The inscription seems to imply that the *Protheāria* coincided with one of the days of the 'Akamantia', a mysterious term also mentioned in the Cyrenaean cathartic law, which suggests that here too the context might be purification. Similarly, in some cities the departure of *theōroi* seems to be connected to primeval purification: the laurel-carrying citizens of Rhegium mentioned earlier took their laurel from the grove attached to a temple founded by Orestes, when he purified himself from the murder of his mother at the confluence of seven rivers.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Those going to Delphi in Varro's account of Matauros: see below; the *arkhitheōros* in the Septerion ritual: see §10.6.2, p.173.

<sup>7</sup> Blech (1982: 302ff.); Krauter (2004:73–4).

<sup>8</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup> 398, 36. <sup>9</sup> Cf. Euphron: PCG 5.288, fr.7.

<sup>10</sup> SEG 57.2010 (App.#D5), where I discuss the possibility that they performed a purification ritual. Dobias-Lalou (2007:146) says that the archaeological context suggests the sanctuary of Apollo; Fadel Ali, Reynolds, Dobias Lalou (2007:32).

<sup>11</sup> Costabile (1979:527–35); Vallet (1958:268–9); H. Philipp s. Regium, RE IA1:495–6. The source is Varro ARH Book 10, fr.XI Mirsch (1882:110) = Probus, ad Verg. *Buc.* VI.31, p.325 Hagen: *huius autem fluminis, apud quod purgatus est Orestes, Varro meminit Humanarum X sic: iuxta Rhegium fluvii sunt continui septem: Latapadon, Micotes, Eugiton, Stracteos, Polie, Molee, Argeades. in his matris nece purgatus dicitur Orestes ibique ahenum eius diu fuisse ensem et ab eo aedificatum Apollinis templum, e cuius luco Rheginos, cum Delphos proficiscerentur, re divina facta lauream decerpere solitos, quam ferrent secum.* ('Varro mentions this river, in which Orestes was purified, in the tenth book of the Human Antiquities with these words: near Rhegium there are seven rivers connected together: the Latapadon, Micotes, Eugiton, Stracteos, Polie, Molee, and the Argeades. It is said that in these Orestes was purified from the mother's murder, and that his bronze sword has been there for a long time, and that he built a temple dedicated to Apollo, and that the inhabitants of Rhegium, when they are about to take off for Delphi, after having performed the sacred rites, used to tear some laurel from the temple's sacred grove, and bring it with them.'). I would like to thank Orazio Camaioni for a discussion of this text.

The temple was located between Rhegium and Locrian Matauros to the North, and may have been the venue for the first performance of Stesichorus' *Oresteia*.<sup>12</sup> So at Troezen, the temple of Apollo Thearios had the *skēnē* next to it where Orestes was once purified, and where the descendants of the purifiers still dined on appointed days.<sup>13</sup> Was a reenactment of the purification ritual a prequel for a Troezenian *theōriā* to Delphi, and was Apollo Thearios named after it?<sup>14</sup>

In some cases, the departure of a *theōriā* coincided with a festival in the home-community. Thus, a sacred law from Kos seems to refer to a festival which took place when a *theōriā* departs for Delos and Delphi, and was attended by delegates from nearby city-states, including Knidos; delegates from other places in the region bound for Delos or Delphi may perhaps have massed at this festival beforehand.<sup>15</sup> One motive for pre-mission massing might have been to ensure safety in numbers.<sup>16</sup> A similar ritual may have taken place in Sicily to judge from Thucydides' testimony that when *theōroi* set out from Sicily they offered sacrifice in the altar of Apollo Archegetes at Naxos in Sicily, which had been established by Thoukles, the founder of the colony. (However, the stage being marked here may be not the start of the *theōriā* but the point when they left Sicily).<sup>17</sup> There must have been many other similar cases.<sup>18</sup>

At Athens, Strabo reports a special ritual when the *Pūthaïstai* in Athens kept watch for three months for lightning over Mt Parnes, which would

<sup>12</sup> Location: Vallet (1958:137); Stesichorus: Cingano (1993:357).

<sup>13</sup> Paus. 2.31.6–9.

<sup>14</sup> So in the Delphic Septerion ritual, the journey of the Delphic *arkhitheōros* from the River Peneius in Thessaly began with a ritual in Thessaly commemorating the purification: see §10.6.2. Another place that claimed to have hosted a great primeval purification was Tarrha in Southern Crete, where Karmanor purified Apollo of the bloodguilt of murder (Huxley (1965:122–3). The nearby city of Elyros dedicated a bronze goat at Delphi supposed to represent the one that suckled the twins sons of Apollo and the nymph Akakallis, conceived in the house of Karmanor at Tarrha (Paus. 10.16.5). Elyros must have sent a regular *theōriā* to Delphi – they even had a *theārodokos* there (App.#E1). Was the context for its dispatch a festival involving Tarrha, and Elyros where Karamor's primeval purification was re-enacted? See Rutherford (forthcoming e).

<sup>15</sup> IG12.4.332b (App.#C7); see §13.5.      <sup>16</sup> See §11.4.

<sup>17</sup> Thuc.6.3.1. This has been much discussed recently, e.g. Malkin (1987:19), id. (1986), id. (1998:60); Hall (2002:122), id. (2004:46) id. (2011:101–6). Malkin thinks all Greek *theōroi* leaving Sicily sacrificed there; Hall and Antonaccio (2007:273) disagree.

<sup>18</sup> Perhaps on Aegina, where the Theārion may have been the locus for a gathering of delegates from a *pentapolis* (see §8.4); or at Rhegium, during the local spring festival of Apollo, as suggested by Costabile (1979:531–5) who even proposes (533) that the setting out and return might have taken place during the same festival, which was in some years very long (cf. Aristoxenos fr.117W). Another possibility is Cyrene, since the accounts of the Delphic *nāopoioi* for 334 BC (CID2.26.4–12) suggest that citizens from Cyrene and from its colony Euesperides (*theōroi*?) travelled to Delphi together, in which case they may have massed first.

signal the start of the *theōriā*. The lightning had to appear over a certain location, Harma ('Chariot': the very name suggests a journey), which was near the deme of Phyle, on the western side of the mountain.<sup>19</sup>

From there originates the proverb, 'when the lightning flashes across Harma', for those who are called the Pythaistae look in the general direction of Harma, in accordance with an oracle, and then, when they see the lightning flash, they take the offering to Delphi. They would keep watch for three months, for three days and nights each month, from the altar of Zeus Astrapaio; this altar is within the walls between the Pythium and the Olympium. (tr. H. L. Jones, Loeb edition)

The Pythion in the south-west of the city is probably also where the *Pūthaïs* started from.<sup>20</sup> As Strabo implies, 'when the lightning flashes across Harma' was proverbial for rare events.<sup>21</sup> An Athenian calendar of the end of the fifth century mentioned Harma and is for this reason believed to have dealt with the observation by the *Pūthaïstai*; the next column of text outlines the composition of a procession that takes place in Athens, either when the *Pūthaïstai* are watching for the sign or when they set off (would they have stayed in the same formation all the way to Delphi?). The prescription for the procession lists a number of things that are to 'follow the basket'.<sup>22</sup> These are: a tripod (a suitably Apolline article), items called *epitoxides* (something to do with arrows?), a crown, a *progonion* (presumably a type of sacrificial victim), and finally two mysterious items: something denoted by a word ending in *-iskos* and a *sphaira* or something beginning *sphaira*-.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Str. 9.2.11, 404c: ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ παροιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἡ λέγουσα „ὁπότεν δι' Ἄρματος ἀστράφηι, ἀστραπήν τινα σημειουμένων κατὰ χρησμόν τῶν λεγομένων Πυθαϊστών, βλέπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρμα καὶ τότε πεμπόντων τὴν θυσίαν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὅταν ἀστράψαντα ἴδωσιν· ἐτήρουν δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας, καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ ἀστραπαίου Διός· ἔστι δ' αὕτη ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξύ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. = Philochorus 328F113. The passage is discussed by Parker (2005:85); see §13.4, §18.3.

<sup>20</sup> Boethius (1918:405); for the view that it started at a shrine of Pythian Apollo on the north-west slope of the Acropolis, see *Agora* 19:29; for the Pythion, see Wycherley (1978:167) with id. (1963).

<sup>21</sup> The other main sources are Zenobius, Athoan recension Book 1.37 = Boethius (1918:146, Test 4) (no definitive edition yet but see Miller (1868:353)): ἡ παροιμία εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῶν χρονίως γινομένων; Suda s.v. Ἄρμα; Hesychius s.v. ἀστραπή δι' Ἄρματος, Paus. Attic. s.v. Ἄρμα. The proverb is used in Plutarch. *Sump. Prob.* 679c: οἱ γὰρ σπανίως καὶ "δι' Ἄρματος" ὡς φασιν ἐστιῶντες... Aristid. 28.114 (2.177, 29 Keil) seems to use the expression in a different way of inspiration.

<sup>22</sup> SEG 52. 48 fr. 1A.27–30; see §18.3; App.#B7.1.

<sup>23</sup> Lambert (2002a:372) thinks of an allusion to the *omphalos*. A ball (σφαῖρα) made of precious metal could perhaps be an offering, as occasionally in the Delian inventories (Hamilton (2000:466, index s. 'ball', has references). I wonder whether we should think of the Theban *daphnēphoriā* (also Apolline), in which, according to Proclus (*Bibl.* 239, 321a33–b32; Schachter

The period when the *theōriā* was away might also be part of ritual observance in the home polis.<sup>24</sup> In Athens, public executions could not be carried out during the absence of the *theōriā* to Delos, as we see from the introduction of Plato's *Phaedo*.<sup>25</sup> According to Philochorus, sacrifices were offered on behalf of *theōriai* from the Marathonian Tetrapolis in the deme of Oinoe in the case of those going to Delphi and in the Delion at Marathon on behalf of those going to Delos:<sup>26</sup>

When the traditional signs occur in the temples, those in the *genos* send off the *theōriā*... [Pythian and Delian?], whichever suits them. When the rites of conveying (?) comes about and the *theōriā* is sent to Delphi, the *mantis* sacrifices in Oinoe every day in the Pythion; if it is sent to Delos, the *mantis* sacrifices in the Marathonian Delion, as I said. Observation of sacrificial signs takes places in the Pythion at Oinoe in the case of the *theōriā* to Delphi, and in the Delion at Marathon in the case of the one to Delos.

In the same way on the island of Kos the priest sacrificed on behalf of the *Amphiareidai* accompanying the *theōroi* while they were away, and the date specified for the sacrifice – that of the full moon (i.e. the middle day) of the month of Dalios – may well be the same day on which the *theōroi* were supposed to sacrifice on Delos.<sup>27</sup>

## 11.2 Sea travel

Many theoric missions inevitably went by sea, and for that purpose use was made of a ship called a *theōris*. A number of these from Athens are known (see below), and also one from Corinth, called 'Demeter and Kore'.<sup>28</sup>

(1981–94: 1.83–5)), a bronze ball was fixed on top of a pine-log (the 'κωπώ') from which they hung other, smaller balls and a large number of garlands; halfway down was fixed another ball, smaller than the one at the top. Proclus sees solar symbolism here.

<sup>24</sup> According to Myerhoff (1974:117) when Huichol Indians of Western Mexico go on pilgrimages to fetch peyote, fire is kept going at home.

<sup>25</sup> The period was thirty days, according to Xen. *Mem.*4.8.2. Achilles Tatius makes use of this as a motif in the climax of his novel (7.12); cf. §20.4, p.350.

<sup>26</sup> *FGrH* 328F75 = Σ Soph. OC 1047 (47, 1–5De Marco); ὅταν δὲ σημεῖα γένηται <τὰ> παραδεδομένα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τότε ἀποστέλλουσι τὴν θεωρίαν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους [†Πύθια δὲ καὶ Δηλιάδες†], ὁπότερα ἂν καθήκη αὐτοῖς. θύει δὲ ὁ μάντις, ὅταν μὲν τὰ εἰς Δελφούς πόμπιμα γένηται καὶ θεωρία πέμπηται, ἐν Οἰνῳ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ· εἰ δὲ εἰς Δῆλον ἀποστέλλοιτο ἡ θεωρία, κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα θύει ὁ μάντις εἰς τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι Δῆλιον. Καὶ ἔστιν ἱεροσκοπία τῆς μὲν εἰς Δελφούς θεωρίας ἐν τῷ Οἰνῳ Πυθίῳ, τῆς δὲ εἰς Δῆλον ἐν τῷ ἐν Μαραθῶνι Δηλίῳ. De Marco prints γένους... Πυθιάδα καὶ Δηλιάδα.

<sup>27</sup> *IG*12.4.332b, 61–2 (App.#C7); see §13.5.

<sup>28</sup> Plut. *Timarion* 8.1–2; Diod. Sic. 16.66.5.

Besides destinations where sea travel was the only option (Delos, Ammon), it may have been preferred for others as well, such as the Isthmos, in view of Plutarch's statement that the Athenians obtained the right to a *prohedriā* at the Isthmia as large as the sail of their ancestral sacred ship.<sup>29</sup>

The crews of these ships had a special, ritual status, to judge from the Andros–Delphi convention where the list of officials exempted from certain taxes includes three ship's officers: a helmsman, a boatswain (*keleustēs*), and a chief rower. It is difficult to see why they should have been given this privilege if they were merely ship's officers, and it seems more likely that, at least for the purpose of the *theōriā*, they were given a status equal to that of the sacred officials in the same way that the ship itself will have been regarded as a sacred vessel. It is even possible that the Andrian archon who took part in the *theōriā* in a sacred capacity functioned as the captain of the ship (the absence of any reference to a captain is otherwise difficult to explain).<sup>30</sup>

Not every city had direct access to the sea. How this problem might have been managed is illustrated by the case of the landlocked Cretan city of Praisos, which made use of two dependent cities on the northern and southern coasts to provide sea transport. The source for this is an early-third-century BC treaty between Praisos and Stalai on the south coast, and, though the arrangements are not wholly clear, it seems that Stalai deals with voyages to the south of Crete (as Seteia does for the north?), but as far as concerns Delphi and Olympia, 'the citizens of Seteia will sail with those of Stalai, supplying their own provisions and pay'.<sup>31</sup> This must mean that when Praisos sends *theōriai* to Delphi or Olympia, it is to be accompanied by members of both dependent cities, who chauffeur its splendid Eteocretan *theōroi* to the mainland and back again. No reason for this arrangement is given, but the maximum number of boats might have been considered necessary if, as I would expect, a *theōriā* from Praisos to one of the two

<sup>29</sup> Plut. *Theseus* 25; see §9.1, p.147. Photius, below n.38, says that the Paralos was used for Olympia. Σ Aristid. *Panath.* 189 (324.23 Dindorf) says that the Athenians sent a ship to Delphi every year, but since the immediate context is the *Pūthais* and Theseus' famous clearing of the road (see below §11.3, p.183), this looks like a confusion.

<sup>30</sup> Jordan (1975:157). In Samothracian initiate inscriptions the ship's crew is mentioned: SEG 29.799 (= Dimitrova:no.61) lists a *nauarkhos* and *trierarkhoi* from Knidos; IG12.8.186b (= Dimitrova:no.50) records two sailors from Ephesos and one from Xanthos, accompanying a Rhodian delegation) and IG12.8.189B17–18 (Dimitrova:no.57) records a Cyzicene delegation, headed by a *trierarkhos*; cf. also the *hieronautai* of Tyre and Sidon attested in ID50 (App.#C2).

<sup>31</sup> Chaniotis (1996:no.64B13–15) = ICret3.6.7B: ὅσα μὲν εἰς Δελφοῦς καὶ Ὀλυμπίαν πλεύουσιν[αι] Σηταιῖται μετὰ Σταλιτᾶν, παρεχόμενοι τὰ ἐπιτάδ[ει]α καὶ μισθοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖ αὐτῶ. See Chaniotis (1996:no.64, 392 with note 1856), Perlman (1996:233, 257–8). For Stalai see IACP no.989 (P. Perlman).

main Panhellenic festivals would have been quite large. It is also possible that there was a political dimension to this, since the effect of the regulation would surely have been to thrust Stalai and Seteia into the subaltern role of transport-providers. The common festivals were an arena where it was considered important to show off the status of communities.<sup>32</sup>

A grand theoric voyage could have stopped at more than one sanctuary, particularly if the city sending it was comparatively remote from the main centres. The only known cases (but there must surely have been more) are seaborne *theōriai* from Kos and Rhodes, which are believed to have made two stops, first at both Delos, and then Delphi.<sup>33</sup> This makes geographical sense, since the ship could have passed through the Cyclades before circumnavigating the Peloponnese on the way to the Gulf of Corinth. Delos thus becomes a way-station where the delegation makes a ‘pilgrimage in passing’ in the course of a longer trip.<sup>34</sup>

As might be expected of a naval power, Athens prided itself on its *theōrides*, which were both the vehicle for much *theōriā* and a symbol of it. One of these had been Theseus’ original *triakontorion*;<sup>35</sup> continuous replacement of worn-out components over the centuries meant it was difficult to say whether it was the same vessel, which, according to Plutarch, provided philosophers with material for a paradox (a type of ‘sorites’).<sup>36</sup> It is significant that in the *Phaedo* the *theōriā* begins at the moment when the sacred ship – presumably this very one – is garlanded, bringing the dead

<sup>32</sup> For more on the political symbolism, see §13.3. It would be interesting to know whether or not Seteia or Stalai were allowed to send their own *theōros*, or whether it was allowed but only under the flag of Praisos. Inglese (1991) = SEG 41.503 restored a reference to the Cretan city of Stalai in DTL4.1, but having the right to receive *theōroi* is not the same as having the right to send them (cf. on Helisson, §13.3, p.220 below), and in any case Oulhen (1992:116) rejects this reading.

<sup>33</sup> Kos: IG12.4.332b, 60 (App.#C7), and Rhodes: IG11.2.287B39; ID 298 A10: ἀρχιθεώρου εἰς Δελφὸς Λυσιστράτου.

<sup>34</sup> For ‘pilgrimage in passing’ see Yoyotte’s (1960:24) discussion of Egyptian pilgrimage: ‘Pour ainsi dire l’Égyptien *passa* en pèlerinage beaucoup plus souvent qu’il n’*alla* en pèlerinage.’ For way-stations, see §11.3, p.183.

<sup>35</sup> This term is used in Arist. *Ath.Pol.*56.3. A *triakontorion* with thirty oars was much smaller than a trireme, such as the *Salaminia*. See Chankowski (2008:87).

<sup>36</sup> Plut. *Thes.*23.1; *An sen. ger. reipub.*6, 786f with Parker (2005:81). Chankowski (2008:86–8) points to evidence from the Delian inventories that it really was repaired: ID100, 36. Theseus’ boat is not otherwise discussed as a paradox by ancient authors, as far as I can see, but it has been a popular example in modern Western philosophy, thanks to a revival of it by Thomas Hobbes in *De corpore* (1655), II.11.7 (who does not explicitly attribute it to Plutarch). Hobbes reinterprets the paradox, and asks: would the discarded parts not have a better claim to be the original ship?

timbers to ritual life (*aeizōonta* according to Callimachus).<sup>37</sup> The *theōris* embodies the *theōriā*.

Excluding Theseus' ship, there seem earlier on to have been two Athenian *theōrides*, the Salaminia (which functioned as a general official transport) and the Paralos.<sup>38</sup> There was also one in the Marathonian Tetrapolis.<sup>39</sup> When, in the fourth century, consultation of Ammon became the norm, the Ammonias was added,<sup>40</sup> and after Antigonos Monophthalmos and his son Demetrius Poliorketes took over Athens in 307 BC, Athenians not only created two new tribes in their name, but they also inaugurated two new *theōrides*, to be known as 'Demetrias' and 'Antigonis'.<sup>41</sup> Still later we find another one, the 'Ptolemais', whose inauguration presumably accompanied the creation of a Ptolemais tribe in 222.<sup>42</sup> Surviving names in the inventories suggest even more.<sup>43</sup>

Associated with the Salaminia was the Attic *genos* of the Salaminioi, best known from a decree by them published in the 1930s, which shows a link with Sounion.<sup>44</sup> Little about the Salaminioi, who are by far the best attested of the Athenian *genē*, is certain, but it is clear that they were linked to the sea, since the ritual calendar at the end of the document indicates that they made sacrifices to Poseidon Hippodromios, and the heroes Phaiax

<sup>37</sup> Call.*Hymn* 4.314–15: ἐνθεν ἀειζώνοντα θεωρίδος ἱερὰ Φοίβωι / Κεκροπίδαι πέμπουσι τοπήϊα νηὸς ἐκείνης.

<sup>38</sup> Photius, *Lexicon* (s.v.*Paralos*) 2.57 Naber (this and similar sources are collected under Arist. fr.443 Rose): Πάραλος: ἱερὰ τριήρης ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ Σαλαμινία. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τριήρεις δύο Ἀντιγονίς καὶ Δημητριάς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀμμωνιάς· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν Πάραλος ἐπέμπετο πρὸς τὰς θεωρίας, εἰς τε Δῆλόν φημι καὶ Ὀλυμπίαν, ἡ δὲ Σαλαμινία πρὸς τὸ μεταπέμπεσθαι τοὺς ἐξ ἄλλοδαπῆς Ἀττικοὺς ἀδικεῖν δοκοῦντας. ἐπολέμουν δὲ ὅμως καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ τριήρεις. ('Paralos: a sacred triereme, like the Salaminia. There were two others: the Antigonis and the Demetrias, as well as the Ammonias. The Paralos was sent to spectacles, I mean Delos and Olympia, the Salaminia to fetch Athenians thought to be guilty of crimes. Nevertheless, these triremes were also used in war.') On these, see F. Miltner, s. 'Paralos', *RE* 18.2 (1942), 1208–11.

<sup>39</sup> Demosthenes 4.34; Harpocration, s.v. ἱερὰ τριήρης, identified this with the Paralos, drawing on Androtion (*FGrH*324F24) and Philochorus (*FGrH*328F47) (Harding (1994:120–2)), but it seems more likely that it was an independent ship (Jordan (1975:162)).

<sup>40</sup> Arist.*Ath.Pol.*61.7; see Photius, *Lex.* cited above Jordan (1975:163). Parke (1967:219) argues that the Athenian sacrifice to Ammon recorded in 333/2 BC was the occasion for its dedication.

<sup>41</sup> Jordan (1975:164); Photius, *lex.* cited above. See Philochorus *FGrH*328F48; and Suda s.v. Πάραλος.

<sup>42</sup> Ptolemais: Σ Dem.21, 17; Dils (1983–6:2, 237, 21). Ferguson (1909:316, n.2) seems to posit the existence of an Attalis, corresponding to the Attalis tribe established at the same time. Jordan (1975:164–6) thinks the Cleisthenic tribes also had their own sacred ships.

<sup>43</sup> Jordan (1975:162–3). 'Olympias' *IG* 2<sup>2</sup>.1604, 8; 2<sup>2</sup>.1612, 292; 'Nemeas', *IG* 2<sup>2</sup>.1611, 84; 2<sup>2</sup>.1615, 105; *IG* 2<sup>2</sup>.1623, 245.

<sup>44</sup> For the text, see RO37, Lambert (1997); *ed. pr.*: Ferguson (1938), Another edition in LSS19. Discussions in Osborne (1990); Parker (1996:308–16); Ismard (2010:224–39).



(Theseus' pilot), Teukros and Nauseiros. These sacrifices almost certainly took place at Phaleron, where, according to Philochorus, Theseus established hero-shrines for his pilot Nausithoos and lookout Phaiax.<sup>45</sup> The same name Salaminioi also seems to be used for the crew of the Salaminia, and it has been argued by Borimir Jordan and Stephen Lambert that one of their roles was to provide a crew for it, its original function having been to take Salaminians transplanted to Attica back to Salamis to attend festivals.<sup>46</sup>

The other famous Athenian *theōris*, the Paraloi, was crewed by the Paraloi, who played a significant political role in the closing years of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>47</sup> In the fourth century, they were sufficiently independent to pass decrees of their own; two of the three surviving ones were found in the wreckage of a shipwreck off the coast of Tunisia at Mahdia.<sup>48</sup> Their eponymous hero, also called Paralos, was worshipped in the Piraeus.<sup>49</sup> Opinions vary on whether they were a separate *genos*.<sup>50</sup> Although another inscription found at Mahdia is an inventory of offerings brought by Athenian *theōroi* to Ammon, there is no reason to see a special link between Paraloi and Ammon.<sup>51</sup>

### 11.3 Land travel

Visiting sanctuaries and pilgrimage was probably one of the most common motivations for land travel, perhaps even for building roads.<sup>52</sup> It is no

<sup>45</sup> Lines 90–1 of the text; Philochorus *FGrH*328F111 (= Plut. *Theseus* 17.6). Jordan (1975:168) thinks that Clement of Alexandria *Protr.*2.40.2: τιμάται δέ τις Φαληροῖ κατὰ πρύμναν ἥρωος ('a hero of the stern is honoured also in Phaleron') refers to Phaiax, but the Σ takes it of Androgeos, son of Minos, backing this up with a reference to Callimachus *Aitia* 4 (= fr.103).

<sup>46</sup> Jordan (1975:166–72); see also Lambert (1997:102–3).

<sup>47</sup> Jordan (1975:172–6). For their role in the events of 411 BC, Thuc. 8.73–6.

<sup>48</sup> The three are: *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.1254 = Petzl (1994:no.2); (Garland (1987:n.102); Petzl (1994:no.3); Garland (1987:no.4); and *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.2966. For context, Garland (1987:131–2).

<sup>49</sup> *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.1254; the son of Poseidon according to Hegesias of Magnesia *FGrH*142F21.

<sup>50</sup> Pro: Jordan (1975:173–6); against: Garland (1987:210), on the grounds that their *tamias* was an elected officer of the Athenian state. Parker (1996) does not include them in his list of *genē*.

<sup>51</sup> *SEG* 46.122 = Petzl (1994:no.1) (App.#C3); Dain (1936) in fact restored line 60 of that inscription to read Παρά[λωι, but as Petzl (1994:386) and F. Colin (1995) pointed out, Παρά[μυωνι is much more likely in the context.

<sup>52</sup> See Curtius (1894:15): 'der Gottesdienst ist es, der auch hier die Kunst in das Leben gerufen hat, und die Tempelwege waren die ersten künstlich gebahnten Fahrstrassen Griechenlands. Denn es galt nicht nur den Besuchern der heiligen Stätten einen Weg zu bereiten, auf dem sie auch in grösserer Zahl, in singenden Chören, ohne Beschwerde zur Pforte des Heilighums gelangen konnten, das durch einen breiten und stattlichen Zugang geehrt wurde, sondern es musste auch für andere gottesdienstliche Zwecke Sorge getragen werden ...' This is a slightly expanded version of Curtius (1855:11). On sacred ways, also Forbes (1964:101ff.); Bekker-Nielsen (2009); U. Sinn s. Hiera Hodos in *ThesCRAIV*:46–50.



coincidence that the oath sworn by *hieromnāmones* in the Delphic-Pylaeian Amphiktionia contained a clause that members had to make sure that bridges were in good repair; without bridges, Delphi was inaccessible.<sup>53</sup> In Athenian imagination, the *Pūthai's* commemorated not only their sacred role of escorting Apollo to Delphi, but also their civilising role of clearing and creating the road. Aeschylus' Pythia refers to them as 'the road-making sons of Hephaistos, making tame the savage land,'<sup>54</sup> and a scholiast explains that Theseus cleared the road of robbers, and that when they sent the *theōriā* (the *Pūthai's*?) to Delphi, they marched in front holding axes, to tame the land.<sup>55</sup>

For Greeks, the term 'sacred way' usually meant a processional route linking a city and a neighbouring sanctuary (e.g. Athens and Eleusis, Miletus and Didyma, Mylasa and Labranda) or simply approaching a major sanctuary.<sup>56</sup> Longer 'sacred ways' are occasionally heard of: in his account of the Dolonkoi, who come from the Thracian Chersonesos to consult the Delphic Oracle, Herodotus uses the term 'sacred way' for a route from Delphi through Phocis and Boeotia.<sup>57</sup> And Aelian, probably following Theopompus, described the route followed by the delegation from Thessalian Tempe to Delphi, which formed part of the Septerion festival as the 'Pythian route', which sounds like a sacred way, and of which we know one way-station at Deipnias in Thessaly, apparently mentioned by the poet Callimachus.<sup>58</sup> If that is right, then maybe some longer access-routes to Delphi from places like Thebes and even Athens were regarded as 'sacred' for their whole duration.<sup>59</sup>

A clue about such a sacred road is a fourth-century road sign discovered in the Athenian Agora in 1938.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>53</sup> CID1.10/CID4.1 41.

<sup>54</sup> A. *Eum.*12–4: πέμπουσιν δ' αὐτὸν ... / κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, χθόνα ἀνήμερον τιθέντες ἡμερωμένην.

<sup>55</sup> Σ A. *Eum.*12Smith: Θησεὺς τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκάθηρε τῶν ληιστῶν· καὶ ὅταν πέμπωσιν εἰς Δελφοῦς θεωρίδα (! θεωρίαν Weil), προέρχονται ἔχοντες πελέκειν ὡς διημερώσοντες τὴν γῆν; Boethius (1918:31–3); cf. Helioid. *Aith.* 3.1.3. For the idea of 'road-maker' (cf. Latin 'pontifex', see Campanile (1982).

<sup>56</sup> Athens and Eleusis: described in detail in Paus. 1.36–7; Miletus and Didyma: Herda (2006a:259–384); Mylasa and Labranda: Str. 14.2.23; Olympic route which the Eleans approached on in 364 BC: in Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.29; the road called 'Hyakinthis' in Sparta (Demetrius of Scepsis, cited in Ath. 4.173f.); Delphi: Plut. *Qu.Gr.*12 (293c).

<sup>57</sup> *Hist.* 6.34.

<sup>58</sup> VH3.1 = Theopompus *FGrH*115F80; Callimachus, fr.87 = Steph Byz. s.v. Δειπνιάς. B.

<sup>59</sup> Pollux, II.55 cites θεωρικὴ ὁδὸς ('theoric road'), as one of three expressions where the θεωρ-root is not connected with watching; the others are οἱ ... Πυθῶδε θεωροὶ and θεωρὶς ναῦς (see §9.1, p.145n.16); could this have a term for a sacred road frequented by *theōroi*?

<sup>60</sup> Agora 19.H34. Parsons (1943:237–8); Travlos (1971). This seems to indicate that the route of the *Pūthai's* within the city coincided to a large extent with the Eleusinian procession,

ὁρος ἱερᾶς  
 ὁδὸ δι' ἧς πο-  
 ρεύεται ἡ Π-  
 υθαῖς ἐς Δε-  
 λφός.

Marker of the sacred way along which the *Pūthaīs* journeys to Delphi.

Prima facie this implies that the 'sacred way' leads all the way to Delphi itself, which is consistent with the tradition that Athenians escorted Apollo to Delphi by land, as we see it in Aeschylus (above), in Ephorus who says that Apollo's route is the same as that by which 'The Athenians now send the *Pūthaīs*'<sup>61</sup>, and later in Aelius Aristides:<sup>62</sup>

The Samothracians are proud of their sacred ceremonies, and these are the most famous of all except for the Eleusinia. Well, Delos has been dedicated to the gods; but it belongs to the city. What would you say of the fact that the road to Delphi is the work of the city and that the Pythais is native only to the Athenians, except that all this comes from the gods who wish in every way to honour Athens and for the city to place a hand, as it were, on fair things? (Trans. C. A. Behr)

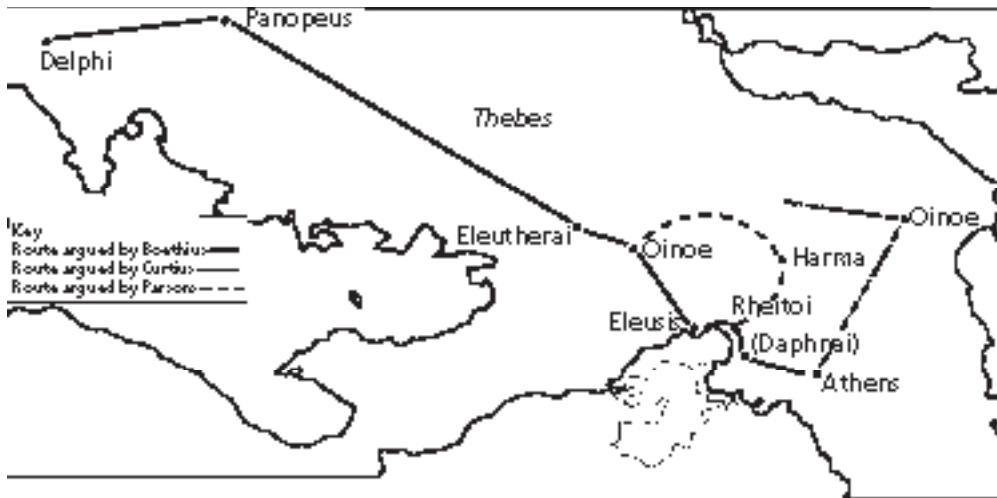
It is difficult to imagine the huge Hellenistic *Pūthaīdes* wending their way to Delphi by foot, horse and wagon, but it seems that this is exactly what they did (it seems to support this that the ample Athenian documentation relating to the *Pūthaīs* nowhere mentions the crew of a ship). The route most likely followed was along the processional route towards Eleusis, and then through Boeotia and Phokis (see [Map 11](#)).<sup>63</sup> An obvious way-station would

north-west across the Agora and through the Sacred Gate, and more or less the exact reverse of the Panathenaic procession, from the Dipylon Gate, immediately to the North of the Sacred Gate, south-east across the Agora to the Acropolis. Philost., VS 2.1.7 (550) says that in the time of Herodes Atticus, the ship in the Panathenaic procession ended at the Pythion, which would make the route the precise reverse of the *Pūthaīs*.

<sup>61</sup> Ephorus *FGrH*70F31b. Str. 9.3.12. Πυθαῖδα is a correction by Radt (2004:92) for the manuscript πυθιάδα.

<sup>62</sup> *Panath.* 363.

<sup>63</sup> See Boethius (1918:47–51), who believes that it went through Oinoe on Kithairon, since Diod. Sic. 4.60 says Androgeos son of Minos was killed there when he was on the way to a *theōria* (festival) in Thebes (making the reasonable assumption that all journeys from Athens to sanctuaries and festivals in the North would follow the same route). Since Androgeos was killed by the Bull of Marathon in another version of the story (Apoll. *Bib.*3.15.7) Curtius (1894:38) had argued that Oinoe here was the one in Marathon and that the *Pūthaīs* went via the Tetrapolis. Parsons (1943:238) agreed that it went though Oinoe on Kithairon, but thought that it avoided Eleusis, turning east at the Rheitoi, and passing over Parnes by way of Phyle and Harma. After Oinoe it must have passed through Eleutherai, and eventually joined with the road from Delphi to Thebes.



Map 11. Route of the Athenian *Pūthaiis*

have been the Pythion at Daphnai on the route to Eleusis.<sup>64</sup> Ernst Curtius' hypothesis that it followed a much longer route via the Marathonian Tetrapolis seems unlikely,<sup>65</sup> as does Arthur Parsons' ingenious idea that it bypassed Eleusis by traversing Mt Parnes by way of Harma.<sup>66</sup> After Eleusis, it presumably went through Eleutherai and eventually merged with the 'sacred way' referred to by Herodotus. A passage of Aristophanes' *Birds*, where Peisetairos mentions the birds' blockade on sacrifices going to the gods, suggests that the Athenians had to ask the Boeotians for a permit to travel (*diodos*).<sup>67</sup> In Phokis, Panopeus may well have been another stop, in view of the tradition that the Athenian Thuiades danced there.<sup>68</sup>

## 11.4 Dangers of the journey

Pilgrims are easy targets in all cultures.<sup>69</sup> Most *theōroi* must have made the round trip in safety, but as well as facing the risks that beset other travellers

<sup>64</sup> Boethius (1918:50) inferred this from the tradition (Paus. 1.37, 6) of a sacrifice by Khalkinos and Daitos, the descendants of Kephalos, at that site. See also Parsons (1943:238n.124), referring to IG 2<sup>2</sup>.2909, a dedication to Apollo found there from the early Roman period.

<sup>65</sup> Curtius (1894:38), who inferred that Oinoe, where Androgeos was killed (see n.63), was the one in Marathon since in another version of the story he was killed by the Bull of Marathon (Apoll. Bib. 3.15.7).

<sup>66</sup> Parsons (1943:238). <sup>67</sup> *Birds* 188–93. <sup>68</sup> See §18.4, p.319.

<sup>69</sup> Turner (1974:217–18); Sallnow (1987:193). Preston (1992:35–8) argues that difficulty of access increases the 'magnetism' of pilgrimage sites. For hazards in Indian pilgrimage see Deleury (1960:196–7).

in the ancient world, such as shipwreck, robbery or piracy, they were attractive targets because of what they represented. Already the Ps. Hesiodic *Aspis* tells how Kuknos attacked people going to Delphi until Herakles put paid to his activities, and Ephorus assigns the same role of pilgrim-interceptor to Python.<sup>70</sup> That this was a real anxiety is shown by as section of the Koan sacred law regulating the *theōriā* to Delos.<sup>71</sup>

In addition to these let the priest sacrifice a sheep, perfect, on behalf of the Amphiareidai [and let him pray to Apollo] that a foreign army [attacking...] should not bear weapons against the Amphiareid[ai].

Similarly, a fragment of a decree from Gonnoi in Thessaly refers to a cavalry commander and horsemen being dispatched to protect *theōroi*.<sup>72</sup> Other Hellenistic decrees for festival announcers contain promises to provide escorts or even sea travel, as the city of Same on Kephallenia offers to escort Magnesian *theōroi* on their journey to Ithaca.<sup>73</sup>

Despite precautions, things sometimes went wrong. *Spondophoroi* announcing the Eleusinian Mysteries in Aetolia were arrested by the Trichoneians in 367/6 BC, after the Aetolians as a whole had accepted the truce.<sup>74</sup> The ‘Sacrilege Inscription’ records an attack on *theōroi en mission* between Ephesos and Sardes (App.#C8). *Theōroi* announcing the Dodonean Naia festival around 200 BC were shipwrecked off the island of Tenos.<sup>75</sup> And a Delphic decree of 192 BC reveals the startling fact that two Delphians announcing the Pythia in the Black Sea area had to be ransomed by the city of Tauric Chersonesos, presumably having been captured by pirates. After their release (or perhaps before), the delegates must have announced the festival there, and in response the people of Khersonesos sent delegates to Delphi who performed sacrifices in honour of Apollo and Athene.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Lines 478–80; Python: Ephorus *FGrH*70F31. <sup>71</sup> *IG*12.4.332b, 62–5 (App.#C7).

<sup>72</sup> *I.Gonnoi* 108, 6–8 [ - - - - ] πέμψαι δὲ κ[αὶ τὸν ἱπ]πάρχην Ἀσανδρον Σώ[του κ]α[ὶ] τοὺς ἱππεῖς οὓς ἂν ἀπο[δείξωσιν οἱ θ]εωροί.

<sup>73</sup> *I.Magnesia* 35, 36–7 (RigsbyA85); cf. *I.Magnesia* 26, 22 (RigsbyA75). Local *stratēgoi* provide a *parapompē* for festival announcers in *I.Magnesia* 82, 16 (RigsbyA127); Boesch (1908:53–4); Perlman (2000: 51). The Athenian *hippeis* present at Olympia in 420 may have had a similar purpose: Bugh (1988:95). Dio Chr. 5.25 mentions protection for *theōroi* going to Ammon.

<sup>74</sup> RO no.35; first published by Schweigert (1939:5–12).

<sup>75</sup> *SEG* 40.690A7; Etienne (1990:102–6).

<sup>76</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 604, 4; Bielman (1994:162–5no.45); Gabrielsen (2003:392). Other cases: Phrynon, an Athenian citizen from Rhamnous was attacked by the soldiers of Philip of Macedon on his way to Olympia in 348 BC (either to watch the games or to take part): Aeschin. 2.12; *hypoth.*2, 3 to Dem.19; Dillon (1995), Rougemont (1973:83); competitors bound for the Argive Nemea in 235 were captured and enslaved by Aratus of Sicyon, commander of the Achaean League,

Many stories were told about *theōroi* who come to grief on the journey, sometimes making a poignant contrast between the pomp of the *theōriā* and the disastrous outcome.<sup>77</sup> Ships might be wrecked, like those carrying participants in the ill-fated *theōriā* sent to Olympia by Dionysius II, tyrant of Syracuse in 388 BC.<sup>78</sup> Dio of Prusa tells an anecdote that two *theōroi* on the way to Ammon were seduced by a monstrous creature whose upper half resembled a beautiful woman.<sup>79</sup> Other stories were aetiological or served a political agenda. A hero cult at Cleonae commemorated Eurytos and Kteatos, the sons of Augeas, killed by Herakles when they were travelling as *theōroi* from Elis to the Isthmus; this may explain a hero cult at Cleonae, or it may be intended to account for the exclusion of Elis from the Isthmian Games (or both).<sup>80</sup> Similarly, the tradition that a *theōriā* travelling from Sparta to Delphi was set upon by Megarians, who were later punished by the Delphic amphiktionēs, provides the aetiology of a ritual in Megara.<sup>81</sup>

## 11.5 Ekekheiriā, spondai, hieromēniā

In my account of the festival announcers I have already mentioned the truces proclaimed by sanctuaries, one of the main purposes of which must have been to protect participants travelling to and from the festival.<sup>82</sup> The usual terms for truce are *ekekheiriā* and (especially in the context of Eleusis) *spondai*.<sup>83</sup> Associated with the truce is the '*hieromēniā*', which refers to an

who was holding his own Nemean Games at Kleonai: Plut. *Aratus* 28.4; the Amphiktionic decree CID4.51 has been interpreted as legislating for the protection of pilgrims; Wilhelm (1925:52–3) restored an early Hellenistic Athenian decree (IG 2<sup>2</sup>.584+679b, 11–12) to say that Xenokrates the Chiote had helped the (presumably Athenian) *theōros* Teisias who had been robbed of slaves and a silver vessel.

<sup>77</sup> See Rutherford (1995b); Kowalzig (2005:46).

<sup>78</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.109. So the *khōros* of Messenian youths who drowned when crossing the straits to a local festival of Rhegium: Paus. 5.25.2; Mosino (1977); Costabile (1979:525–7). Cf. also Lucian *Phalaris* 2. 4: if Apollo had disapproved of the offering, he would have sunk the ship carrying it on the way. Ceyx, king of Thessaly, died on a pilgrimage to Claros, according to Ovid *Met.* 11.475.

<sup>79</sup> Or. 5.24–7.

<sup>80</sup> Paus. 2.15.1 and 5.2.1; cf. Pin. *Ol.* 10. Exclusion of Corinth: Plut. *Pyth.or.* 13, 400e. For a similar case see the story of the death of Androgeos, son of Minos, who went to Thebes for a *theōriā*, but was killed by Aigeus near Oinoe: Diod. Sic. 4.60.

<sup>81</sup> Plut. *Qu.Gr.* 59, 304e. See §6.1, p.94n.

<sup>82</sup> Discussions include Rougemont (1973); Fernández Nieto (1975:147–84); Dillon (1997a:1–8).

<sup>83</sup> Some have seen an older term in *θέπμα* = Sanskrit *dharma*, hypothetically cognate with Apollo's epithet 'Thermios': see Fernández Nieto (1975:179n.1); Leist (1884:237–9).

extended period of time of special sacred significance for a sanctuary, apparently much longer than a month, but not necessarily the same length as the *ekkekheiriā*.<sup>84</sup>

The exact sense of these terms predictably varies from sanctuary to sanctuary and from period to period. For the fifth and fourth centuries, surviving evidence is as follows:

Olympia: the *ekkekheiriā* is known from Thucydides. One early document from Olympia refers to an 'Olympic Month' (Ὀ]λυμπικὸς μὲνός), which sounds like a *hieromēniā*.<sup>85</sup>

Delphi: CID4.1, 44 refers to a Delphic *hieromēniā* (44), apparently a year in length, and also a truce (48).<sup>86</sup>

Eleusis: the *mustēriōtides spondai* are well documented, first in IG1<sup>3</sup>.6B (470–460 BC).

Nemea: Pindar, *Nem.*3.29, refers to a *hieromēniā Nemeās*

As for the Hellenistic period, an *ekkekheiriā* is mentioned in acceptance decrees for Kos, Magnesia on the Maeander, Cyzicus and the Ptoion.<sup>87</sup> Festival announcers were often given a 'truce-gift' (*ekkekheir(i)on*), and this is attested, besides the cases above, for Pergamum.<sup>88</sup>

Three questions arise: first, how long were these periods? Second, what was their scope? Third, how effective were they? on the issue of length, the evidence is, as usual, meagre and inconsistent. The Eleusinian *spondai* lasted 55 days.<sup>89</sup> A less absolute period is suggested by Thucydides' account of the events of 420 BC, when Spartans alleged that a city was only bound by the Olympic Truce from the point when the festival announcers reached it.<sup>90</sup> Finally, CID4.1 is usually interpreted to mean that the Delphic *hieromēniā* (though not the *ekkekheiriā*) was a year in length, a period at least partly coinciding with the mission of the festival announcers, who left six months before the festival.<sup>91</sup> These pieces of data could be reconciled by the hypothesis that the truce was loosely correlated to the period the festival announcers were *en mission* (whether measured from their departure from the sanctuary or their arrival at the individual city); at Eleusis, the

<sup>84</sup> See Rougemont (1973: esp. 97–8).

<sup>85</sup> Thuc. 5.49; Minon: no.7,2. <sup>86</sup> See §5.3, pp.90–1.

<sup>87</sup> Kos: RigsbyA16, 6, etc.; Magnesia: RigsbyA73,13, etc.; Cyzicus: RigsbyA168, 6; Ptoion: RigsbyA3, 10, etc.

<sup>88</sup> RigsbyA178.27.

<sup>89</sup> See IG1<sup>3</sup>.6B6–47 = Clinton no.19 (= LSS3B). It started in the middle of Metageitnion, and lasted through Boedromion and the first ten days of Pyanepsion.

<sup>90</sup> Hist.5.49. <sup>91</sup> See Rougemont (1973).

period was for some reason shorter than at Delphi, perhaps because the range of places visited was smaller. If the same principle were applied to the Hellenistic examples, where the announcement of major festivals seems to have begun over a year beforehand,<sup>92</sup> we would have to accept that the truces could have lasted a year or more as well. In the end, we lack the data to decide the issue.

As to the issue of scope, although some have thought that truces had a very general application, the scholarly consensus today is that their primary function was to protect people going to and from the sanctuary, and perhaps the festival announcers as well.<sup>93</sup> The importance of guaranteeing access to the sanctuaries is clear from the terms of the Peace of Nikias, and several attested cases of truce-violation concern people travelling.<sup>94</sup> A broader scope seems to be implied in Thucydides' account of the dispute between Elis and Sparta over Phurkos in 420 BC; on the other hand, here Elis might have been holding Sparta to a higher standard than was usually expected, or it might have made a difference that Phurkos was in Elis, where the force of the Olympic Truce could have been particularly strong.<sup>95</sup> Certainly, undertaking military activity during the period of the Olympics and other common festivals seem in general to have had no consequences.<sup>96</sup>

Uncertainty about how widely truces applied makes it hard to judge their effectiveness. One must remember that infringements would be hard to enforce, except by banning offenders from the sanctuary (the strategy followed by the Eleans in response to the Phurkos incident). On the other hand, the number of cases where *theōroi* are known to have been attacked on route is small, which gives us some reason to think in that area at least they were effective.

## 11.6. The return

Eventually, the *theōroi* arrive home, and the mission comes to an end.<sup>97</sup> If the assumption of theoric status was marked by a ritual at the beginning, a

<sup>92</sup> See §5.2.2, p.78.

<sup>93</sup> Hornblower and Morgan (2007:30–5); Lämmer (1982–3).

<sup>94</sup> Peace of Nikias: Thuc. 5.18; see also Thuc. 4.118, 1–2; attacks on people travelling: §11.4.

<sup>95</sup> Phurkos: *Hist.*5.49; Siewert (1981) took one early document from Olympia (Minon:no.15) in which Elis acts as an arbitrator as evidence that the Olympic Truce had a wider force, but this could be explained in other ways (see Minon's comments ad loc.).

<sup>96</sup> Hornblower and Morgan (2007:31–2).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Isocr. 16.34: Κατέλυσεν δὲ τὴν θεωρίαν (he (Alcibiades) brought the *theōriā* to an end); Achilles Tatius 2.16: τὴν θεωρίαν ἀφωσιωμένος ('having acquitted himself of the *theōriā*').



corresponding ritual at the end would be expected. No evidence for the latter survives, however, except for occasional dedication to deities, which will have been accompanied by sacrifice. Some dedications in the temple of Zeus Ammon in the Piraeus seem to be of this type and Catherine Dobias-Lalou has suggested that a group of Cyrenean *theōroi* to Delphi set up a dedication to Apollo [So]ter after their return.<sup>98</sup>

In literature, the return of a *theōros* can also be a critical moment. Euripides' Theseus returns to find his home beset with disaster. Plato imagines his city-inspecting *theōroi* being subjected to cross-examination to make sure they have not been damaged by exposure to the outside world.<sup>99</sup> In a Corinthian tradition the tyrant Cypselos got rid of his aristocratic opponents by sending them as *theōroi* to Delphi and not allowing them back.<sup>100</sup> In reality, things were less dramatic. *Theōroi* will probably have reported to the local council,<sup>101</sup> which probably took account of what they had done, and at least in the Hellenistic period honoured them for their service. In the Athenian decree commending a delegation to the Thespian *Erōtideia kai Rōmaia* (first century BC), the returning *theōroi* report that sacrifices were well-omened, and the *boulē* refers the matter to the next *ekklēsiā*, with a recommendation to accept the report, commends them and awards them garlands.<sup>102</sup> The decree is to be written up on a stele, along with the *apokrisis* that comes from the Thespians, which may have been an honorary decree, couriered by the *theōroi* themselves.<sup>103</sup>

In the home community, successful participation in a *theōriā* may have conferred status. In Aristophanes' *Wasps* Loathecleon tells Lovecleon that

<sup>98</sup> SEG 20.707 (App.#C6); first edition by Oliverio (1961:40, no.20, fig.35); Dobias-Lalou (2003:17). This could also be the explanation of dedications by *theōroi* at Pergamum (*I.Pergamum* I.4 = App.#D1) and at Megara (*IG*7.39 and 40).

<sup>99</sup> §19.4.

<sup>100</sup> Polyainos: *Strat.*5.31: Κύπελος τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Βακχιαδῶν θεωροὺς πέμψας εἰς Δελφοὺς ὡς περὶ τῆς κοινῆς Κορινθίων σωτηρίας χρώμενος ἀπέπειν αὐτοῖς τῆς Κορινθίας μηκέτι ἐπιβαίνειν· καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν τυραννίδα κατέσχευεν ἀσφαλῶς τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους ἐκβαλῶν. (Cypselos, sending the most distinguished of the Bakkhiadai as *theōroi* to Delphi, on the pretext that he was consulting the oracle about the common safety of the Corinthians, refused to allow them to set foot on Corinthian territory again. And after that he held the tyranny securely, having expelled the most noble ones.)

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Ar. *Peace* 871–80, cited in §20.2; *I.Ephesos* 2010: οἱ θεωροὶ κατασταθέντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν —]. In *LSAM*47 Milesian *theopropoi* report to the *ekklēsiā*. In the decree from Lemnos: *ASAA**Tene* 3 [1941–2] 39.3, delegates from Myrina are thanked for performing the sacrifice at Hephaistia and given crowns (App.#D4). For the *boulē* see Cassio (1985:125); Dem. 19.128 (τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς θεωροὺς); Rhodes (1985:131); Bill (1901:202–3); Boesch (1908:55).

<sup>102</sup> *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.1054.

<sup>103</sup> For ἀπόκρισις, see the Prienian decree honouring Herodas (App.#E4, 47). For honorary decrees, see §2.1.3.



the ideal stories for the company of gentlemen are: ‘Impressive ones, such as how you went on a *theōriā* with Androkles and Cleisthenes’.<sup>104</sup> Formal honours in the home community are attested for some of the Athenian *Pūthaistai*: in the calendar from the Attic deme of Erchia (c.375–350 BC), *Pūthaistai* are given a goat on Gamelion 8 in the context of a sacrifice to Apollo Apotropaios and on the 4<sup>th</sup> of Thargelion in the context of a sacrifice to Pythian Apollo (Apollo Paion is sacrificed to on the same day). These are most likely to have been men who have taken part in a *Pūthaïs* and subsequently received privileges in their local community.<sup>105</sup> Similar privileges are given to *Pūthaistai* in the central Athenian Nicomachos-calendar.<sup>106</sup>

A successful return was not guaranteed. Sometimes the trip ended in death for the *theōros*, as for those whose ashes were interred in the Hadra vases.<sup>107</sup> They might choose to do other things, like Eudoxus of Cyzicus, mentioned above, who came to Alexandria to announce a festival as *theōros kai spondophoros* and went off to explore India and Africa.<sup>108</sup> What would a city do if a *theōros* failed to return? According to a recent interpretation, a fragmentary regulation from Eleutherna in Crete (late sixth century BC) may contain procedures to be followed in the case of various categories of people, including a *thiaros*, who are absent abroad for a number of years.<sup>109</sup> Were they anticipating that some local Solon might go off on a trip of exploration and never be heard from again?

\* \* \*

To sum up, the evidence suggests that the journeys of *theōroi* were very different. In some cases, most of them involving Delphi, the mission was heavily ritualised with a rite of passage at the start, possibly associated with a myth, special routes and sacrifices made at significant places along the way. However, most journeys by *theōroi* were not so ritualised, except for the wearing of garlands, some sort of rite at the start (and the end?) and possibly the use of special ships.

<sup>104</sup> *Wasps* 1186–7: μεγαλοπρεπεῖς / ὡς ξυνεθεώρεις Ἀνδροκλεῖ καὶ Κλεισθένει. In Libanius *Dec.*31.12 people returning from festivals talk about the athletic competitions. Compare the stories told by the returning pilgrim in *Ar. Pl.* 648–770.

<sup>105</sup> *SEG* 21.541; the *ed. pr.* is Daux (1963). Gamelion 8: Γ 34–5; Pythian Apollo: Β 49–50. Karila-Cohen (2005b) finds people from Erchia in the Hellenistic *Pūthaïdes*. Lambert (2005:150–1) sees in *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.260 a fragment of a sacrificial calendar from the mid-fourth century mentioning *Pūthaistai* and travelling expenses (*ephodia* of 3dr.).

<sup>106</sup> See §18.3. <sup>107</sup> See §2.3, pp.33–4. <sup>108</sup> See §10.3.2, p.164.

<sup>109</sup> *ICret*2.12.11 = *Nomima* 1.14; I provide bibliography in App.#A1.

### 12.1 Introduction

The primary destination of *theōroi* was usually a sanctuary but might also be a city holding a festival; when a sanctuary was controlled by a city, *theōroi* may have gone to the city first and then processed to the sanctuary. Their activities, on arrival, are not well documented; even if they were, they varied so much from sanctuary to sanctuary and from occasion to occasion that it would be hard to reduce them to a single set of formulae. For oracle delegates, the main task was to put their question to the seer, but they also made preliminary sacrifices, and may have made grander sacrifices as well.<sup>1</sup> Delegates charged with conveying a dedication may have performed a formal ceremony of consecration, something for which we have virtually no evidence,<sup>2</sup> as well as animal sacrifices. The fundamental role of festival delegates was to watch the *agōn*, but they could also be performers themselves, making processions or taking part in them, sacrificing jointly or alone, or feasting. Part of their role would probably also have been administrative, to supervise or assist other members of their delegation, such as athletes when there was a competition. In some cases, they may have been required to deal with disciplinary matters. In late Hellenistic Samothrace, they combined the duty of attending the festival with initiation into the cult.<sup>3</sup>

It is worth making a general distinction at the outset between two patterns of organisation at the sanctuary: one more common, and one less common. The more common one is for *theōroi* to take part in what might be called a ritual agenda dictated by the conventions of the sanctuary and the organising authority. In many cases, participation in events organised by the sanctuary will have involved joint activity with *theōroi* from other places. The second, less common pattern of organisation is when a visiting *theōriā* seems to set its own agenda, with only limited input from the local

<sup>1</sup> See §6.4.

<sup>2</sup> Two possible cases are: the ritual dedication of *phialai* by the Hellenistic Deliades are the ritual of dedication: see below, §14.2, pp.238–9; and the carrying of offerings in procession (*propempein*) referred to in the Argive decree for Aspendos: §12.5, p.207.

<sup>3</sup> See §17.2.1.

authorities. One thinks of Nikias' *theōriā* to Delos, as described by Plutarch (albeit a special case, since Athens controlled Delos at this time), or the Hellenistic *Pūthais* to Delphi. In the former pattern, the delegates were taking part in someone else's celebration, or making a contribution to it; in the latter one, they are, as it were, bringing their own celebration to the sanctuary.

A common factor in all these activities is that they purport to involve proximity to or contact with the god. The vehicle for contact could be an oracle, sacrifice, prayer, a dedication, or even to participate in or witness spectacles or competitions which the god was assumed to witness and enjoy. At the same time, many of the activities of *theōroi* at sanctuaries also have a deep significance on the level of human politics. For example, carrying out 'joint sacrifice' with the sanctuary authorities and/or *theōroi* from other cities invites interpretation as a sign of belonging to the same worshipping community, while for a city to organise a spectacular procession or choral dance of its own would provide an effective display of its own resources and cultural capital. There may have been specific rituals involving participants from the visiting and host communities, for example the unusual fire-carrying ritual attested for the Athenian *Pūthaidēs*, in which fire from the Delphic altar was apparently conveyed back to Athens by a Delphian woman; according to one decree she was herself carried by an Athenian, so even the act of transportation would have been a collaborative effort.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, the rituals that *theōroi* engage in at the sanctuary can be thought of as a form of communication, broadcasting messages about the shape of the communities and the relationships between them.<sup>5</sup> They amount to an almost theatrical performance, whose intended audience is on one level the gods of the sanctuary and on another the broader human community. This community witnesses the performance vicariously through the *theōroi*, whose role combines that of audience and occasional performers.<sup>6</sup>

In what follows, I shall examine several aspects of the activities and experience of *theōroi* at sanctuaries, beginning with contact with *proxenoi* (§12.2),

<sup>4</sup> cf. §7.5. There is another collaborative fire ritual at Delphi in Heliod. *Aith.* 3, 5, where Kalasiris describes how the *arkhithēōros* of the Ainianians, Theagenēs, lights the altar having taken the flame from the local attendant (i.e. Charicleia), which he says was a traditional custom at Delphi (see §20.4, p.352).

<sup>5</sup> Stavrianopoulou (2006b:9): 'rituals fulfill various communicative tasks such as the transmission of norms of behaviour, the demonstration of intentions, the assignment of tasks and roles, the inclusion or exclusion of individuals...'

<sup>6</sup> For performance-theory and ritual, see Kowalzig (2007:46–7, with useful bibliography in n.107). The best guide is still Schechner (2003), especially Chapter 4 ('From ritual to theater and back...') and Chapter 3 ('towards a poetics of performance'). Performers and audience: see §9.1.

and what can be gleaned from institutional agreements (§12.3), moving on to animal sacrifice (§12.4), processions (§12.5) and the *agōn* (§12.6). I end with a discussion of measures in place to prevent disorder (§12.7).

## 12.2 *Proxenoι*

On arrival, *theōroi* would presumably make contact with the local authorities, both political and religious, perhaps with an official reception. Little evidence for this survives<sup>7</sup> (contrast the attention given to this in decrees relating to festival announcers),<sup>8</sup> though it was common, particularly in the Hellenistic period, for the local polis to pass a decree honouring the visitors after the event.<sup>9</sup> Certain practical arrangements facilitating their stay were no doubt necessary, relating to accommodation or sustenance, and in some cases they may have had to pay taxes to the sanctuary. References to these topics can be found in the discussion of the Delphic conventions below.

The key point of contact was probably the local *proxenos*, which normally means a representative who looks after the interests of people from a certain city, though at the common-Greek sanctuaries, the role may have been different, not least because the volume of visitors was so great.<sup>10</sup> For Olympia, the evidence for contact between *proxenoι* and *theōroi* is almost non-existent; the closest we come to it is in the decree recording the punishment of Timokrates, son of Malex, for attacking one or more *theōroi* (c.475 BC); part of his sentence is to be kept away from the altar by the *proxenoι* and a priest.<sup>11</sup> For Delphi, the earliest evidence is fragments of fifth-century sacrificial protocols, apparently regulating relations with Athens, which seem to refer to the division of victims between Athenians (whether private citizens or *theōroi* is not mentioned) and *proxenoι*.<sup>12</sup> In

<sup>7</sup> Rejection, however, is occasionally documented: see §15.1, pp.252–3; in Philostratus' *Heroicus* the Thessalian *theōriā* goes out of its way to avoid contact with a polis at the other end: see §20.3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. §5.2.2, pp.79–80.      <sup>9</sup> Cf. §2.1.3.

<sup>10</sup> A good general study of *proxenoι* is Marek (1984); for *proxenoι* at sanctuaries, see Taita (2004–5).

<sup>11</sup> Minon: no.19 (*I.Olympia*13 = App.#A4). Similarly, in a treaty between two local groups, the Anaitioi and Metapioi (Minon: no.14 (*I.Olympia*10)), it is stipulated that someone who breaks the oath should be kept away from the altar by the *proxenoι* and *manties*. Another fragment, Nr.Inv.B6901 (sixth century BC), links *proxenoι* and other officials. Cf. also Minon: no.12 (*I.Olympia*11), where the Khaladrioi in Pisa honour Deukalion as *ἑισοπρόξενος* and *ἑισοδαμιοργός*.

<sup>12</sup> *CID*1.4–6 = App.#B4. *CID*1.4 refers to two hides, a third share (for the Athenians?); *προχσενοι* in line 7 could be singular or plural; *CID*1.5 refers to further animal parts and a 'share of the *proxenoι*'; at *CID*1.6, 1 *προχσενον* could be singular or plural.

Euripides' *Andromache* (1100–5), a messenger describes how Neoptolemus and his men 'stood at the altar with Pythian *proxenoí* and seers, and someone (*proxenos* or seer?) asks: 'What shall we pray on your behalf? Why have you come?' A somewhat later text which sheds some oblique light on the arrangements is the Hellenistic decree honouring Matrophanes of Sardes (226/5 BC), who was visiting as *theopropos* and *presbeutēs*, and apparently renewing the relationship between the two cities.<sup>13</sup> In this case, since there was no *proxenos* for Sardes in place, the role was assumed by the whole city of Delphi, which carried out the preliminary sacrifice for him before he consulted the oracle.<sup>14</sup>

It is striking that so many of the fifth-century sources talk about *proxenoí* in the plural. Philippe Gauthier argued long ago that it is implausible that there was one *proxenos* per city at common-Greek sanctuaries, which would have required more than the total male population of Delphi, so that we ought to think rather of a group of them with general responsibilities.<sup>15</sup> Alternatively, each of them had responsibility for a predetermined set of cities. Julia Taita has recently argued that at Olympia at least *proxenoí* were magistrates drawn from the local communities that administered the sanctuary.<sup>16</sup>

As to their duties and functions, our sources do not give us a very full picture. The Matrophanes decree suggests that at Delphi they had to perform a preliminary offering on behalf of visitors. It is tempting to relate this to the occasionally attested principle that foreigners do not have rights of access to a civic cult without the mediation of a local citizen (see below), though preliminary sacrifice made before consulting the oracle may be a special case. The fact that in two of the fifth-century texts from Olympia the *proxenoí* seek to control access to the altar surely suggests that their presence was required for sacrifice, whether or not they actually performed it.<sup>17</sup>

Aside from that, *proxenoí* may have generally looked after visitors. When Euripides' Ion is questioning the Athenian Xouthos about his previous visit to Delphi, he asks him whether he stayed *chez* one of the *proxenoí*, which suggests that this was the normal way to find accommodation.<sup>18</sup> A *proxenos* is, in fact, not much different from a city-specific *theārodokos* at the sanctuary, as we see from a late Hellenistic decree from the city of Elyros in Crete, which appoints a Delphic citizen to hold both these roles together.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup> 548; App.#D14. <sup>14</sup> For preliminary sacrifice: §6.4.

<sup>15</sup> Gauthier (1972); challenged by Marek (1984:129 and 168–70). M. Walbank (1981:174–5) suggested that the fragmentary Athenian Lapyris-decree (SEG 30.66, 16) referred to a group of *proxenoí* at the Nemean Games.

<sup>16</sup> Taita (2004–5:90–3). <sup>17</sup> So Taita (2004–5:97).

<sup>18</sup> E. *Ion* 551: προσξένων δ' ἐν του κατέσχες;

<sup>19</sup> ICret2.13.1A (App.#E1). For *θεαροδόκος* in the sense of representative at a sanctuary, see §5.2.4.

### 12.3 Institutional arrangements and taxes: the Delphic conventions

An important source for what goes on at the sanctuaries are several surviving conventions between Delphi and other states (see [Map 12](#)): the Pierians (*CID1.1*, sixth century BC), Phaselis in eastern Lycia (*CID1.10*, later fifth century) and Skiathos (*CID1.13*, fourth century), as well as an Andrian decree from Delphi which regulates behaviour expected at the sanctuary (*CID1.7*, fifth century BC).<sup>20</sup> The earliest and shortest is that between Delphi and Pieria:

As [*p*]elanos the Pierians [...] fifteen dra[chmas [...]

*Pelanos* means ‘tax for consulting the oracle’, as it usually does in Delphic texts.<sup>21</sup> Although the inscription is small and fragmentary, it seems likely that this would be a public consultation, since the fee is very high for a private consultation (see below).

The second convention, dating from the second half of the fifth century, is between Delphi and Phaselis (*CID1.8* = App.#B6):

The Phaselites should give the *pelanos* to the Delphians in this way: as public *pelanos* seven Delphic *drachmas* and 2 *obols*, and as private *pelanos* four obols. Timodikos and Histaïos were the *theōroi*,<sup>22</sup> Hermylos was (Delphic) archon.

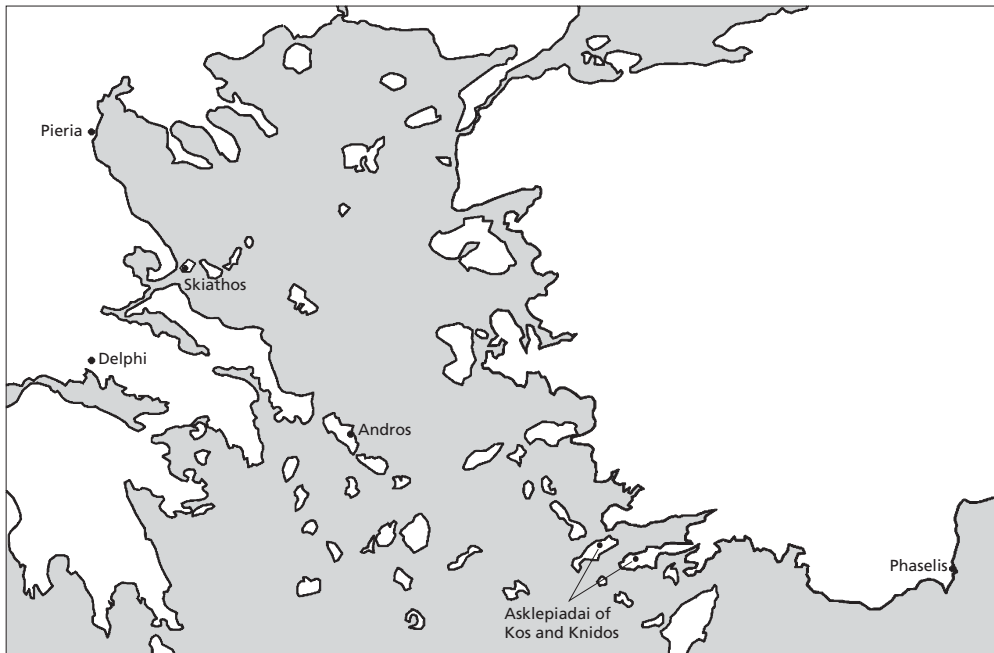
Here we have a clear distinction between public and private *pelanos*, the public one being ten times as much. Why the fee is half of what it was for Pieria a century earlier is uncertain.

The convention between Delphi and the island of Skiathos off the coast of Magnesia (*CID1.13* = App.#C1), dated to the early fourth century, provides information about the sacrifices that have to be made for consulting the oracle and perhaps for other purposes as well. Unlike the convention with Phaselis, this is explicitly ratified by the Delphian assembly. The beginning and end of this text are concerned with privileges: at the beginning, *promanteiā* (priority in consultation) and *ateleia* (freedom from taxes, with

<sup>20</sup> I shall not deal here with two other fragmentary ones that concern relations with the Asklepiadaï of Kos and Knidos (*CID1.12*) and with an unspecified group of Asklepiadaï (*CID1.11*).

<sup>21</sup> Guarducci (1947) thought the *pelanos* here was a statue of the god. For *pelanos*, see §6.4. Relations between Pieria and Delphi are also implied in a Delphic oracle to the Pierians on the killing of Orpheus: Fontenrose (1978:L88).

<sup>22</sup> In the context, it seems highly unlikely that the *theōroi* here are anything other than sacred delegates: see Bultrighini (1980:144–5).



Map 12. States that have conventions with Delphi

the exception of *pelanos* in this case),<sup>23</sup> and at the end *prodikiā* (right to priority in trial, particularly well attested for Delphi) and *asūliā* (inviolability – applying to Skiathians travelling to and from Delphi?).<sup>24</sup> In the middle there is a list of taxes and sacrifices, apparently all connected with the oracle, and a list of items that the Delphians give the Skiathians. Public *pelanos* is again much higher than private. There are many points of obscurity here, chief among them the interpretation of *epi phruktō*, which Pierre Amandry in the *editio princeps* took as a reference to a lot oracle operating by means of roasted beans (*phruktoi*; *phruktō* would be the dual); but there are other possibilities, and even if these are indeed lots, they might have another function, e.g. to determine priority of consultation.<sup>25</sup>

The list of gifts given by Delphi to the visitors comprises a *hestiātorion* (presumably the use of a permanent building), logs for the fire and

<sup>23</sup> Compare the Delphian decree for the Asklepiadai, CID1.11, 22–3, where one of the awards is ἀτελείαιαν τῶν ὁσίων, which the editor of CID (p.120) translates: ‘exemption de taxes civiles’.

<sup>24</sup> *Promanteiā*: Pouilloux (1952); *ateleīā*: Geschnitzer (1973:712–13), Marek (1984:157–8); *asūliā*: Geschnitzer (1973:713–14); Rigsby (1996:25–6, 30–3); *prodikiā*: Geschnitzer (1973:715–16), Marek (1984:155). *Promanteiā*, *ateleīā* and *prohedriā* are mentioned by Hdt. 1.54 as awards given to Croesus by Delphi. For early instances of *ateleīā* and *prohedriā* in Athenian decrees see Henry (1983).

<sup>25</sup> See §6.4, p.103n.64.



condiments. These gifts have reminded scholars of two similar lists of items to be given by hosts to visitors mentioned by Athenaeus, who cites from earlier writers. In both cases the visitors are Delphians. Semos of Delos is supposed to have said that when the Delphians visit Delos, the Delians give them salt, vinegar, oil, fuel and bedding, while another source, which is said to be either Aristotle or Theophrastus, is quoted for the information that when they visit Magnesia on the Maiander, which is a colony of Delphi, the locals give them shelter, salt, oil, vinegar, a lamp, beds, bedding and tables.<sup>26</sup> These lists differ from that of *CID*1.13 in including bedding and shelter rather than the use of the *hestiātorion*, but are similar in not including meals, apart from a token offering of condiments.

The only detail in *CID*1.13 which seems inconsistent with the hypothesis that its context is a consultation of the oracle is the reference to the Theoxenia (if the restoration Θ]εοξ̣ε[ν̣ο̣ις is correct<sup>27</sup>), where the Skiathians are to have shares (in the sacrifice). The Theoxenia was a major Delphic festival with a profile which in myth at least was Panhellenic.<sup>28</sup> Pindar seems to associate the ritual of dividing the shares in the sacrifice at the Theoxenia with Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, who enjoyed a hero cult at Delphi, and it may be worth suggesting that Skiathos, which was located between Thessaly and Skyros, and next to the island of Ikos, where Peleus is supposed to have died, might have had a myth-ritual link to the Aiakidai.<sup>29</sup>

The most complex of the conventions is the one between Andros and Delphi (*CID*1.7; App.#B3), dated to the fifth century, though to which end of that century it belongs is disputed.<sup>30</sup> Andrian presence at Delphi is attested also in the existence of a Delphic paeon for the Andrians composed by Simonides in the first decades of the fifth century, or possibly the end of the sixth,<sup>31</sup> and Pausanias reports the presence there of a statue of the founder of the island Andreus, which might have provided a focus for delegations.<sup>32</sup> In the early fourth century, Andrians were at least briefly involved in the running of the Delian Amphiktion, and the records of the Delphic *nāopoioi* record visits by large numbers of them.<sup>33</sup> Our limited

<sup>26</sup> Ath. 4.173e–f; Semos of Delos, *FGrH*396F7; the Hypomnemata on the Magnesians ascribed variously to Aristotle (fr.631Rose) or Theophrastus (Fortenbaugh (1992:no.587)). See Bousquet (1942–3:135–6).

<sup>27</sup> See App.#C1 for discussion.

<sup>28</sup> Pindar, *Paeon* 6:62–3; Philodamus of Scarpheia's *Hymn to Dionysus* 113–14. For the Delphic Theoxenia, see *Paeans*:310–11; Kowalzig (2007:188–92).

<sup>29</sup> Pearson (1917:2.140–3), with Σ Pin. *Pyth.*3.166 (Drachmann (1927:2.86, 1–2)); Callimachus, fr.178, 23ff., with Massimila (1996: ad loc. (fr.89)).

<sup>30</sup> See Appendix for possibilities.

<sup>31</sup> *PMG*519fr.35, 11–12. <sup>32</sup> Paus. 10.13.4; Jacquemin (1999:no.63). <sup>33</sup> §17.4.2, p.297.



knowledge of the history of the island provides few clues as to the context.<sup>34</sup> For much of the fifth and fourth centuries it was under Athenian control, having been subjected to tribute by Themistocles, an occasion when they pleaded poverty.<sup>35</sup> During the Salamis campaign, it had medised along with neighbouring island cities. Much earlier, it had founded a number of colonies in the Khalkidike, including Akanthos.<sup>36</sup> It was independent between 408 and 376 BC, having seceded from Athens. If we assume *CID*1.7 implies a strong, independent Andros, aiming to establish its rights at one of the common-Greek sanctuaries, the period before 480 BC or between 408 BC and 376 BC looks more plausible, but that assumption may not be valid.<sup>37</sup>

*CID*1.7 is much the longest of the conventions, but it is also incomplete. Its scope is both public and private activity.<sup>38</sup> Two factors suggest it was concerned with more than just oracle consultation: first, the implied delegation is large, since the officials listed are probably only a fraction of it; second, in A.31 victims connected with the oracle (*khrestēria*) are only one of several types of sacrifice. This could have been a large, regular *theōriā* to Delphi, not tied to any major Delphic festival in particular, rather along the lines of the Athenian *Pūthais*.

The main concerns are various contributions made by the visitors (grain, *phruktoi* (firewood?),<sup>39</sup> other types of food) and taxes (*pelanoi*, the obscure *metaxenia*<sup>40</sup> and some share of each *hekatombē* (i.e. group of victims)),<sup>41</sup> as well as animal sacrifice and the privileges of various groups in respect of these things. ‘Grain’ (*sitos*), mentioned three times at A.6–7, A.14–15 and B.8–9, seems to be a general term for contributions of food,<sup>42</sup> presumably in every case provided by the *theōroi*, for consumption at the sanctuary.

In comparison to the other conventions, it is remarkable how little reference there is to Delphi, and there is no sign of ratification by the Delphian *boulē* (although we lack the beginning and the end). One sign of Delphic

<sup>34</sup> See the summary in *IACP* no.475 (Reger). <sup>35</sup> Hdt. 8.66, 2; 8.111.2.

<sup>36</sup> *IACP* no. 559 (Flensted Jensen); Sauciuc (1914:57–8).

<sup>37</sup> For Kowalzig (2007:87–8) the Andrians used Delphi as a centre ‘of resistance’ to the Athenian Empire.

<sup>38</sup> Public: A14, A34; private: A28–9.

<sup>39</sup> Rougemont (1977b:47) attributes this to C. Vatin; cf. LSJ s.v. II: ‘fire-brand, torch’.

<sup>40</sup> Sokolowski ad loc. (pp.79–80): ‘... semblent être une indemnité aux gens qui ont le droit de participer au banquet, par exemple, les proxènes.’ Daux (1949a:71) suggests these are ‘parts (μερίδες, μοίραι) envoyées à titre de γέρας à des étrangers de marque’.

<sup>41</sup> See §12.4, pp.203–4 below.

<sup>42</sup> Daux (1949a:60, 69) interpreted *siton* as grain, in parallel to the foodstuffs that follow, but Rougemont (1977a) more reasonably takes it as a special, ritual term for food-offerings to be consumed in common, the word functioning here almost as a sort of title.

involvement are the three houses (*oikia*) mentioned in A.4–6,<sup>43</sup> which are likely to be ones provided by the locals (presumably reserved for the more important Andrians, since the ordinary accommodation at sanctuaries in this period was probably the tent).<sup>44</sup> The *hesti[ā]toria* in Aa, if the supplement is right, would also be from Delphi. Arkhiadas, who is confirmed in his hereditary appointment in B1–4, is likely to be a Delphian *proxenos* for the Andrians. Some involvement of Delphic priests in the animal sacrifices is also likely, and I would guess that the distribution of hides (usually a prerogative of the priests)<sup>45</sup> referred to in A27–33 was carried out by them.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, CID1.7, at least to judge from the part of the text that survives, seems to be an Andrian decree applying to ritual and non-ritual activity in a common sanctuary controlled by non-Andrian priests, and setting out how a public victim is to be divided between Andrian dignitaries. It is not, as far as we can judge, a Delphian decree regulating a *theōriā*.

The contrast between CID1.7 and CID1.13 is striking. It would be difficult to explain this in terms of a chronological development in the way Delphi administered relations with foreign states, because the simpler format of CID1.13 is more reminiscent of the earlier treaties with the Pierians and Phaselis. More likely, these are just different types of document: CID1.13 is a bilateral agreement between Delphi and a city that wants to use the sanctuary, guaranteeing privileges and stating taxes. CID1.7 is an Andrian decree concerned mostly with regulating the behaviour of Andrians, but also referring to expectations from Delphians, and it was published at Delphi (presumably as well as on Andros) because of the subject matter. Could it be that Andrian *theōriai* had had problems at Delphi before (rapacious

<sup>43</sup> The alternative view that *oikia* in CID1.7A4–6 are ‘clans’, attributed to C. Vatin by Rougemont (1977b:46n.2), does not seem very likely.

<sup>44</sup> For accommodation at sanctuaries see Dillon (1997a: 206–11); Ziebarth (1935) is also still useful; on tents, Dillon (1997a:209–11). Accommodation for visitors at Delphi is mentioned also in FD 1.357–8 (late third century), which relates to a dispute between Thebes and a Delphian called Kraton: FD 1.357 is a fragmentary Theban decree, mentioning the *φοικία*, and FD 1.358 is a longer Delphic decree, referring to Theban *presbantai*. Dillon (1990) argues persuasively that Kraton was a *theārodokos*, in which case the parallel with CID1.7A4–6 would be exact. On the house of the Thebans, see also Hennig (1997:361–2). E. *Ion* 552 seems to imply that visitors to Delphi might stay with a *proxenos*. One piece of evidence that has emerged since Dillon’s survey is a bronze document from Olympia that refers to a *ξενεόν*, a hostelry (Minon:no.8,8 = App.#A5).

<sup>45</sup> Van Straten (1995:154–5); Puttkammer (1912:19–31).

<sup>46</sup> Daux supposed that the hides from the sacrifice were given to the Andrian priests, who obtained them for a fixed fee from the Delphic authorities, who presided over the sacrifice (cf. the Delphi–Skiathos convention). They were then redistributed by the Andrian priests. Rougemont argues instead that the minor officials received their hides directly from the Delphians, to whom all the hides had in the first instance gone.

priests? rioting young men?) and wanted to take the initiative in clarifying things?

## 12.4 Joint sacrifice

It is difficult to imagine a *theōriā* without some sort of animal sacrifice, and the rituals that go with it. Typically, the sacrifice would be accompanied by a prayer made on behalf of the sender-city (crucial because it indicates on whose behalf it is being made),<sup>47</sup> and also divination by a *mantis*, the results of which would be reported to the home community.<sup>48</sup> In many cases, sacrifice would have been followed by feasting, carried out perhaps in the *hestiātorion*<sup>49</sup> (though there is little information about how *theōroi* were involved in this),<sup>50</sup> and also drinking, perhaps from a ‘common mixing bowl’, such as the one known from Delos.<sup>51</sup>

One important issue is whether as foreigners *theōroi* were able to perform sacrifice themselves, or needed the sponsorship of locals. In Greek religion in general, full participation in local cults was a privilege reserved for citizens, and access by foreigners (*xenoi*) was controlled in certain ways.<sup>52</sup> Sacrifice was an area where such restrictions sometimes applied, and it has been argued that a foreigner who wanted to sacrifice needed the presence of a local, who might be a *proxenos*.<sup>53</sup> It might be thought that the

<sup>47</sup> E. And.1100–5 represents the prayer as being performed by the *proxenoi*; in the Koan response to the Gallic attack on Delphi from 278 BC (IG12.4.68, 26–30), the *theōroi* are asked to pray: ‘that good things happen for the people of Kos and that their government should be one of democracy in concord and that those of the Greeks who came to the aid of the sanctuary should enjoy prosperity for all time’.

<sup>48</sup> This is explicit in the decree honouring delegates to a festival at Thespiiai in the early first century BC: see IG2<sup>2</sup>.1054, 17–19. Cf. also IG2<sup>2</sup>.992: Athens honours Milesian *theōroi* to Athens for the same reason; the formula occurs elsewhere of reports of sacrifices within Athens.

<sup>49</sup> See §2.3, p.31n. *Pūth* 3 had a *hestiātōr* (‘feaster’) (FD 2.2.14.15–16 = IG2<sup>2</sup>.1941), perhaps connected with the liturgy of *hestiāsis* (‘feasting’). For *hestiāsis*, see RE8.1 (1912), 1315 s.v. (T. Thalheim).

<sup>50</sup> See anecdote about Persaios of Kition (§10.3.1); there was a *hestiātōr* in *Pūthais* (§10.5); the proper name Thearestis may be a hypocoristic form of *thearestios*, meaning ‘feasting *theōroi*’: Zucker (1959).

<sup>51</sup> Delos: Hyperides, *Deliakos*, fr.69Jensen; ID104, 129 et al.; the Panionian *krāter* at Smyrna in the Roman Empire: Philostr. VA 4.6.6; Isthmos: Aristid. *Isth.*31; Delphi: Hermokles of Khios honoured for having mixed one: FD 3.224. For background on Hermokles, see Derow and Forrest (1982). RE 15.2 s.v. Mischkrug 2039 (I. Anger).

<sup>52</sup> See Sourvinou-Inwood (1990:297–8 = reprint 15–16). For sacred laws regulating the access of foreigners, see Krauter (2004:80–94); Butz (1996).

<sup>53</sup> According to LSAM46, 6–7 from Miletus (300 BC) foreigners have to employ a local citizen of their choosing to perform a preliminary offering (προϊερᾶσθαι). In other cases, the *xenos* has to pay a specific tariff: see Khios: LSCG120; LSS77, 12–13; Iasos: LSAM59: 5–6.

so-called ‘common’ sanctuaries would be an exception to this, though the word ‘common’ probably implies merely a right to use the sanctuary, not to be able to use it without local sponsorship.<sup>54</sup>

At Delphi, it seems that at least some important sacrifices (certainly those required for consulting the oracle, but also others) were the monopoly of the local priests. The ‘[oracul]ar’ goat that is to be placed ‘on the table’ for the god in the Skiathos–Delphi convention may be an example.<sup>55</sup> The priests had a reputation for taking more than their fair share, so much so that the expression ‘the Delphic knife’ became proverbial for greed, and there was a tradition that Aesop was executed by the Delphians for pointing out that the system was unfair.<sup>56</sup> Involvement of local *proxenoi* in performing preliminary sacrifices on behalf of visitors to Delphi may be presupposed by the decree for Matrophanes of Sardes,<sup>57</sup> though quite a different picture is suggested by an early and fragmentary text from Olympia, which seems to refer to a *xenos* making a sacrifice and paying a fine under some circumstances (if he fails to do it?) without mentioning either *proxenos* or local priest (are they implied?).<sup>58</sup> No doubt much depended on the specific sanctuary, on the exact place within it and on the occasion. Many larger *theōriai* include a priest,<sup>59</sup> who may have performed at least some sacrifices at the sanctuary.

A related issue is the division of the animal after sacrifice. Here too, much is heard about the Delphic priests, who probably have responsibility

<sup>54</sup> For ‘common,’ see §16.1. <sup>55</sup> *CID*1.13, 21–6.

<sup>56</sup> For the reputation of Delphic priests, see most recently Kurke (2003:80–1); Kowalzig (2007:190–191); Kurke (2011:56). The primary sources includes a proverb: *CPG*1.393, no.94: Δελφική μάχαιρα ἐπὶ τῶν φιλοκερδῶν καὶ ἀπὸ παντός λαμβάνειν προσαιρουμένων, παρόσον οἱ Δελφοὶ τὸ μὲν τι τῶν ἱερέων ἐλάμβανον, τὸ δὲ τι ὑπὲρ τῆς μαχαίρας ἐπράττοντο (‘the Delphic knife: of those who are greedy and want to take from everyone: because the Delphians take one part from the victims and demand another on behalf of the knife’); cf. also *CPG*1.393.95: Δελφοῖσι θύσας αὐτὸς οὐ φαγῆι κρέας (‘sacrificing at Delphi you will not eat the meat’); Plut. *QC*709a cites Δελφοῖσι θύσας αὐτὸς ὀψωνεῖ κρέας (‘when you sacrifice at Delphi you will buy meat’), which is identified as a comic fragment in Kock (1888:485 (Adespota 460)). According to the ancient *Life of Aesop* (*P.Oxy.*1800, fr.2ii32–63), Aesop ridiculed the Delphians for their greed, which resulted in his being killed there; the myth of Neoptolemus’ death there has often been linked: see Nagy (1979:284–6), following Wiechers (1961:31–49); Kurke (2011:75–94).

<sup>57</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 548, 11–13 (App.#D14).

<sup>58</sup> Minon: no. 3 (*I.Olympia* 5 = *Nomima* 4).

<sup>59</sup> See §10.4. Cole (1984:43) suggests that the title ἱεροποιοί used for delegates from Rhodes and Cyzicus at Samothrace indicates that they sacrificed (LSJ give ‘sacrificer’ as one meaning, but it is not the main one). According to tradition about the origins of the Orthagorid Dynasty at Sicyon, the *theōroi* who consulted the Delphic oracle were accompanied by a cook (*mageiros*), who was present for the sake of the sacrifice: Diod. Sic. 8.24.1; see Oost (1974:118–20); Berthiaume (1982:9–10); the story is continued in *P.Oxy.*1365 = *FGH*105F2.

for dividing the animal hides in the Andros–Delphic convention.<sup>60</sup> A fifth-century decree regulating an Athenian *theōriā* at Delphi refers to shares, including one for the *proxenoi*.<sup>61</sup> In some decrees, delegates were praised for generously sharing the meat with other *theōroi* or with locals.<sup>62</sup>

Two patterns of sacrifice seem to stand out in the evidence. One is where a delegation makes a big sacrifice on its own. Sometimes they made a point of bringing the animals from home,<sup>63</sup> in which case the delegation as a whole merits the description *theōriā kai thūsiā*.<sup>64</sup> A Koan decree accepting an invitation to take part in the festival of Artemis Huakinthotrophos at Knidos ends by instructing some local magistrates to deal with ‘the sacrifice of the four-footed ones being sent to the goddess.’<sup>65</sup> (It may have been more normal to get them from the vicinity of the sanctuary, perhaps from sacred herds.<sup>66</sup>) Occasionally, texts talk about *hekatombai* (not groups of one

<sup>60</sup> CID1.7A29–30; see §12.3. A fragment of a recently published sacred law from Karystos juxtaposes the word δέπμα (‘hide’) with what seems to be οἱ θεωρῶν[τες], which might mean ‘the members of the *theōriā*’: see Chidioglou (2003/4:75); commentary provided by A. Chaniotis in SEG 56.1037 and D. Knoepfler BE2007:no. 325.

<sup>61</sup> CID1.4, 4, CID1.5, 4 (= App.#B4.1, 4.2).

<sup>62</sup> A Hellenistic decree from Mylasa indicates that a prominent citizen from there organised a big sacrifice on Kos, and distributed meat to *theōroi* from other places (I.Mylasa 118). The context must have been a festival, and the citizen must have been a *theōros* himself. In SIG<sup>3</sup>.604, 7–11 (third century BC), delegates from the city of Tauric Chersonesos shared the meat with the citizens of Delphi.

<sup>63</sup> Jason of Pherae sent orders for the ‘cities’ to provide animals for the Pythia of 370: Xen.Hell.6.4.29; see Graninger (2011:138); cost of 154 cows presumably transported for the Delian festival in 377/6 BC: RO no. 28, A(a)35.

<sup>64</sup> Instances from the Mytilenean decree for Thessaly (IGSupp.3, 17–18): αὐτῶν ἐπαφισμένοι ἐστὶ εἰς τε τὰν θυσίαν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ [θεωρία]ν πέμπειν καὶ θυσίαν, IG12.4.166, 32–3: θεωρὸς καὶ θυσίαν; I.Magnesia 57, 26–7; SEG 43 715 (Habicht (1994) = App.#E6) has τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν (cf. RigsbyA107, 35). Cf. Plut. *Seven Wise Men* 160c–d (see now Mylonopoulos (2003:235); Plut. QC1.10, 628f11; Hyperides Eux.36 (καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ θυσίαν πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποστείλαντες ἐπεκοσμήσατε τὸ ἔδος τῆς Διώνης ἄξιως καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς θεοῦ). Θεωρία and θυσία are combined, though in a different way at And. in Alc.5: καὶ τίνα γνῶμην οἴσθε ἔξιν τοὺς μύστας τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους... ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, οἱ ἔνεκα ταύτης τῆς ἐορτῆς <δεῦρο ἔρχονται ἢ θύειν εἰς ταύτην τὴν πανήγυριν βουλόμενοι ἢ θεωρεῖν; Isocr. Or.19.10: ἔως μὲν γὰρ παῖδες ἤμεν, περὶ πλείονος ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμεθα ἢ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ οὔτε θυσίαν οὔτε θεωρίαν οὔτ’ ἄλλην ἐορτὴν οὐδεμίαν χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἡγομεν... where θεωρία seems to be a type of festival; Pl. Lg. 12, 947a: τῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας κοινῇ θυσῶν καὶ θεωρίων καὶ ὅσων ἂν ἑτέρων κοινωνῶσιν ἱερῶν. Cf. also (Aristotle) *Rhet. ad Alexand.*1424a: advice on how to make a θυσία πρὸς... τὰς θεωρίας λαμπρῶς. At Zosimus Hist.2.4.2 (= Phlegon of Tralles FGrH257F40) we find the combination with the ‘spectacle’ sense of θεωρία; so too at Joseph., JA 19.89; maybe at Heliod. Aith.2.34.2–3.

<sup>65</sup> IG12.4.166, 34–5.

<sup>66</sup> Sacred herds: McInerney (2010:153–64, 233). Koans send money to *theōroi* already en route to Delphi for a sacrificial bull: below, §13.2n. Neoptolemus gets them locally in E. Andr.1100.

Table 7. *The dōdekēis in epigraphic sources*

Athens and Delphi, fifth century BC, <i>CID</i> 1.4, 5, <i>CID</i> 1.6, 5	δωδεκηίδος, δῶδε κηϊδὸν
Tauric Chersonesos and Delphi, second century BC, <i>SIG</i> <sup>3</sup> 604, 8–9	τῶι θεῶι ἐκατόμβαν βούπρω[ιρον, καί] δωδεκαῖδα βούπρωιρον τᾶι Ἀθάναι
Athens and Delphi, first century BC–AD, <i>FD</i> 2.59–64 (see #F1); <i>FD</i> 2.65–6	2.65, 3–4: τὴν δωδεκηίδα, βούπρωιρον; cf.2.66, 19.
Athens and Delos, second century AD: <i>ID</i> 2535–6 and 2538 (cf. App.#G1)	ἡγάγεν τὴν δωδεκηίδα
Keos and Delos, second century AD: <i>ID</i> 2539	τὴν δωδεκηίδα βούπρωρον ταῦρον

hundred animals but smaller ones).<sup>67</sup> They also sometimes mention a group of twelve, the *dōdekēis*, sometimes with the adjective *bouprōros* (‘with a cow at the front’), implying that the other eleven were sheep or goats (see Table 7).

Apart from these instances, the term *dōdekēis* is rarely found in literature.<sup>68</sup> The choice of twelve animals may have to do with the twelve gods, or it could have calendrical significance.<sup>69</sup>

The second form of sacrifice characteristic of *theōriā* is ‘joint sacrifice’, or, more precisely, ‘sacrificing together’ (*sunthūsiā*), where ‘together’ seems primarily to refer to the relationship between visitors and sanctuary authorities, but also suggests the one between the different groups of visitors. This usage is so entrenched that, as we have seen, the word *sunthūtes* is used instead of *theōros* in the Roman period.<sup>70</sup> The verb is older: we find it first in Euripides’ *Electra*, where Orestes, disguised as a Thessalian, agrees to join in a sacrifice with Aegisthus in his palace, ‘if it is right for strangers to sacrifice (*sunthūein*) with citizens’.<sup>71</sup> However, it is best attested in Hellenistic decrees in which citizens agree to participate in festivals. Cities invited

<sup>67</sup> *CID*1.7, A27–8 refers to *hekatombai*, which need not have been more than a few animals: see P. Stengel in *RE* 7.2. s.v. 2786–7, referring inter alia to the Molpoi inscription, line 19 (*LSAM* 50), where a *hekatombē* seems to be three animals; also *ThesCRA* I.110–11.

<sup>68</sup> Porph. *Abst.*1.22: ὥστε καὶ θεοῖς θύειν δωδεκηίδας καὶ ἐκατόμβας. Pausanias *Attic.*, δωδεκίδες· θυσίαι δῶδεκα ἱερείων, ὡς τριττὺς ἢ ἐκ τριῶν. The term is also found in an obscure context in another early Delphic inscription, *CID*1.9D34.

<sup>69</sup> Herakles sacrifices to the Twelve Gods at Olympia in Pin., *Ol.*10:49; for the Dodekatheon see Rutherford (2010b). Mavrojjannis (1995:93) and Kantirea (2007:48) suggest that the number twelve in the *dōdekēis* of the Imperial period was chosen to reflect the birthday of Augustus, which in the Athenian calendar would have been on Boedromion 12, but the antiquity of the *dōdekēis* seems to point to a different explanation.

<sup>70</sup> See §4.4.3, p.69. <sup>71</sup> E. *El.*795: εἰ δὲ ξένους ἀστοῖσι συνθύειν χρέων.

to participate in the festival at Magnesia on the Maeander commit themselves to sending delegates who will ‘jointly sacrifice (*sunthūsounti*) and increase the honour for the goddess.’<sup>72</sup>

Pindar describes what must have been a similar event at the Delphic Theoxenia with simple elegance: ‘It is sacrificed on behalf of glorious Panhellas.’<sup>73</sup> Reality must have been a lot messier, but how these great joint sacrifices were organised is anyone’s guess. One possibility is that *theōroi* from a number of cities, alongside a representative of the local polis, would all contribute an animal, or a similar number of animals, which would then be slaughtered together. More likely, there was a primary sacrifice performed by the local polis, and a sequence of secondary sacrifices by *theōroi*. The second model is suggested by two Delphic decrees from the Hellenistic period in which the Marathonian Tetrapolis is given the privilege of ‘sacrificing first, after the Delphians.’<sup>74</sup> Something similar but on a much grander scale can be found in Flavius Philostratus’ account of the great sacrifice at the Olympics, where the Eleans sacrificed first at the altar of Zeus, followed after an interval by the *theōroi* from the rest of Greece. Both the Elean sacrifice and that of the assembled *theōroi* are coordinated with acts of running one and two lengths of the stadium, which enact the aetiologies for *stadion* and *diaulos* events. The offerings of the Eleans on the altar are lit by the winner of a race from one end of the stadion to another; then the approach of the *theōroi* is announced by runners, who race down the track away from the altar crying ‘the Greek cry’ (*to Hellēnikon*) and then race back again, announcing that ‘Greece is arriving’, which is the cue for the assembled *theōroi* to approach and sacrifice.<sup>75</sup>

What is missing from this picture is the role of *theōroi* as witnesses who report the outcome of sacrifices to the home communities. I know of only one case where *theōroi* are officially thanked for reporting back on the

<sup>72</sup> ἀποστέλλειν δὲ καὶ θεωροὺς ἐμ Μαγνησίαν, οἵτινες συνθυσούντι τὰν θυσίαν καὶ συναυχέουσιν τὰς τιμὰς τῇ θεῷ (RigsbyA85, 24–5); in one of the Koan asyilia decrees: RigsbyA19 (= App.#D10); in Hellenistic Boeotia (e.g. IG7.4139.22, mid second BC); *sunthūsia* once at Delphi in a decree where the Athenian *Dionysiac Artists* are said to have sacrificed with the people of Athens (FD 2.50, 5). The noun first in IG4.679 (Hermione, c.200 BC): τοῦ]ς [πα]ραγινόμενους συνθύτας ἐπὶ τὰν θυσίαν τῶν Χθονείων.

<sup>73</sup> *Paean* 6, 62–3: θύεται ... ἀγλαῶς ὑπὲρ Πανελλάδος ... For the Theoxenia, see §12.3, p.198.

<sup>74</sup> FD 2.18,7; App.#E2, 6–7. In the honorary decree FD 4.118, 14 (first century BC), προθυσία is one of a number of awards given to an *enkomiographos* from Damascus (Robert 1938:20). For priority in sacrifice, see Sokolowski (1954:169); Amandry (1950:113n.3).

<sup>75</sup> *Gymn.* 5–6. Minon: no. 18 (I.Olympia 14) is a fragment of an early Olympian sacred law relating to a hekatomb being sacrificed by Eleans. There is a similar case in an Eretrian sacred law which envisages a sacrificial procession led by public victims, with other victims (*krita*) brought by surrounding villages and finally offerings made by private citizens (IG12.9.189).



results of a sacrifice,<sup>76</sup> but unofficial dissemination of the results of sacrifice and the opinions of seers about the procedure must have happened all the time. Semos of Delos reports that once, when the Athenians sacrificed at Delos, the slave who was responsible for the water for the ritual hand-washing poured out fish along with it, and the Delian seers declared that Athens would be master of the sea. This is exactly the type of detail that might be reported back by *theōroi* from other cities witnessing the event.<sup>77</sup>

## 12.5 Processions

The most famous procession in Greek tragedy is perhaps the one led by Euripides' Dionysus, described as the 'conveyer of the *theōriā*' (πομπὸς τῆς θεωρίας), from Thebes to Mount Kithairon, with the purpose of enabling the transvestite, disoriented Pentheus to observe the Bacchantes. The obvious meaning of θεωρίας here is 'sacred delegation', with the implication that Pentheus will serve as an official spectator for the Bacchantic *agōn*, but it also suggests the extraordinary spectacle that he is making of himself. The outcome is well known: Pentheus takes up his position in a sort of parodic treetop *prohedriā*, but the women see him and tear his body apart. In his final *sparagmos*, his role shifts from that of an insulated spectator to that of the focal character, fatally imbricated in the ritual he was trying to watch.<sup>78</sup>

Pentheus' pilgrimage to Kithairon is imaginary, but the link between *theōriā* and processions is not. Formal processions (*pompai*) were a regular feature of festivals, serving the primary function of conveying participants in an orderly fashion to the place where the main ritual action is to take place, usually a sacrifice.<sup>79</sup> The starting point might be the nearby city that controlled the sanctuary, or simply the entrance of the *temenos*, and the route would often have been known as 'sacred'.<sup>80</sup> The theatrical arrival of Nikias' delegation on Delos from the neighbouring island across a bridge of boats is simply an extravagant variation on the pattern. Taking part in processions was a central role of visiting *theōroi*, and when they were not taking part, they would have watched.

<sup>76</sup> See above, p.201n.

<sup>77</sup> FGrH396F12, Ath. 8, 331f. Ἀθηναίοις ... θυομένοις ἐν Δῆλῳ τὴν χέρνιβα βάψας ὁ παῖς προσήνεγκε κἂν τῇ φιάλῃ μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰχθὺς κατέχευεν. εἰπεῖν οὖν αὐτοῖς τοὺς τῶν Δηλίων μάντις ὡς κυριεύσουσι τῆς θαλάσσης.

<sup>78</sup> Bacch.1047; cf. 965: πομπὸς ... σωτήριος. For this passage, see Rutherford (1998b:148–51); on the phrase, Jong (1991:36).

<sup>79</sup> Processions: Graf (1996), Kavoulaki (1999), *ThesCRA* I.1–20 (M. True, J. Daehner, J. B. Grossman, K. D. S. Lapatin, E. M. Nam); earlier Bömer (1952), Nilsson (1916).

<sup>80</sup> See §11.3, p.183.



Like sacrifices, processions can be engaged in together, an activity denoted by the verb *sumpompeuein* ('process together'). Thus, *theōroi* sent by Euboean cities to take part in festivals organised by the Euboean Confederation practice *sumpompeuein*, as do ones from the Artists of Dionysus attending a festival in Magnesia.<sup>81</sup> The implication of this verb must be that the host city organised the procession and took the lead, and delegates from other places joined in.

The relative position in a procession of *theōroi* from different places could have great significance, as is implied in a decree of Argos in honour of its supposed colony Aspendos (330–300 BC), which awards Aspendian *theōroi* sent to the festivals of the Nemean Games and the Heraia two privileges, the first being 'conveying at the front with the Argives'. This probably means marching at the front in formal processions.<sup>82</sup> The words describing the second honour are mostly lost in a lacuna in the text, but there is a good chance that it was being 'invited t[o *prohedriā*]', i.e. privileged seating at the competition.<sup>83</sup> If so, then the two privileges awarded to the Aspendian *theōroi* exactly capture the two 'roles' of a *theōros* that I distinguished earlier: performing ritual (*propompeia*) and watching ritual (*prohedriā*).

Although collaborative procession seems to have been the norm, cities sometimes staged their own processions in a unilateral display of power, 'sending a procession' to the sanctuary, to use the official idiom.<sup>84</sup> Plutarch's account of Nikias comes to mind as usual, but also Ps. Andocides' account

<sup>81</sup> IG12.9.207, 20; *I. Magnesia* 54.39; cf. also IG4.679 (Hermione). Another joint procession is implied in the accounts of the Delia festival at Tanagra, which list the 'procession of the *theōroi* and feasting' as two activities that need to be funded, and here the procession must be that of all the *theōroi* together. SEG 57, 452, 7; Brélaz, Andriomenou, Ducrey (2007:246).

<sup>82</sup> SEG 34.282, 9 (App.#C9); see §16.4, p.275; Stroud (1984:203–4) on line 9. So Robertson (1986:96–7), has connected the so-called *dialogos* ritual at Plataea with the tradition that Athens and Sparta quarrelled over the right to προπομπεία in that festival (see §15.3, p.260). For the award of προπομπεία see e.g. FD 2.49, 41, (an award to the Athenian Artists (128 BC)), and the next footnote.

<sup>83</sup> καλεῖσθαι εἰς προεδρίαν is a common formula; it is associated with προπομπεία in an decree from Epidauros, IG4<sup>2</sup>.66, 59–67 (74 BC); προεδρεία καὶ προπομπή are found together in SEG 11.974, 19–20, a decree from Thuria in Messenia in honour of a Spartan, first century BC. For *prohedriā*, see §9.1, pp.146–7.

<sup>84</sup> *I. Priene* 5.4; *Milet* I.3.143A, 10–11 (with commentary in *Milet* VI.1, 176–7). Cf. FD 2.48, 10 (*Pūth* 4): τὰν πομπῶν ἐπεκόσμησαν καλῶς. Nilsson (1916:310) actually seemed to have viewed θεωρία as a primary type of procession. In view of close relation between the two, it seems puzzling that a recently published Amphiktionic decree, CID4.2, seem to distinguish 'those going to Pylae and Delphi and returning κατὰ πομπάς' from θεαροί. It declares that if anyone charges the former harbour taxes, they can bring an action before the Amphiktionones on the same conditions as θεαροί. Salviat (1995:568) suggested that those going κατὰ πομπάς were delegates to the Amphiktionic meetings, with πομπά meaning 'mission'. However, they could just as easily be members of large delegations escorting θεαροί who would perform a πομπά at the sanctuary; the decree would be presupposing the exemption of the latter, and extending this privilege to those travelling with them.

of the Olympics of 416 BC where Alcibiades upstaged the ‘common procession’ of the Athenians by obtaining the Athenian processional vessels from the *arkhitheōroi* and using them for his own procession the night before.<sup>85</sup> Three hundred years later, the long parades that accompanied the Late Hellenistic *Pūthaidēs* were still snaking their way up the Sacred Way, and the systematic records of these, particularly of *Pūth* 4, give us some idea of the sequence of the subdelegations.<sup>86</sup> The novelist Heliodorus describes the well-choreographed procession of the Ainianian *theōriā* at Delphi,<sup>87</sup> whose participants sing at the same time, and in fact many of the choral performances that accompanied *theōriai* to Delos and Delphi in the fifth century could well have been performed in procession.<sup>88</sup> Needless to say, such displays make most sense if there are people from other cities there to witness them.

## 12.6 The *agōn*

Most major festivals had *agōnes*, and we have seen that one of the main functions of *theōroi* was to be spectators of them. Very little evidence survives about how this part of the proceedings was managed, though we may get a sense of it from surviving victory odes, which describe the audience of athletic events and its reaction to them. For example, in one passage Bacchylides refers to ‘the immense circle of the Greeks’ who witness the throwing of the discus,<sup>89</sup> and visiting *theōroi* from Greek states would presumably have made up a large part of this formation. Aside from the contest itself, a key moment was the declaration of victory, for which it is again Bacchylides who provides a vivid description: the sprinter has shown his speed to the Greeks, and then, when he stands gasping at the finishing line and sprinkles the crowd of spectators (*thātēres*) with oil as he collapses into them, the spokesmen (*prophētai*) declare him ‘twice *Isthmionikās*’.<sup>90</sup> The official ‘results’ of the competition may have been something *theōroi* were expected to report back to their cities.

As we have already seen, visitors from some places will have enjoyed the right of privileged seating or *prohedriā*, like the Athenians at the Isthmos who had a right to a seating area the size of Theseus’ sail, or the Aspendian

<sup>85</sup> [And.] 4.29, quoted in §10.3.1, p.163n.      <sup>86</sup> See §13.4.      <sup>87</sup> Heliod. *Aith.* 3–4; §20.4.

<sup>88</sup> See §14.3. Processional paean: see *Paeans*: 106.

<sup>89</sup> Bacch. 9.30: ‘Ελλάνων δι’ ἀπ[ε]ρονα κύκλον; cf. also Pin. *Ol.* 9.33.

<sup>90</sup> Bacch. 10.20–28; cf. §9.1, p.148n. Gelzer (1985:99–101) argues that some victory odes are modelled on the formal announcement of victory.

*theōroi* at Argos who probably had the right to be ‘summoned to *prohedriā*’. Another early case is Croesus, who is supposed to have been awarded this, among other privileges, by Delphi.<sup>91</sup> The Athenian arrangement at the Isthmos suggests that there was no formal seating, and that people sat on the ground. At Athens, where *prohedriā* was a common award, VIPs had seats reserved for them in the Theatre of Dionysus.<sup>92</sup> The possibility of a similar practice in the Olympic stadion was suggested by two inscriptions from around 500 BC, or even earlier, which bear the names of specific Spartan *proxenoi* (acting as official delegates, perhaps?),<sup>93</sup> one of them written on a free-standing stone seat, the other on a block built into the *stadion* entrance.<sup>94</sup>

As well as attending an *agōn* that the sanctuary organised, cases are also known where a city sent its own *agōn* to a sanctuary. Thus, the Athenian *Pūthaiides* of 127 BC, 105 BC and 97 BC seem to have staged an equestrian contest,<sup>95</sup> and the accompanying delegation of Artists of Dionysus staged a ‘thymelic’ and ‘scenic’ musical competition in 105 BC and 97 BC.<sup>96</sup> The competitors in the musical competition and most of those in the equestrian competitions were themselves members of the delegations.<sup>97</sup> Athens had organised *agōnes* on Delos in the fifth–fourth centuries, though in that case the organisers – the Amphiktionones – were distinct from the *theōroi*.<sup>98</sup> There are several other cases in the Hellenistic period where an association of Dionysiac Artists is known to have sent *theōroi* to an *agōn* it was itself helping to organise.<sup>99</sup>

Another function of *theōroi*, at least early on, may have been to look after the interests of athletes from their own city.<sup>100</sup> Around 500 BC it was the

<sup>91</sup> See §9.1, pp.146–7, §12.5; Hdt. 1.54 (imaginatively reconstructed as SIG<sup>37</sup>).

<sup>92</sup> Evidence collected in Maass (1972).

<sup>93</sup> In the Hellenistic period *theōroi* were sometimes appointed *proxenoi*: see §2.1.5, pp.23–5.

<sup>94</sup> *Nomima* I.37 (= SEG 11.add.1180a) and I.38 (SEG 26.476). For seats devoted to people from a certain town in Roman Aphrodisias, see Roueché (1993:87). At Olympia, there was a special seat for the organisers and for the priestess of Demeter Khamune viewed from an altar: Paus. 6.20.8–9. Dyer (1908) argued that the treasuries at Olympia were used as vantage points for sightseers, but see the critique of Rups (1986:73–9).

<sup>95</sup> The evidence is a series of inscribed crowns with inscriptions: FD 2.34–45. See Boethius (1918:80–2 (*Pūth* 2), 111–12 (*Pūth* 3), 122 (*Pūth* 4)).

<sup>96</sup> FD 2.49, 48. See elsewhere.

<sup>97</sup> One of the equestrian contests was qualified as ‘from everyone’ (ἐκ πάντων: FD 2.40, 41, 42), which for Boethius means that even non-Athenians could compete. For the musical competitors, see Sifakis (1967:90–4 and tables on 169–71).

<sup>98</sup> Byrne (1995) restored IG2<sup>2</sup>.1095, 11–12 in such a way that the Athenian politician Medeios is both ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν [Δηλίων and ἀρχιθε[έωρος.

<sup>99</sup> See §14.5.

<sup>100</sup> Contrast the view of Crowther (2004:25–7), who does not deal with this evidence.

practice of the Elean authorities to write up decrees and other official records on bronze-plaques, which were then displayed in prominent positions in the Olympian sanctuary. One of these difficult texts, published only recently, seems to be part of an early rule book for the Games, referring to technical infringements of the rules in wrestling, and fines relating to these. It specifies that the *theōros* should not pay ‘with someone else’s money’.<sup>101</sup> Another refers to the ritual procedure required in the case that someone, perhaps an athlete, engages in some sort of ritually impure behaviour, probably sexual intercourse, inside the sanctuary.<sup>102</sup> The hypothetical athlete is to sacrifice ‘with a cow and a complete purification’, and the *theāros* is to do the same and in the same place. The sacrifice of the *theāros* should probably be understood as being made on behalf of the sacrilegious athlete, as in the previous example.

A different relationship between *theōroi* and competition is suggested by a recently published inscription from late Hellenistic Tanagra, which talks about an oath ceremony for Artists of Dionysus, athletes and *theōroi*. In the case of the Artists and athletes, the point of the oath was to make sure they obeyed the rules, but what was the point in the case of the *theōroi*? The editors of the inscription plausibly suggest that they served as judges in the *agōn*.<sup>103</sup> Other instances of this pattern cannot be ruled out, since, except for the *hellenodikai* of the Olympics, virtually nothing is known about who judged ancient competitions or implemented the rules about age-categories.<sup>104</sup>

## 12.7 Keeping order

It is not difficult to imagine that keeping order was a major problem at sanctuaries. Although delegates and participants were supposed to put aside their differences for the duration of the festival, tensions cannot have

<sup>101</sup> Minon: no. 5 = App. # A3; see Ebert and Siewert (1999).

<sup>102</sup> Minon: no. 4 = App. # A2. On the transgression, see Parker (1983: 74n.3); Bain (1991: 58). Ziehen (in LGS no. 61 (p. 189)) thinks the sinner is a slave of the *theāros*.

<sup>103</sup> SEG 57.452A, 7; discussed by Brélaz, Andriomenou and Ducrey (2007: 289), who compare a category of officials or delegates from the Basileia festival at Lebadeia called ἐγκριταί (Institut Fernand-Courby (1971) no. 22C42–6).

<sup>104</sup> A Chiote decree as restored by L. Robert (BE 1977: no. 231 in Moretti (1967–2002: 78, 30); earlier FD 3.214; SIG<sup>3</sup>: 443) says of their *hieromnēmon* [βρα]βεύετω (‘let him judge’). Thrasykles of Athens, another *hieromnēmon*, was honoured by Delphi (30 or 26 BC) for *inter alia* judging the Pythia: SIG<sup>3</sup>: 772, and see Pomtow’s n.3). For implementing rules about age classes at the Roman Isthmia, see Jordan and Spawforth (1982); Jordan (1994: 111–15).

been very far beneath the surface, and the highly charged and alcohol-fuelled atmosphere must have exacerbated things. Heliodorus captures some of that in the *Aithiopika*, where the splendid Delphic *theōriā* comprised of young men from Thessalian Aini ends in a drunken rampage, when they carry off the temple attendant Charikleia, allowing her and Theagenes to elope. As a result, a Delphic official proposes to kill any Aini-ans they can catch, and to ban them from the *theōriā* in future, undertaking the cost of the rite themselves.<sup>105</sup> Heliodorus is writing fiction, but the authorities organising festivals and *agōnes* must have had measures in place to deal with disputes. Plato was perhaps adapting practices he knew from the real world in the *Laws*, where he legislates for disputes arising in his ideal city of Magnesia involving visiting *theōroi* and envisages punishments being imposed by the local priests (if the value of the suit is less than fifty drachmas) or the *agorānomoi* (if it is more than fifty drachmas).<sup>106</sup>

It is more surprising to find that cities sending *theōriai* to sanctuaries sometimes policed themselves. Such is the implication of a clause in the Andros–Delphi convention:<sup>107</sup>

Let the council choose five men from among those sailing to Delphi and let it make them take an oath. Let them not have to contribute grain on account of this office. Let them have authority to fine any engaging in being disorderly, up to five drachmas for each day. Let them report whomever they punish to the *boulē*.

Of course, ‘being disorderly’ (*akosmein*), whatever it means, need be no more than a mild misdemeanour. Serious breaches of the law would probably still have been dealt with by the local legal authorities, who in this case would surely be the Amphiktion. <sup>108</sup> But Andros may have felt it was more expedient to do everything possible to keep a lid on problems itself, rather than allowing them to mushroom into international incidents.

Evidence for a slightly more complex system are the two bronze plaques from Olympia mentioned above, which show that *theāroi* were considered to share responsibility for the behaviour of athletes from the same city. According to Sophie Minon, the same pattern is found in a third plaque, which records the punishment of Timokrates, son of Malex, who is not said to have been an athlete, though he may have been. His crime seems to have been to imprison one or more *theāroi*, and his punishment was to be barred from the altar by the *proxenoi* and the priest, and also to pay a fine.

<sup>105</sup> *Aith.* 4.20.3; for more on Heliodorus, see §20.4.

<sup>106</sup> *Laws* 12, 953b. <sup>107</sup> *CID* 1.7.B.10–17

<sup>108</sup> An Amphiktionic decree from the fourth century, *CID* 4.2 implies that *theāroi* were allowed to bring legal action in an Amphiktionic court.

According to Minon, funds for the fine come from the sale of animals and equipment, which was arranged by two other *theōroi*, possibly ones from his own city.<sup>109</sup> Whether or not this interpretation of the Timokrates-plaque is right, the other cases are enough to prove that there was a principle here: *theōroi* are responsible for the misdemeanours of people from their cities.

Why would this system have arisen? It may have had practical advantages – *theōroi* would be encouraged to police themselves, as the Andrians did at Delphi, and if an athlete nevertheless got into trouble, the *theōros*, being an official delegate and also an older person of some means, is more likely to have had access to funds to pay fines.<sup>110</sup> However, the practice could equally well have arisen as a natural consequence of the conventions that governed interstate religion in Greece. In so far as participation in festivals is conceived of primarily in terms of relations between the authority that controls the sanctuary and individual cities that send *theōroi* to represent them, it makes sense for the individual cities, represented by their *theōroi*, to be involved in judicial processes as well. This principle could hardly fail to apply in the case of athletes, who were regarded as part of the civic delegation, and whose performance in the competition had major political significance.

<sup>109</sup> Minon:no.19 (*I.Olympia* 13 = App.#A4); for discussion, Minon:2.548. For *proxenoi*, see above.

<sup>110</sup> Suggested by Minon:2.548.

13.1 *Theōroi* as agents and mediators

*Theōroi* are agents of the political authorities who send them. They can be described as coming ‘from’ (*apo*, *ek*) the cities,<sup>1</sup> being sent out ‘by’ them (*hupo*) or acting ‘on behalf’ of them (*huper*);<sup>2</sup> occasionally, the cities are said to work ‘through’ their *theōroi* (*dia*).<sup>3</sup> Here is a clause from the honorary decree for Kallias of Sphettos, who led the Athenian *theōriā* to Alexandria in 283–282 BC:<sup>4</sup>

... When ... the *dēmos* voted to send a *theōriā* and requested [Kalli]as to agr[ee] to be its *arkhetheōros* and to lead [the *theōriā*] on behalf of the *dēmos*, Kallias agreed eagerly ...

The *demos* is the agent and appoints Kallias to act on its behalf (*huper*).<sup>5</sup> Demosthenes has a more elaborate variation of the *huper* formula, where he asks rhetorically why, if he is so bad, his political opponent:<sup>6</sup>

... allowed me to be *arkhetheōros* and take the common *theōriā* on behalf of the city to Nemean Zeus?

The *theōriā* is ‘common’ here because it represents the whole city.<sup>7</sup> The difference between state-delegation and private pilgrimage comes down to the

<sup>1</sup> The formula ἀπὸ τῶν πολέων θεωροί is reconstructed in a Samothracian *proxenoi*-list by Dimitrova: no. 4, 1–2; also in *I.Priene* 111, 189; *I.Priene* 118, 15. So in Chaeremon fr. 44W = Ath. 9.407a–b: τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων θεωροῦσιν, of foreigners at an Athenian festival.

<sup>2</sup> For ὑπὸ and ὑπέρ see below.

<sup>3</sup> A decree from Keos from the Roman period says that the Keians sent a sacrifice to Delos and renewed the ancestral practices διὰ τῶν θεωρῶν ID2539; cf. διὰ τῶν θεοπρόπων in *I.Magnesia* 215, 30–1. The same formula could be restored in the decree from Mahdia, SEG 46.122, 35 and 59 (App.#C3). Notice also the expression ἐπὶ θεωρῶν (Dimitrova: no. 26, 3) or ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου (e.g. IG11.2.161B, 13; see App.#D6.1); Dimitrova: 63 suggests ἐπὶ θεωρῶν means ‘represented by the *theōroi* ...’

<sup>4</sup> SEG 28.60.56–9. (App.#D2).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also *I.Magnesia* 57, 25–7 (RigsbyA106): ὅπως δὲ καὶ θεωρία καὶ [θυσία ἀπ]οστέ[λλ]ηται τῇ θεᾷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δᾶ[μ]ου, ἃ [ἐκ]κλ[η]σία ἀ[ρ]ρε[σ]θω θεωροῦς ἐκ πάντων τρεῖς.

<sup>6</sup> 21.115: ... εἶασε ... ἀρχεθεωροῦντ’ ἀγαγεῖν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νεμείῳ τὴν κοινὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως θεωρίαν.

<sup>7</sup> See §13.3, pp. 217–18.

idea implied by the preposition *huper*: the *idiōtēs* acts on behalf of nobody but himself.

In a number of sources, the activity that the *theōroi* carry out on behalf of their city is specified as sacrificing, as in the decree honouring the *theōroi* from Lemnian Myrina:<sup>8</sup>

... the *theōroi* sent off by the *dēmos* of the Athenians in Myrina during the archonship of Aristides to sacrifice to the Kabeiroi during the Horaia festival sacrificed successfully and piously to the gods on behalf of the *demos*...

The defining sign that the sacrifice is on behalf of the *dēmos* may be simply that the prayer, which we know accompanied it, was directed to their benefit. But the idea of 'on behalf of the city' is also found in the case of oracle delegates, as we see in the Mnesiepes inscription from Paros where Telesikles, the father of Archilochus, is described as:<sup>9</sup>

... appointed by the city as *theopropos* to Delphi with Lycambes to make an enquiry on behalf of the city ...

Again, the relationship between the city and its agents is expressed by the two prepositions *hupo* and *huper*.

The political authority on whose behalf *theōroi* act may be a federation such as the Thessalian League, or the Nesiotic League.<sup>10</sup> The Delphic Amphiktionyn could send *theōroi* as well, as could the organisations of Dionysiac Artists. Around 360 BC the Koinon of the Asklepiadae of Kos and Knidos was sending delegations to Delphi.<sup>11</sup> A king can also send a *theōros*, as Ptolemy Euergetes sent the doctor Kaphisophon to Kos in charge of the

<sup>8</sup> ASAAtene 3 [1941–2] [Lemnos] 39.3 [App.#D4]. Similar language is found in IG12.7.506, 53–60: ἐλέσθαι [δ]ὲ τοὺς συνέδρους καὶ θεωροὺς τρεῖς, οἵτινες ἀφ[ικ]όμενοι εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν θύσουσιν τε ὑπὲρ τοῦ [κ]οινοῦ τῶν νησιωτῶν Πτολεμαίωι Σωτῆρι καὶ [τὸν σ]τέφανον ἀποδώσουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ; Plut.Dem.11.1: καθάπερ οἱ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ὀλυμπίαζε τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν πόλεων ἀνάγοντες ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἑορταῖς; Photius, Lex a 2934: ... θεωροὶ ... ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίδων θύοντες. Cf. also FD 3.214, 32–4: Chian *hieromnāmones*, apparently attending the Pythia; and FD 2.67, 2: Thrasukles of Athens a *hieromnāmon* at Delphi (26 BC).

<sup>9</sup> SEG 15.517, 44–5: ... ὑπὸ τῶν [π]ολιτῶν θεοπρόπον εἰς Δελφοῦς εἰρημένον μετὰ [Λυ]κάμβου χρησόμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως... cf. §6.4, p.101.

<sup>10</sup> Thessalian League: IG12Supp.3 (Mytilene), Dimitrova:no.26 (Samothrace); Nesiotic League: IG12.7.506; other Leagues: Acarnanian League: RigsbyA81, 30–1; Epirote League: RigsbyA82, 29–31; Phocian League: RigsbyA84, 22; Aetolian League: RigsbyA178, 22–4. For the question of whether Leagues arrogated from their member cities the right to send *theōroi* to festivals, see Rigsby (1996:223), apropos of RigsbyA89, 90, 91 (responses to Magnesia by the Achaean League and its member states Argos and Sicyon); also the discussion of Giovannini (1977:469–71).

<sup>11</sup> Amphiktionyn: CID4.40, 20–1 (262 BC); Dionysiac Artists: §14.7; Asklepiadae: CID1.12.



Alexandrian delegation.<sup>12</sup> However, in the vast majority of cases, the body on whose behalf the *theōroi* act is the city which is the primary unit not just of political but also of religious organisation. The sending of *theōroi* to extra-territorial sanctuaries is how the religion of the polis opens up to the world.

Some aspects of the role of the city in *theōriā* I have discussed elsewhere. In this chapter I want to look at two issues in particular: first, the funding of *theōriā* by the city (§13.2); and second, the way that a city's political and/or religious identity is articulated through participation in festivals (§13.3). I also want to develop two cases studies of civic *theōriā*: the Athenian *Pūthais* (§13.4) and the Koan *theōriā* to Delos (§13.5). In both these cases, we find two key features: first, the *theōriā* is complex, composed of a number of groups from the city, some of them with a degree of religious if not political independence; secondly, both these traditions of *theōriai* are deeply embedded in the religious culture of the city, forming part of a ritual complex that includes a festival in the home city.

## 13.2 Funding

The city that sends the *theōriā* is usually also responsible for paying for it. The two main elements in the cost were travelling expenses and the offering, which could be a sacrifice, a dedication and perhaps a procession or a choral performance. A delegation sent to consult an oracle, where travelling expenses were the main thing, would be comparatively cheap; at Athens, according to the attidographer Androtion, *theōroi* going to Delphi (which presumably means oracle delegates) were provided with money for the journey and other necessities by the officials called the *kōlakretai*, drawing on the funds known as the *naukrārika*.<sup>13</sup> One can see the distinction between travelling expenses and offerings in a Koan decree which awarded delegates chosen to celebrate the Leukophrueneia festival at Magnesia 300 drachmas for the sacrifice and a travelling allowance for 30 days.<sup>14</sup> The

<sup>12</sup> IG12.4.31 = App.#D11. Other *theoroi* from Alexandria and Ptolemy Philadelphos are recorded in the Delian inventories: Bruneau (1970:94–5).

<sup>13</sup> FGrH324F36 Τοῖς δὲ ἰοῦσι Πυθῶδε θεωροῖς τοὺς κωλακρέτας διδόναι ἐκ τῶν ναυκραρικῶν [Wilamowitz: MS: ναυκληρικῶν] ἐφόδιον ἀργύρια, καὶ εἰς ἄλλο ὃ τι ἂν δέηι ἀναλῶσαι. See the discussion of Harding (1994:134–8). In so far as the *naukrāroi* were naval officials, this suggests that *theōroi* usually travelled by sea: see Jordan (1975:11). If Philokleon received his two obols for being a *theōros* (Ar. *Wasps* 1187–8), that would be another case (see §10.1, p.157).

<sup>14</sup> I.Magnesia 57, 30 = RigsbyA106; see Robert (1936:17). So in IG12.4.68 = SIG<sup>3</sup> 398, 47 the Koans, having decided to offer a sacrifice of a golden-horned bull in thanks for the salvation of Delphi from the Gauls in 278 BC, sent a payment of 400dr. to intercept Koan *theōroi* already en route to the Pythia.

accounts of the Athenian Amphiktionēs of 377–374 BC register a number of costs related to the festival, including travelling expenses (1 talent and 1,000 drachmas for the trierarch who transported the *theoroi*) and various offerings (crowns, sacrificial animals and gold leaves); 1 talent is also given to the *arkhitheōroi* – it is not clear why.<sup>15</sup>

Another funding possibility was a liturgy, the so-called *arkhitheōriā*.<sup>16</sup> *Arkhitheōros* usually means ‘leader of a delegation’ (see §10.2), and the liturgist probably was the leader in many cases.<sup>17</sup> Andocides, speaking in 399 BC, reports that among the liturgies his enemies tried to impose on him were *arkhitheōriai* to the Isthmia and Olympics,<sup>18</sup> and the speaker of a speech in the Lysianic Corpus dated to soon after 403/2 BC claims to have carried out a veritable potlatch of liturgies, including ‘*arkhitheōriai* and *errhēphorai* and other such things’, which came to more than 30 *mnai*.<sup>19</sup> It was probably not one of the most expensive liturgies at Athens: Aristotle says in the *Nicomachean Ethics* that the liturgy of the *arkhitheōriā* and that of the *trierarkhiā* do not involve equal cost, and since the trierarchy is known to have been expensive at about a talent, the point seems to be that the *arkhitheōriā*, though grand, is cheaper.<sup>20</sup> The case of Delos may have been different. In the *Constitution of the Athenians* Aristotle says that the archon appoints *chorēgoi eis Delon* as well as the *arkhitheō[ros]* (or possibly *arkhitheō[roi]*) for the *triakontorion* bringing the young men to Delos.<sup>21</sup> The *chorēgoi* presumably paid for the choruses in the competition, but should the *arkhitheō[ros(-oi)]* also be understood as liturgist(s), or did the Athenian

<sup>15</sup> RO no.28 A(a) 33–5 (IG2<sup>2</sup>.1635, 33–5). In SEG 30.66, 38–40, payment for the Athenian *arkhitheōros* to Nemea comes from the *apodektai*.

<sup>16</sup> See Wilson (2000:44). The alternative form ἡ ἀρχιθεώρησις occurs in a fragment of Isaios: (fr.150 Tur).

<sup>17</sup> Alcibiades, who seems to have funded the *theōria* to Olympia in 416, seems to have been distinct from the *arkhitheōroi*, however (see §10.3.1). Boulagoras of Samos (see IG12.6.11, discussed below), who funded a Samian *theōriā*, was not the *arkhitheōros* himself.

<sup>18</sup> *De Must.*132.

<sup>19</sup> Lysias *Or.*21.5; for the date, Todd (2000:228). For the Delian *theōriā* §18.1.

<sup>20</sup> NE4.1122a22–5 καθάπερ γὰρ τοῦνομα αὐτὸ ὑποσημαίνει, ἐν μεγέθει πρέπουσα δαπάνη ἐστίν. τὸ δὲ μέγεθος πρὸς τοῦ γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ δαπάνημα τριηράρχωι καὶ ἀρχιθεωρῶι (‘For as the name [*megaloprepeia*] itself suggests, it is a fitting expenditure involving largeness of scale. But the scale is relative; for the expense of equipping a trireme is not the same as that of heading a sacred embassy’ (trans. W. D. Ross). I follow the interpretation of Davies (1971:xxi). Contra Dillon (1997a:18) and Wilson (2000:328n.187).

<sup>21</sup> *Ath.Pol.*56.3, Cf. *Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense*, ed. P. P. Dobree, s. ἐπώνυμος ἄρχων: ... ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰς Δῆλον καὶ τῶν ἀλλοχόσε πεμπομένων Ἀθήνηθεν θεωρῶν... Lugebil: χόρων: MS; Rhodes (1981:627) (‘He is charged also with *theōriai* sent to Delos and to other places’).

Amphiktionēs, i.e. the state, pay for everything else, as apparently in 377/6–374/3 BC? However things were in the fourth century BC, the arrangements may have been different in the late fifth century – the era of Nikias and the multiple *arkhitheōroi* of IG1<sup>3</sup>.1438 – and perhaps a (joint?) liturgy was used at this time.<sup>22</sup>

Sometimes the money came from rich individuals without it being an official liturgy. When Kallias of Sphettos organised the Athenian *theōriā* to the Alexandrian Ptolemaia, he probably paid 50 minas (5,000 drachmas), returning to the *dēmos* the money that had been originally allotted to the purpose, as is standard practice in the Hellenistic period.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, a Samian *theōriā* to Alexandria was financed by Boulagoras to the tune of 6000 drachmas.<sup>24</sup> Three times greater than this were the *aparkhai* of three talents that Athens sent to accompany the fourth enactment of the *Pūthaiis* in 97 BC, and this was funded in a different way, via contributions from various important Athenian officials over a four-year period.<sup>25</sup>

### 13.3 Political and religious identity

The fundamental activity of *theōroi* is to represent the city or political community that sends them, and in doing this they also communicate to the broader Greek world how the leaders of that community want it to be perceived.<sup>26</sup> Sources often describe a *theōriā* as representing the city as a whole. In a passage cited earlier, Demosthenes speaks of the ‘common *theōriā* on behalf of the city’ (τὴν κοινὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως θεωρίαν), where *koinēn* could conceivably mean ‘common to all cities that take part in the Nemean festival’, but its proximity to *hyper tēs poleōs*, as well as the civic context, makes it likely that the primary idea here is ‘common to all Athenians’.<sup>27</sup> The same requirement of communality extends to the escort, as we see from a passage of Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*, where Socrates characterises a *khōros* sent by Athens to Delos as a cohesive unity.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See also §10.2.

<sup>23</sup> SEG 28.60, 61–2 (App.#D2); the number is unfortunately not legible, and 80 or 90 minas are also possible: see T. L. Shear (1978:34). For returning the money given by the city in similar contexts, see also SEG 39:1243, 34–6 (= App.#E3), with *IClaros*: p.26.

<sup>24</sup> IG12.6.11, 25–36. <sup>25</sup> See IG2<sup>2</sup>.2336 and on it Tracy (1982:146–53).

<sup>26</sup> Ritual as communication: Stavrianopoulou (2006b:9). <sup>27</sup> Or.21.115.

<sup>28</sup> *Mem.*3.3.12. ἡ τότε οὐκ ἐντεθύμησαι ὥς, ὅταν γε χορὸς εἰς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως γίγνεται, ὥσπερ ὁ εἰς Δῆλον πεμπόμενος, οὐδεὶς ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμὸθεν τούτῳ ἐφάμιλλος γίγνεται οὐδὲ εὐανδρία ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει ὁμοία τῇ ἐνθάδε συνάγεται.

Or have you not considered this, that when one *khōros* is generated from the polis (like the one that is sent to Delos), no other from any one else can rival it, nor is *euandria* produced in any other city equal to the one here.

There is an implicit opposition to *khōroi* performed within the polis, which are not ‘one’, but fragmented; by contrast song–dance performances at Delos are simple, representing the ‘cohesive’ face of the city.

This is not to say that in the context of interstate *theōriā* all social differences within the community are somehow levelled out, as in Victor Turner’s idealised *communitas* between participants in modern Catholic pilgrimage. On the contrary, the evidence of the Hellenistic *Pūthais* to Delphi indicates rather that the city is represented by a number of different groups: the archons, ephebes, *hippeis* and members of specialised sacred *genē*, such as the Erusikhthonidai.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the formal context even throws these differences into sharper relief. Nevertheless, the premise under which all of this activity takes place is that everything happens for the sake of the city.<sup>30</sup>

Even for individuals, it is a matter of considerable significance whom you chose to attend a festival with (*suntheōrein*), and who chose to attend it with you. In two forensic speeches written by fourth-century Athenian orators, a speaker uses joint festival attendance to prove his affinity to someone else. In Isaios’ *On the Estate of Ciron*, the issue is the speaker’s relationship to Ciron, who he claims was his grandfather (‘... we always went with him to public spectacles [*met’ ekeinou ... etheōroumen*], and sat at his side...’).<sup>31</sup> Similar is this passage of Isocrates’ *Aegineticus*.<sup>32</sup>

For during our childhood we were fonder of each other than of our brothers, and we would perform no sacrifice, make no pilgrimage (*theōriā*), and celebrate no festival except in one another’s company ... (tr. L. van Hook, Loeb)

The two men in question seem to have spent their early years on the island of Siphnos, and it seems likeliest that the festivals in question took place on the island, though a regional festival, for example on Delos, would also have been a possibility.

In a similar way, a *theōriā* to a sanctuary seems often to be intended to communicate the ‘identity’ (not an unproblematic term, but still useful)<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See further §10.1, §10.5.

<sup>30</sup> *Communitas*: Turner (1974) (an adapted version of Turner (1972)); Greek festivals conform more to the model of ‘contestation’ proposed by Eade and Sallnow (1991).

<sup>31</sup> *Or.*8.16 trans. E. S. Forster, Loeb: ... καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνου τε ἔθεωροῦμεν καθήμενοι παρ’ αὐτὸν ...

<sup>32</sup> *Isocr. Or.*19.10: ἕως μὲν γὰρ παῖδες ἦμεν, περὶ πλείονος ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμεθα ἢ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ οὐτε θυσίαν οὐτε θεωρίαν οὐτ’ ἄλλην ἑορτὴν οὐδεμίαν χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἡγομεν ...

<sup>33</sup> For a critique of the term, see Handler (1994).

of the community that sends it, that is, to represent the community as it wanted to be represented, whether as independent of other political entities, or as including subordinate ones within the ‘common’ group. Here are some cases where a *theōriā* may have been designed to promulgate such a political identity abroad:

- i. Kos and Delos (discussed in more depth below). Starting in the mid-fourth century BC after the cities of the island of Kos underwent synoecism in 366 BC, there is a rich tradition of *theōriā* to Delos. In a *lex sacra* dated to the mid-fourth century BC, the departure of a *theōriā* to Delos coincides with a festival in Kos-town where representatives from various communities both on the island and from elsewhere are present. Regular enactments in the third century BC and later are attested in the Delian inventories. One Koan city, Isthmos-Astupalaia (the former capital) sent an isolated *theōriā* to Delos in the mid-third century, but the normal pattern is that they represent Kos as a whole.<sup>34</sup>
- ii. Arsinoe in Cilicia and Alexandria. At some point between 238 and 221 BC, the city of Nagidos in Cilicia passed a decree formalising relations with the neighbouring city of Arsinoe. In this decree, which treats Arsinoe as a colony of Nagidos, it is stipulated that Arsinoe should honour the king (Ptolemy III Euergetes), his mother Arsinoe and Berenike, apparently the king’s daughter, and should send a *theōros* at its own expense. The destination of the *theōros* is not specified, but it seems likely to be Alexandria,<sup>35</sup> it being presupposed that all cities in the region have to send a *theōros* there. As Jones and Habicht observe, the immediate context may be that Arsinoe, perhaps founded in the 260s ‘... ceased to exist, perhaps reabsorbed into Nagidos, for some time in the interval between its founding...and the present document.’<sup>36</sup>

Here, then, participation in a festival network allows Arsinoe to reassert its independence. Equally, if a city lost its independence, it might be required that this change of status too be demonstrated in the privileged arena of sanctuary, as happens in the following case:

- iii. Teos and Panionion. A letter from King Antigonos (303 BC) proposed that after *sumpoliteia* between the larger Ionian town of Teos and the

<sup>34</sup> IG12.4.332b (App.#C7); see §13.5 below.

<sup>35</sup> For the text, see Petzl (2002:87) on lines 32–3; summary in SEG 52.1462; an earlier treatment of the decree with background information is Jones and Habicht (1989).

<sup>36</sup> Jones and Habicht (1989: 319); foundation of Nagidos: id.: 337; translation in Austin (2006: no.272).

smaller one of Lebedos, citizens of the latter were to be incorporated into the former. Among the measures anticipated is that the former citizens of Lebedos will send one delegate to the Panionia, while the other citizens of Teos send several. All the delegates are to engage in the same activities for the same length of time; they are to share the same tent, and, crucially, the former citizen of Lebedos is to be called a Teian.<sup>37</sup>

Whoever is sent to the Panionion, we thought it best that he should [perform all the] common rites for an equal period of time, and he should pitch his tent, take part in the festival together with [your envoys] and be called Teian. (tr. Austin)

The Panionia festival is a privileged arena for the display of civic identity, and it is particularly important that the status of Lebedos be made clear there.

To these Hellenistic examples, we can add a comparable case from the Roman Empire:

- iv. Ptolemais-Barca and Rome. In AD 154 Ptolemais-Barca in the Cyrenaica sent a delegation to the Capitolia festival at Rome to sacrifice ‘on behalf of their *ethnos*’. They had never done this before. The emperor allowed the sacrifice to go ahead, but warned them of the dangers of rivalry between cities, presumably referring to Cyrene forty miles to the east, with which Ptolemais-Barca is known to have been in competition. However we understand the phrase ‘on behalf of their *ethnos*’, it is clear that the Roman authorities interpreted the delegation as a potentially damaging attempt to upstage Cyrene.<sup>38</sup>

In all these cases, then, sending a sacred delegation to a common festival is a means for conspicuously asserting a political identity. A corollary of this would seem to be that if a city loses its independent political status, like Lebedos in the example above, it also loses the right to send a separate delegation. So too when the Arcadian city of Helisson underwent synoecism with Mantinea, it was explicitly guaranteed the right of receiving *theāriai*, but not apparently that of sending them, with the exception of the single *theāros* who goes to Mantinea, presumably to formalise the synoecism.<sup>39</sup> It has also been suggested that the operating plan of some Hellenistic Leagues

<sup>37</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup>344, 2–4 = Welles (1934:n.3), PEP (Teos) 59, Austin (2006: n.48). ὅστις δ’ ἂν] εἰς τὸ Πανιώνιον ἀποστέλληται, ὡς] μεθὰ δεῖν [πράττειν πάντα τὰ] κοινὰ τὸν ἴσον χρόνον, σκηνοῦν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ πανηγυράζειν μετὰ τῶν παρ’ [ὑμῶν ἀπεσταλμέ]νων καὶ καλεῖσθαι Τήϊον. For the context, see Ager (1998).

<sup>38</sup> Oliver (1989:n.124) = App.#G4. <sup>39</sup> See §8.2, p.127.

was to send common delegations in their own right and to discourage or ban individual member cities from sending their own.<sup>40</sup>

In apparent contradiction of this principle, however, some *theōriai* are known to have been sent by cities which were not fully independent politically. Three cases come to mind:

- i. The Marathonian Tetrapolis, part of Athens since historical records begin, which continued to send *theōriai* to Delos at least until the fourth century BC and to Delphi until the Hellenistic period. However, when the Athenians re-established the *Pūthais* in 138/7 BC, the delegates from the Tetrapolis were incorporated in the general delegation.<sup>41</sup>
- ii. The city of Isthmos on the island of Kos. Even though Kos underwent *sumpoliteia* in the fourth century, ‘the Koans from Isthmos’ sent their own *theōriā* to Delos around 250 BC, apparently alongside a *theōriā* from Kos itself.<sup>42</sup> A factor here may have been that Isthmos, under its older name of Astupalaia, had been the original capital of Kos, and had preserved its ritual independence from that time.
- iii. The island of Kalymnos, which underwent *homopoliteiā* with Kos around the end of the third century BC, but nevertheless sent a *theōriā* to Delos in the 140s, just as it had done a hundred years before.<sup>43</sup> One of the inventories that register the post-*homopoliteiā* dedication seems to imply that it was done under the supervision of the Koans.<sup>44</sup>

In all three of these cases, the dependent community in whose name the delegation is made used to be independent, and a relationship between it and the sanctuary may, we assume, already have existed at the earlier stage.

<sup>40</sup> Giovannini (1977:469–71) raises the question of whether member-states of the Achaean League responding to *epangelia* from Magnesia had the right to receive Magnesian *theōroi* but not to send *theōroi* independently of the Achaean League, which would be analogous, but see Rigsby (1996:223). See also §13.1, p.214.

<sup>41</sup> See §18.4.

<sup>42</sup> Bruneau (1970:99); the delegation from Isthmos is XV in Bruneau's classification = Hamilton (2000:112, Apollo Treasure B17b); the one from Kos is Bruneau XVI = Hamilton (2000:B17d), displayed next to it in the temple of Apollo. One copy of this text is App.#D6.2. For delegations from Koan Isthmos, see below §13.5, p.234.

<sup>43</sup> *Homopoliteia*: IG12.4.152; translated in Austin (2006:no.153); see Sherwin-White (1978:125–9).

<sup>44</sup> ID1432, Bb, II, 9–10: ἄλλην λείαν, ἃ πόλις ἃ Καλυμνίων Ἀπόλλων[ι] Δηλίωι ὡς δακτύλων δέκα τεττάρων, ἀνέθεμα Κώϊων; Kalymnos III in Bruneau (1970:96) (‘La dédicace est d’un type exceptionnel: la phiale a été offerte en un temps où Kalymna se trouvait dans la dépendance de Kos’) = Hamilton (2000:146, ‘Apollo Treasure D’ 8 with n.151). Earlier, Kalymnos may have made a joint consultation of the Delphic oracle with Kos (*TitCal*.80, fourth/third centuries BC).



On the face of it, this situation is similar to what I suggested in my discussion of the lists of *theōrodokoi*, which record places where formal announcements of the upcoming festival was made. There, too, political status was a major factor, though the lists also include some cities that seem to have been dependent, and it may be that in some of these cases as well an independent relationship with the sanctuary survives a loss of political identity. On the other hand, the rights of having a festival announced in your city and of sending an independent *theōros* to it may not have coincided completely. Thus, the newly dependent community of Helisson, which we have had cause to discuss several times already, apparently lacked the latter, though it retained the right of receiving *theāriai* (which would include festival announcers).<sup>45</sup> While the right to receive delegations was perhaps a rather superficial privilege, in the right to independent representation at a major festival there was probably much more at stake.<sup>46</sup>

\* \* \*

The rest of this chapter is made up of two case studies, where we can see the relation of *theōriā* and the city-state in action.

### 13.4 The Athenian *Pūthaīs*: a travelling image of the polis

By far the best-documented *theōriai* from any period are the enactments of the Athenian *Pūthaīs* in 138/7 BC, 128/7 BC, 106/5 BC and 98/7 BC.<sup>47</sup> This

<sup>45</sup> Giovannini's (1977:469–71) interpretation of the Achaean League's responses to Magnesia (see above, no.10, n.40) would also imply that having the festival announced in your city does not imply the right to send an independent delegation. Marathon, which sent independent delegations to Delphi, does not appear in the DTL, but it is not clear that Marathon ever participated in the major Delphic festivals.

<sup>46</sup> 'Right of sending a *theōros*' may perhaps be the meaning of the word *θεωροσύνη*, used in a fragmentary inscription from Nemea in the second century BC (*SEG* 23.180,7: ]ν ἑκατέροις θεωρωσύν[ = Bradeen (1966:326–9) with S. G. Miller (2001:99–100), which is thought to relate to the arbitration by the Roman commander L. Mummius in Nemean Games in 145 BC (see Pietila-Castrén (1991)). As Miller points out, ἑκατέροις probably refers to the two major festivals organised by Argos, the Heraia and the Nemean Games. *Prima facie* *θεωροσύνη* could mean 'office of *theōros*', parallel to such forms as *ἱεροσύνη*, which can mean 'priesthood' (see cf. App.#C7, 68), or *ἱερομναμοσύνη*, used in Amphiktionic documents from the late second century BC in the sense of '*hieromnēmōn*-ship', 'right of sending a *hieromnēmōn*' (*CID*4.124 etc.). I suggest that *θεωροσύνη* is analogous to the latter. Looked at from the point of view of the sanctuaries, this makes little sense, since sanctuaries do not generally seem to have had to approve which cities sent *theōroi* (though see §4.3.1, p.57 and §15.1, pp.252–3); more plausibly, the context is the right of one city (Kleonai?) or several cities to send an independent *theōriā* and thus be officially represented at the festivals. *θεωροσύνη* occurs in a different sense ('contemplation') at Ps. Maneth. *Apotelesmatica* 4. 460.

<sup>47</sup> The standard treatment is still that of Boethius (1918).



was a revival of ancient practice, since the *Pūthaīs* is already mentioned in the Nicomachus Calendar, which dates from the end of fifth century BC but could incorporate even earlier material.<sup>48</sup> The calendar also confirms that the *Pūthaīs* was originally sent on an irregular timetable, launched if and only if observers watching from Athens for three days a month during a three-month period sighted lightning over the so-called Harma on Mt Parnes. There are references to enactments of the *Pūthaīs* in the fourth century, including one in 326 BC led by ten *hieropoioi*, and perhaps timed to coincide with the inauguration of a new Delphic temple.<sup>49</sup> However, for the third century there are no records at all, and it seems likely that the old traditions broke down during the period of Aetolian domination. In the first half of the second century, the Marathonian Tetrapolis is known to have been sending its own delegations to Delphi, which may have included its own *Pūthaīs* around 150 BC.<sup>50</sup> The revival of the main *Pūthaīs*, when it comes, was probably stimulated by the recovery of Delos under Roman patronage (166 BC), which must have had a significant impact on trade and prosperity, and encouraged Athenians to think of renewing their links to the other centre of Apolline cult. Rome also helped by supporting the position of the Athenian branch of Artists of Dionysus, who played a prominent role in three later enactments.<sup>51</sup>

Like the *Pūthaīs* itself, its participants had a special name: *Pūthaistai*. In one of the local calendars of Attica (from Erchia, dated to the fourth century BC), it is specified that they should receive special prerogatives on certain days, and honours for them are also mentioned in the Nicomachus Calendar. In the deme of Ikaria in the fourth century BC, they make dedications to Apollo. The most reasonable interpretation is that taking part in the *Pūthaīs*, a fairly rare event, was something which guaranteed participants status for the rest of their lives.<sup>52</sup>

The Hellenistic *Pūthaīs* is believed to have been sent in the Attic month of Thargelion, the penultimate month of the civil year,<sup>53</sup> whose Delphic

<sup>48</sup> See §18.3; App.#B7.1.

<sup>49</sup> *FD* 1.511 (App.#C10). For the fourth century evidence, see §18.1, pp.306–7.

<sup>50</sup> See App.#E2; §18.4.

<sup>51</sup> For the background, see Karila-Cohen (2005b). I discuss all of this further in §18.2.

<sup>52</sup> For prerogatives and dedications at Ikaria, see §18.3; for *theōriā* conferring permanent status, §11.6, pp.190–1. Outside Attica, *Pūthastai* are also known from the island of Telos in the Dodekanesos in the Hellenistic period (*IG*12.4.34–5, AD 16 (1960) 97–100, SEG25–583), though there is no indication that these took part in religious activities outside the island.

<sup>53</sup> Boethius (1918:18–31, supported by Parker (1983:26n.37)). Boethius pointed to the *Pūthaīs* of 355 BC described in Isaeus 7.27, which took place after an adoption ceremony at the Thargelia; and the *dōdekēis* in 26 BC (*FD* 2.67; see on App.#F1), which is thought to have

equivalent was Herakleios, presumably the month of the Herakleia festival there, with which it may have coincided.<sup>54</sup> None of the sources for it refers to lightning over Harma, and the ritual observation may have lapsed.<sup>55</sup> In one record the Athenian Amphikrates is said to have taken the sacred tripod and the ‘fire-carrier’ (apparently a Delphic priestess) from Delphi and carried them away. This *tripodēphoriā*, apparently referred to in another text as well, seems to suit the Herakleia festival since Herakles’ failed attempt to seize the tripod was his principal exploit at Delphi. The arrival of the tripod in Athens may have symbolised the foundation of the Athenian Pythion, and the arrival of sacred fire would be highly appropriate for the Athenian month of Thargelion, with its purification-rites.<sup>56</sup>

Our principal source for the participants in the *Pūthais* in these years are lists inscribed on the walls of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (see [Figure 3](#)); there are also a few honorary decrees from Delphi, but only for the Dionysiac Artists, apparently a sign of how highly Delphi ranked their participation. One near duplicate survives from Athens, as well as two other inscriptions which are closely related to the *Pūthais* dossier.<sup>57</sup> Different lists of participants were engraved on different blocks, and it should be noted that since not all the blocks survive, the information below may not be complete.

*Pūth* 1 in 138/7 BC was the simplest of the four (see [Table 8](#)), comprising four groups, as far as we know: *arkhetheōroi* and *theōroi*, *Pūthaistai paides*, *kanēphoroi* and ephebes. Of the twelve *theōroi*, three are explicitly identified as coming from the Marathonian Tetrapolis, a significant inclusion in view

coincided with the Delphic month of Herakleios because the participant Thrasukles was honoured by Delphi in that month.

<sup>54</sup> Delphic Herakleia: Pomtow at *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 711n.8 ([p.351](#)), *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 698n.26 ([p.311](#)) on *FD* 2.47, 21: τὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἁμέρας; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 696 intro. ([p.301](#)) (on which *CID*1, [p.58](#)). Boethius (1918:77, 87–8) is sceptical, believing that the timing was determined entirely by the home polis.

<sup>55</sup> See further Parker (2005:86n.27). *FD* 2.48, 8 seems to imply the *Pūthais* was correlated with the ‘oracle of the god’, which could at a stretch refer to the lightning, since the observation was itself motivated by an oracle (see Str. 9.2.11, 404c, cited in §11.1, pp.176–7). The *Pūthais* referred to in *FD* 1.511 (App.#C10), which may have happened in 326 BC, has been thought to have been timed to coincide with the inauguration of the new temple at Delphi: see §18.1, [p.307](#).

<sup>56</sup> *FD* 2.13, 2.32, 2.33. See §7.5, [p.123](#). *Tripodēphoriā* and Herakles: Couve (1894:88–9); A. Mommsen (1878:322) already suggested that the myth of Herakles’ robbery of the tripod implied a ritual reconsecration and purification which made sense in the month of Herakleios, the Delphic equivalent of Thargelion.

<sup>57</sup> *FD* 2.14, the *Pūthaistai Klērōtoi* of *Pūth* 3, is virtually the same as *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.1941. The ephebes in *Pūth* 2 (*FD* 2.24) are paralleled by an Athenian list (*SEG* 15.104 = Reinmuth (1955)), though in the Delphic decree only 69 of the total 107 in the Athenian decree are mentioned, which perhaps indicates that some chose not to go to Delphi, or that one had to pay a fee to have their name inscribed: cf. Tracy (1975b:192). The third Athenian document is *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.1136, the decree for Chrysis, priestess of Athene, who accompanied *Pūth* 3.

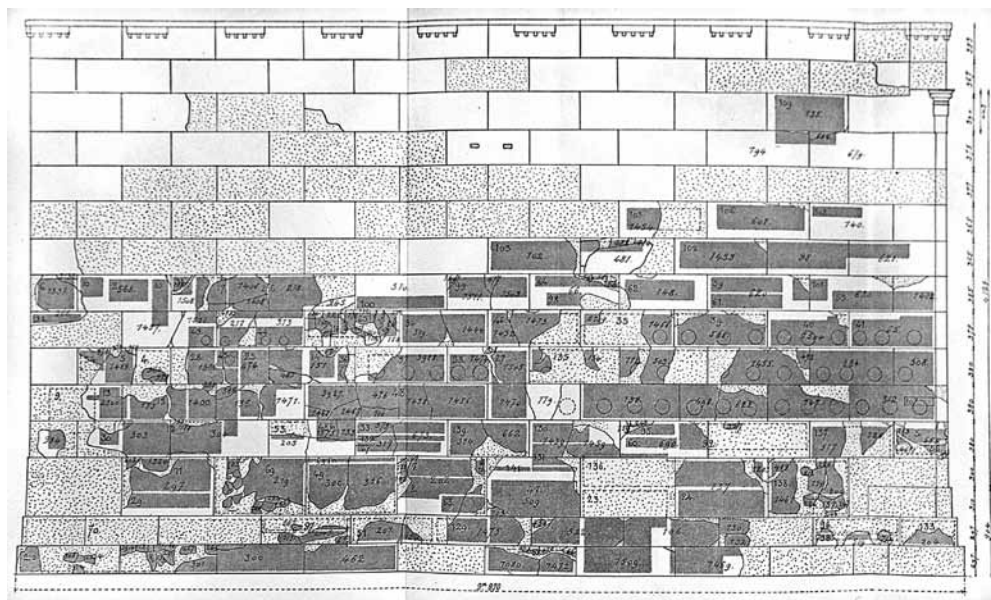


Figure 3. Drawing of the South Wall of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, with blocks recording the *Pūthaiides*. From *Fouilles de Delphes* 3.2

of the fact that the Tetrapolis was sending independent *theōriai* a few decades before.<sup>58</sup> The subsequent enactments included delegations from the Tetrapolis as well.

*Pūth* 2 in 128/7 BC was a much bigger affair, and the Athenians seem to have prepared for it in two ways. First, either in 134/3 or 130/29 the Athenian Dionysiac Artists sent ambassadors to Delphi to arrange the renewal of the privileges they had originally been granted a century and a half before, when, after liberation from Demetrius Poliorketes in 287 BC, the city was again playing a full part in the Amphiktionic council, and the Amphiktiony duly confirmed their status.<sup>59</sup> Secondly, in the year immediately preceding it (129/8), they passed a decree renewing the worship of Apollo Pūthaios and Patroos in the city, and prescribing yearly sacrifices. Using language that harks back to the late fifth century if not earlier, they refer to Apollo as ‘Patroos’ and ‘sacred expounder (*exēgetēs*) of good things for the Athenians, and common saviour of all the Greeks.’<sup>60</sup> The decree

<sup>58</sup> See §18.4.

<sup>59</sup> Original grant: *CID* 4.12 (279/8 or 278/7 BC), now Le Guen (2001: no. 2); Aneziri A5Aa, with Aneziri (2003: 37–9); Habicht (1997: 126). Renewal: *CID* 4.114, dated to either 134 or 130 BC (Le Guen (2001: no. 6). See Aneziri (2003: 41), and Aneziri A5Ac; Perrin (1997).

<sup>60</sup> *LSS* 14; *SEG* 21.469; ed. pr. by Peek (1941). On the inscription, see Hedrick (1988: 201–2) and Schutter (1987: 112–13). For Apollo as *exēgetēs* and the *Pūthokhrēstos exēgetēs*, see §10.4, p. 168.

Table 8. *Participants in the Hellenistic Pūthaïdes*

<i>Pūth 1</i>	
FD 2.7 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 696A)	<i>theōroi</i> : two <i>arkhitheōroi</i> <i>theōroi</i> representing the city (3 names) <i>theōroi</i> from <i>genos</i> of the Purrhakidai (1 name) <i>theōroi</i> from <i>genos</i> of the Eupatridai (5 names) <i>theōroi</i> from Marathonian Tetrapolis (3 names)
FD 2.11 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 696B)	<i>Pūthaïstai paides</i> (39 names)
FD 2.29 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 696C)	<i>kanēphoroi</i> (11 names)
FD 2.23 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 696D)	<i>ephēboi</i> (58 names, organised by tribe)
<i>Pūth 2</i>	
FD 2.8 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 697A)	<i>theōroi</i> eleven <i>theōroi</i> representing the city <i>theōroi</i> from Tetrapolis (3 names) <i>theōroi</i> from <i>genos</i> of the Purrhakidai (3 names)
FD 2.12 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 697C)	<i>Pūthaïstai paides</i> (51 names)
FD 2.3 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 697D)	Nine Athenian archons along with the herald from the Areopagos, <i>hieromnēmōn</i>
FD 2.24 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 697E)	<i>ephēboi</i> (69 names), organised by tribe; at the end are added a group of Delphic ephebes (12 names)
FD 2.27 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 697G; Pomtow postulated a lost stone preceding: 697F)	<i>hippeis</i> , organised by tribe
FD 2.47, 50, (SIG <sup>3</sup> 698A, 699; Aneziri A6 and A7)	honorary decrees by Delphi for the Dionysiac Artists and college of epic poets
<i>Pūth 3</i>	
FD 2.4+9 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 711A, C)	archons + tribes FD 2.4: mostly destroyed, but we have a reference to the herald of the archon, and the <i>arkhitheōros</i> (of the archons?) who is the archon Agathokles. The names of three sons of magistrates who serve as <i>Pūthaïstai</i> are given. FD 2.9 apparently a list of representatives of tribes, ending with an <i>arkhitheōros</i> and five <i>theōroi</i>
FD 2.5 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 711B)	other officials: hoplite general, priest of Apollo, <i>Pūthokhrēstos exēgetēs</i> , <i>exēgetēs</i> appointed by the people, <i>hieromnēmōn</i> , <i>hoi epi tas prosodous</i> , one of whom is honoured in a separate Delphic decree (FD 2.51)
FD 2.13 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 711D1)	<i>Pūthaïstai</i> of the <i>genē</i> and of the Tetrapolis, and some other officials. The <i>Pūthaïstai</i> are from Eupatridai (4 names)

Table 8. (Cont.)

	and a seer), from Purrhakidai (1 name added on right side), from Kerukes (3 names), from Euneidai (3 names) and from the Tetrapolis (1 name). The list begins with the ‘firebearing’ priestess in Delphi, Timo, and ends with an official called ‘the one for the <i>aparkhai</i> ’
FD 2.14 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 711D2)	<i>Pūthaïstai Klērōtoi</i> (‘selected by lot’) (13 names), preceded by an <i>arkhitheōros</i> and followed by a <i>hestiātor</i> (unusually, the name first inscribed was erased); this survives in an Athenian copy as well (IG <sup>2</sup> .1941), in which the <i>arkhitheōros</i> appears after the <i>Pūthaïstai</i>
FD 2.15 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 711D3)	<i>Pūthaïstai paides</i> (69 names)
FD 2.30 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 711E)	<i>kanēphoroi</i> (13 names)
FD 2.25 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 711F)	<i>ephēboi</i> (97 names) and <i>paideutai</i> (8 names)
FD 2.28 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 711G)	<i>hippeis</i> (78 names); equestrian games recorded in FD2.43–3 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 711H)
FD 2.49 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 728K) (Aneziri A10) <sup>61</sup>	Delphic decree for the Dionysiac Artists
IG <sup>2</sup> .1136 (SIG <sup>3</sup> 711K)	Chrysis, priestess of Athene, known only from a copy of the Delphic decree found in Athens
<i>Pūth 4</i>	
Tracy (1975a:7a) (FD 2.6 = SIG <sup>3</sup> 728B)	magistrates and priests: <i>stratēgos epi ta hopla</i> , priest of Apollo, <i>exēgetēs</i> <i>Pūthokhrēstos</i> , <i>exēgetēs</i> appointed by the people, <i>hieromnēmon</i> , <i>mantis</i> , <i>aulētēs</i> of the god, herald of the god, <i>hoi epi tas prosodous</i> , and another official who may be the <i>kleidojukhos</i> . <sup>62</sup>
Tracy (1975a:7b) (FD 2.2+10 = SIG <sup>3</sup> 728A + C et D1)	archons, <i>theōroi</i> and <i>Pūthaïstai</i> from the <i>genē</i> (left) <i>theōroi</i> of Aigeis (one name), Attalis (one name) (middle) nine archons, herald from the Areopagos, herald of the archon, trumpeter, <i>arkhitheōros</i> from these (= archon) (right) <i>theōroi</i> of Kekropis (3 names) Tetrapoleis: <i>arkhitheōros</i> (1 name), <i>theōroi</i> (3 names), <i>Pūthaïstēs</i> (one name) Erusikhthonidai: <i>arkhitheōros</i> (1 name), <i>theōroi</i> (3 names) Kerukes: <i>Pūthaïstai</i> (3 names) Euneidai (3 names)
	(cont.)

<sup>61</sup> Notice that Pomtow in SIG, p.358, reverses the order of FD 2.49 and FD 2.48, putting the latter in *Pūth 3* and the former in *Pūth 4*. For discussion, see Daux (1936:624). FD 2.49 is unusual because most of it was never fully inscribed: see Tracy (1975c).

<sup>62</sup> See Boethius (1918:115).

Table 8. (Cont.)

Tracy (1975a:7c) (FD 2.31+17 =SIG <sup>3</sup> 728E, 728D3)	FD 2.31: <i>kanēphoroi</i> (8 names) FD 2.17: <i>Pūthaīstai</i> (32 names) with <i>Pūthaīstai paides</i> <sup>63</sup>
Tracy (1975a:7d) (FD 2.26 = SIG <sup>3</sup> 728F)	<i>ephēboi</i> : 66 names + 4 <i>paideutai</i> , as well as a much reduced group of <i>hippeis</i> (728G)
Tracy (1975a:7g) (FD 2.16 = SIG <sup>3</sup> 728D2)	<i>Pūthaīstai klērōtoi</i> : <i>arkhitheōros</i> + 8 names
Tracy (1975a:7h) (FD 2.48 = SIG <sup>3</sup> 711L + Bousquet (1938:362–8; Aneziri A11)	decree by Delphi in honour of the Dionysiac Artists

Citations in accordance with G. Colin's edition in *FD* 3.2 (1909–13), with cross-references to Pomtow's text and commentary in the third edition of *SIG* (1917). For *Puth.* 4, I use the excellent edition by Tracy (1975a).

refers to the Thargelia festival, which may have provided a frame for the departure or return of the delegation.<sup>64</sup>

Compared with the preceding enactment, *Pūth* 2 seems to have three additions. The nine archons, who are the first addition, were a traditional part of Athenian delegations to Delphi, to judge from Demosthenes' comment that it was Athenian practice to send *theōroi* and *thesmothetai* to Delphi.<sup>65</sup> They were accompanied by the 'herald from the Areopagos', who was a senior figure (perhaps the third most powerful figure in the government) appointed by the members of the Areopagos to preside over the archons.<sup>66</sup> Another addition is a large delegation of *hippeis* (horsemen), organised by tribes, with 'tribe leaders' (*phularkhai*) in charge, and accompanied by a troupe of the so-called *tarantinoi* (lightly armed horsemen).<sup>67</sup> There were separate contests for *hippeis*, *phularkhai* and *tarantinoi*, as well as a general one, possibly open to non-Athenians, and the victors had their names written up next to inscribed crowns.<sup>68</sup> Also making their first appearance was

<sup>63</sup> Pomtow ad loc. thinks that all names on this block must have been *Pūthaīstai paides*. Boethius (1918:116) observes that some of the 18 *paides* in this year look as if they must have been repeating from *Pūth* 3.

<sup>64</sup> *LSS*14.26, 33–8. On the Athenian Thargelia, see Wilson (2007b). According to Isaeus 7.27 a fourth-century *Pūthais* took place after the Thargelia. See further §18.3, p.313n.

<sup>65</sup> *Or.*19.128; see §10.4, p.166. <sup>66</sup> Tracy (1982:116–17).

<sup>67</sup> For the *tarantinoi* see Bugh (1988:197–8).

<sup>68</sup> The evidence is: official record: *FD* 2.27 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 697G); victory crowns: *FD* 2.34–41 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 697I, H), and an honorary decree from Delphi: *FD* 2.46 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 697K). On the *hippeis* see Boethius (1918:69–72), Bugh (1988:195–6); on the equestrian competition: Boethius (1918:80–4).



the newly reappointed local organisation of the Artists of Dionysus, accompanied by a college of epic poets. The Artists seem to have performed two *paeans*, the words and music of which were inscribed on the South Wall of the Athenian Treasury to mark the occasion.<sup>69</sup> *Pūthaïstai paides* and *ephēboi* are included as before, though to the list of Athenian ephebes is appended a shorter list of Delphian ones (indicating joint procession or some other sort of joint performance?). *Kanēphoroi* were almost certainly included as well, though that stone is lost.<sup>70</sup>

*Pūth* 3, held after a gap of over twenty years in 106/5 BC, is even more complex. Many of the groups familiar from earlier enactments are present: *kanēphoroi*, ephebes, *hippeis*. Two changes here seem particularly significant. The first is the presence of a second group of political officials, including the hoplite general, who was at this period the de facto leader of the Athenian state.<sup>71</sup> The second change is that instead of one group of *Pūthaïstai* we have three: besides the repeated appearance of the *Pūthaïstai paides*, there is also a group of *Pūthaïstai* consisting of representatives of the sacred *genē* (Eupatridai, Purrhakidai, Kerukes, Euneidai) and of the Tetrapolis (apparently a simple rebranding, since these were classed as *theōroi* in *Pūth* 1 and *Pūth* 2),<sup>72</sup> and a third group of thirteen ‘*Pūthaïstai* Selected by Lot’ (*Pūthaïstai klērōtoi*). The second and third groups of *Pūthaïstai* were presumably adults, a feature that Axel Boethius interpreted as a reversion to tradition.<sup>73</sup> The ‘*Pūthaïstai* Selected by Lot’ may have been included to counterbalance other participants who were included in virtue of their belonging to aristocratic or elite groups.<sup>74</sup> Another innovation in *Pūth* 3 is that the *theōroi* are grouped with the representatives of the Athenian tribes,<sup>75</sup> statues of whose eponymous heroes

<sup>69</sup> FD 2.47, 50. The hymns they sang are preserved in FD 2.137–8: see *Paeans*: 34–5. For the historical context, see Tracy (1975b: 194–5).

<sup>70</sup> *Pūthaïstai paides*: FD 2.12; ephebes: FD 2.24; *kanēphoroi*: Boethius (1918:68).

<sup>71</sup> On hoplite general: Tracy (1982:114–15). The second most influential figure was the *epimeletes* of Delos, whose presence on a *theōriā* to Delphi was perhaps not considered appropriate.

<sup>72</sup> FD 2.13; contrasting with *Pūth* 1 (FD 2.7) and *Pūth* 2 (FD 2.8).

<sup>73</sup> Boethius (1918:102ff.); another traditional feature he saw was the reference to first fruits (FD 2.13, 19).

<sup>74</sup> On election of religious officials by lot, see Headlam (1933:170–1), who comments that ‘where the priest was chosen by lot it was that the god might himself select his own minister’. Appointment by lot was of course a well-established principle of the Athenian political system, introduced by Solon according to Arist. *Ath. Pol.*, 8.1 (see Rhodes (1981 ad loc.)).

<sup>75</sup> FD 2.9: Daux (1936:711–12). A decree cited in Demos. *Or.* 18.118 refers to a distribution being made from the Theoric Fund for sacrifice (no location specified) τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωροῖς, but such paratexts are notoriously unreliable, and it is easy to see how the reference to the Theorikon has caused confusion.

were supposed to have been displayed at Delphi.<sup>76</sup> Attending again en masse were the *hippeis* who once more organised a contest, though it seems to have been smaller than before,<sup>77</sup> and the Artists, who as well as singing paeans staged a poetic competition with thymelic and scenic elements.<sup>78</sup> The only one of the traditional types of contest missing from the *Pūthaïdes* is thus the *gumnikos*.

*Pūth* 4, held in 98/7 BC, was smaller than *Pūth* 3, and shows some consolidation: archons, the *theōroi* of the tribes and of the sacred *gene*, are now recorded on the same stone, with the archons in a central column and the others on either side in a way that almost suggests a processional formation.<sup>79</sup> A subdelegation of the *hippeis* is included again, smaller than before, though it still stages a hippic contest.<sup>80</sup> The day was saved by the Dionysiac Artists, who seem to have been at full strength, and are praised for organising a ‘thymelic and scenic contest on the days of the deity’.<sup>81</sup>

At its high point, the *Pūthaïs* was a travelling image of the Athenian state. Elements representing the city as whole (the magistrates, the *Pūthaïstai paides* and *Pūthaïstai* Elected by Lot) are balanced by others that represent different subdivisions of it, such as the delegates from the *genē* and the tribes. There was also a balance between religion (the *Pūthaïstai*, the *kanēphoroi* and the delegates from the *genē*) and politics (the archons and officials, perhaps also the *theōroi* of the tribes in *Pūth* 3 and 4), and between two types of human activity represented in the competitions: the cutting-edge military power implied in the equestrian displays, and avant-garde musical culture of the Dionysiac Artists.

The fully formed *Pūthaïs*, with all its subdivisions, can first be seen in the second enactment. It develops even further in the third, and it can still be made out in the fourth, albeit external factors restrict its size. By contrast, *Pūth* 1 was almost entirely made up of religious elements, with the exception of the ephebes. Between 137 BC and 128 BC, a decision had been made by Athens to transform the *Pūthaïs* from a religious delegation into a major demonstration of the Athenian state abroad.

<sup>76</sup> Paus. 10.10.1–2; on this see Vidal Nacquet (1967).

<sup>77</sup> *Hippeis*: *FD* 2.25 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 711G); victory crowns: *FD* 2.34–5 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 711H).

<sup>78</sup> *FD* 2.49, 24–5 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 728K). The decree is notable for praising Athens’ general contribution to the development of human civilisation.

<sup>79</sup> Tracy (1975a:7b) (App.#E5): the civic officials are written down the middle column, and the *theōroi* of the tribes on either side.

<sup>80</sup> List: Tracy (1975a:7d), 78–84, and crowns: Tracy (1975a:7f= *FD* 2.45); Boethius (1918:122).

<sup>81</sup> Tracy (1975a:7h), 42–3; possibly to be restored in *FD* 2.49, 24–5.



### 13.5 Kos and Delos: celebrating the city at home and abroad

My second case-study is the Koan *theōriā* to Delos as attested in the fourth century BC and later. In the Classical period, the sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo on Delos had appealed to the island states of the Cyclades, and more generally to the Ionians, as well as to Athens. In the Hellenistic period, its most faithful clientele seems to have been the notionally Dorian Dodekanesos – Kos and Rhodes, the little islands of Kasos and Kalymnos, along with Knidos.<sup>82</sup> Delian records show that the city that sent most *theōriai* in the early decades of the third century BC was Rhodes, but that Kos kept up the tradition longer, and was still sending them in the mid-second century BC.<sup>83</sup> At the peak of its activity in the mid-third century, *theōriai* arrived from Kos about every two or three years.<sup>84</sup> This period of intense Koan interest in Delos seems to begin when control of the island-states of the Nesiotic League (including Kythnos, Paros, Naxos, Mykonos and Andros), passed from the Antigonids to the Ptolemies in 286 BC,<sup>85</sup> a change which may have made access to Delos significantly easier for Koan delegations, and also increased the political significance of Delos, since the newly founded Delian Ptolemaia was probably a meeting place for the League.<sup>86</sup>

How old this theoric tradition was is hard to say. The Delian inventories indicate that four Koan delegations had visited before 279 BC, presumably not long before, since there is no mention of them in the (admittedly incomplete) inventories from the fourth century.<sup>87</sup> However, there are reasons to think that Koan interest in Delos was much older. There is a close mythological link in the tradition that Leto was born on Kos, from which it follows that Koan *theōroi* bound for Delos are retracing the important steps in the myth of Leto.<sup>88</sup> Another tradition, attested by Istros the Callimachean

<sup>82</sup> See further §17.2.2.

<sup>83</sup> Rhodes thus did not send them during the early decades of the second century BC, when it was head of the Second Nesiotic League, which was centred on Tenos.

<sup>84</sup> Bruneau (1970:97–100). Using Bruneau's enumeration, *θεωρία* V fell between 278 BC and 274 BC; VI in 274 BC; VII in 272/1 BC; VIII and IX between 271 BC and 269 BC; X–XIV between 268 BC and 250 BC; XVI in 250 BC. This makes 11 *θεωρία* in 29 years.

<sup>85</sup> On the Nesiotic League, see the recent study of Constantakopoulou (2012); for the Ptolemaic context, Bagnall (1976:136–41); Merker (1970); Paschidis (2008:419).

<sup>86</sup> Delian Ptolemaia: Mikalson (1998:213); Bruneau (1970:531–73); before this, the League had celebrated a festival of Antigoneia and Demetrieia: Billows (1990:220–5).

<sup>87</sup> The fourth century inventories are those of the Athenian Amphiktion, corresponding to Hamilton's (2000), 'Athenian Treasure A' and 'Artemision Treasure A'.

<sup>88</sup> Herod. *Mim.* 2.98; Tac. *Ann.* 12.61; Sherwin-White (1978:300–1); Herzog (1895). For early links between Kos and Delos, see Kowalzig (2007:97–8); Constantakopoulou (2007:54).

and Antikleidas (late fourth century), is that the celebrated cult statue of Apollo with bow in one hand and Graces in the other was a dedication of the Koan Meropes.<sup>89</sup> Giambattista D' Alessio has recently argued that a link between Kos and Delos might already have been made in Pindar's *First Hymn*.<sup>90</sup> The Koan month name 'Dalios' may also point to an early interest in the island.<sup>91</sup> Perhaps early cultic links between Kos and Delos were suppressed by the Athenian presence there through the late fifth and fourth centuries BC, to resurface later in the Hellenistic period.

A particularly important source is IG12.4.332b (App.#C7), apparently part of a law which sets out regulations for a priesthood, presumably that of Apollo Dalios, whose responsibilities included sacrifices on Kos linked to the sending of *theōriai*.<sup>92</sup> It is dated on epigraphical grounds to the mid-fourth century, which puts it close to the unification of Kos in 366 BC.<sup>93</sup> The text is reconstructed from two or perhaps three discontinuous fragments, which makes for a great deal of uncertainty, and the beginning is missing. Most of the surviving part sets out rules governing the contribution of offerings at what seems to be a festival, probably in honour of Delian Apollo, held in the middle of the Koan month of Dalios (lines 61–2).<sup>94</sup> The offerings and the festival are somehow coordinated with the sending of a *theōriā* to Delos (line 54) and possibly one to Delphi as well (line 60). The priest prays for a fair wind (line 53) and that foreign armies do not attack (lines 63–4).<sup>95</sup> Two crucial but very fragmentary lines in the middle (60–2) imply that the *theōriā* has something to do with 'Koans or foreigners', both in the genitive plural, who may be either the agents (ὑπὸ), beneficiaries (ὑπὲρ) or participants (ἐκ). It looks as if the offerings and sacrifices take place during the absence of the *theōriā*, marking the *hieromēniā*, in which case the middle day of the month in lines 61–2 might be not only the time when sacrifices are to be made on Kos but also the point when the *theōroi*

<sup>89</sup> Istros: *FGrH*334F52; Antikleidas: *FGrH*140F14. Jackson (1996); D'Alessio (2007, 2009a).

<sup>90</sup> D'Alessio (2009a); so Kowalzig (2007:97–8).

<sup>91</sup> For the position of the month, see Trümper (1997:179).

<sup>92</sup> The most recent commentary is Rigsby in IG12.4.332b, whose enumeration I follow here. The other side has another *lex sacra* for Zeus Polieus (IG12.4.332a); the most recent editors treat the two sides as part of a continuous text dealing with Koan priesthoods (*hierosunai*: ll.30/68). On the typology of the inscriptions on both sides, see Parker and Obbink (2000:421), who say that it 'shows similarities to the familiar later type of διαγραφῆς, but lacks that relation to a sale which is a defining characteristic of the latter'.

<sup>93</sup> For the date of the inscription, see IG12.4.332, p.289; for the synoecism, *IACP* no.497, p.753 (G. Reger), and Sherwin-White (1978:passim).

<sup>94</sup> For mid-month festivals, see Trümper (1998).

<sup>95</sup> For the dangers of the journey, §11.4.

are to perform them at Delos or Delphi, so that the sacrifices in both places would be simultaneous.<sup>96</sup>

Additional context could have been provided in the fragmentary opening. In line 48, people are carrying something from an altar, and, as Rudolf Herzog saw, this could refer to the Delian altar and the fetching of sacred fire.<sup>97</sup> Lines 49–50 refer to a group called the Agretai, apparently girls in the service of Athene (see below) and also to the Pamphuleis, one of the Dorian tribes (for the significance of these groups, see below). Herzog thought these were being sent out by the city, and his suggested restoration could be translated like this:<sup>98</sup>

... the Amphiareidai] carrying [the sacred fire] from the [Keraton] alt[ar on Delos. The city sends] out the Agretai, [the Daliades, the ones] who are walking [around the Keraton and the boys chor]us of the Pamphuleis.

It is not clear to me how the fire-conveyers can be already on Delos, when the others are just leaving. Nevertheless, he may have been right to suggest that the departure of the delegations was described in the damaged earlier part of the inscription.<sup>99</sup>

Of various groups mentioned by name in the text, some were involved in the festival on Kos, but others took part in the *theōriai* and some may even have had a role in both. Among those taking part in the *theōriā* are the Amphiareidai (lines 63–4), though they may have gone only if the destination was ‘to Delphi as well’, referred to just before. They may have been a religious *genos*, of the sort we find playing an active part in Athenian *theōriai*. The fact that they are named after the seer Amphiaraus suggests that they may have specialised in divination.<sup>100</sup>

About the Agretai in line 49, the text tells us nothing except that they are walking, but a little more information comes from the Lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth century AD); it applies this name to a group of nine girls who served Athene for a year on Kos:<sup>101</sup>

Agretai: among the Koans, nine girls chosen yearly for the worship of Athene.

<sup>96</sup> For *hieromēniā*, see §11.5; for simultaneous rituals, see §11.1, p.178.

<sup>97</sup> For fire rituals, see §6.5.

<sup>98</sup> See Herzog (1928:18). For the Greek text, see App.#C7.

<sup>99</sup> See Dillon (1997a:31).

<sup>100</sup> See §18.4; cf. §10.5. A group called Amphiareteidai is attested for Argos: *SEG* 29.361, 35; *SEG* 31.306, 10. There was also a cult of Amphiaraus’ grandson Amphilochus at Rhodes: *Tit.Cam.* 139, Morelli (1959:161), connected in Segré (1934:146n.2).

<sup>101</sup> Hesychius s.v. ἀγρεταί: παρὰ Κωτοῖς ἐννέα κόραι κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν αἰρούμεναι πρὸς θεράπειαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς

Herzog identified them with a group called the Daliades (i.e. Deliades), whom he found in a fragmentary Koan inscription from the second century BC.<sup>102</sup> The number ‘nine’ may be significant: an *enatā* was a division of Koan society, possibly to be identified with the *khiliastus* and thus one-third of one of the three Doric tribes,<sup>103</sup> and it may be that nine Agretai (‘those taken?’)<sup>104</sup> were drawn one each from these divisions, thus representing the whole of the island. Whether or not Herzog’s identification of them with the Daliades is valid, it is quite possible that the Agretai accompanied the *theōriā* to Delos, and, if so, they may have participated in maturation ritual of the sort that Claude Calame and others have detected in the Delia at Delos.<sup>105</sup> Herzog also speculated that the Pamphuloi (line 50), one of the three tribes found in Dorian cities, provided a second chorus of boys complementing that of the Agretai.<sup>106</sup>

One group at least comes from beyond the island. The Knidians, referred to in line 57, are known to have sent at least one *theōriā* to Delos in the Hellenistic period, and to have been active at Delphi.<sup>107</sup> The subject of lines 50–1 seems to be another non-Koan group, perhaps representatives from Kalymnos or Rhodes, which shared with Kos the month ‘Dalios’. Thus, it would seem that the ‘Koan Dalia’ was a regional festival, to which other cities were expected to contribute.

Right at the end of the text, something is given to a group called the Isthmiastai on behalf of the city. These are the citizens of Isthmos, formerly known as Astupalaia, the principal city of Kos before the synoecism, but now a mere deme, maintaining an independent system of tribes.<sup>108</sup> The Delian inventories for 250 BC show the presence of a *theōriā* sent by ‘Koans from the *dēmos* of Isthmos’, as well as one from the Koans in general, which suggests that there was an independent tradition of *theōriā* from Isthmos,

<sup>102</sup> IG12.4.292, 9.

<sup>103</sup> See Sherwin-White (1978:158–62); N. F. Jones (1980:201); IACP no.497 (Kos), 753–4 (G. Reger). In another Koan sacred law (IG12.4.278 (= LSCG 151a), 6) nine cows are referred to, drawn each from an *enata* or ‘ninth’.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Buck (1955:126); as an epithet of Apollo Agrete/as may mean ‘hunter’ or ‘gatherer’: Graf (1985:57–8); in a Cretan inscription it seems to be a cult official, ‘the assembler’: van Effenterre (1946: no. 2); for the word, see also Leukart (1994: 293n.394); Dettori (1999: 182–6).

<sup>105</sup> See §10.6.2.

<sup>106</sup> On Kos, where the normal Dorian convention that they were the lowest in status of three tribes does not seem to have been observed: see N. F. Jones (1980:211).

<sup>107</sup> For Knidos and Delphi, see §17.4.

<sup>108</sup> See Pugliese Carratelli (1963–4); Sherwin-White (1978:62); tribes: N. F. Jones (1987:239–40).

but also that they travelled together.<sup>109</sup> As elsewhere, ritual practice seems to preserve a vestige earlier political situation. The most likely reason the Isthmians are given money in this context would be to bankroll their own *theōriā* to Delos, whether this was part of a larger Koan one or independent.<sup>110</sup>

This, together with the records for the Delian inventories mentioned earlier, is the sum of our evidence, not much in comparison to the Hellenistic *Pūthais*, but enough to make some intelligent guesses. IG12.4.332b shows that the Koan *theōriā* to Delos (and Delphi) was embedded in a Koan festival, presumably in honour of Apollo, in which various local groups participated, as well as some groups from outside Kos, such as the Knidians. It may have served as a focus for interest in Delian Apollo in the Dodekanesos and the Knidian peninsula, and it is possible that cities in the region minded to send delegations to Delos or Delphi developed the practice of visiting Kos during the month of Dalios first, perhaps to liaise with other delegations heading in the same direction.<sup>111</sup> These structures could be old, but in the mid-fourth century the festival and *theōriā* probably took on a new significance as a double celebration of the newly unified Koan state, enacted simultaneously at home on Kos and abroad at the sanctuary.

The enactments of the *Dālias* are unlikely ever to have been as grand as the Athenian *Pūthais*, but the aims were the same: to worship the deity and to show off the power of the Koan state. If on any occasion it was accompanied by delegations from Knidos or other cities in the region, so much the better, because they would have provided an audience. Every delegation was led by an *arkhitheōros* (these are recorded in the Delian inventories), and they may have been accompanied by the Amphiareidai, whose duties might have included acting as seers at sacrifices. The role of the Agretai and Pamphuloi, if Herzog was right about their participation, would be similar to the subdelegations that accompanied the *Pūthais*, and if the citizens of Isthmos went along as well (rather than sending their own delegation), then that too would be analogous to *Pūthais*, which included delegations

<sup>109</sup> See above §13.3, p.221.

<sup>110</sup> Herzog (1928:16 on lines 24–5) thinks that in the next clause a similar sum is given to Halasarna, citing the model of IG12.4.286, 16ff., where sums of money for participation in the Koan Asclepieia are given to Isthmos and eight Koan demes; however, there seems not to have been room in the text of App.#C7, 66–7 for a full list of demes.

<sup>111</sup> For similar structures, see §11.1, p.176. Costabile (1979:531–2) implies that the festival at Rhegium where *theōroi* set off to Delphi coincided with the arrival of a delegation from Messana of the sort mentioned by Paus. 5.25.2.

from the Marathonian Tetrapolis. It would be unreasonable to suppose that every element of the *Pūthaïs* had a parallel in the *Dālias* (for example, there was no organisation of Dionysiac Artists on Kos as far as we know), but it might well have included magistrates, representing purely political authority, and some military contingents, particularly if it had to defend itself against foreign armies (cf. line 63).

### 14.1 Introduction

In a hexameter oracle from Roman Didyma dated to the third century AD, Apollo puts his consultants on notice that he has no need for hecatombs, colossal statues or other images. Rather, what he wants is song, particularly of an older sort:<sup>1</sup>

[It is always pi]ous that [boys] sing a hymn besides my shrines,  
[as also]in former times, when the axle is about [to reveal] an oracle  
from the [ad]yton. And I rejoice in all song,  
[even if] it is [modern], but greatly if it is old;  
[and in the ancient] even more, since is much better for me.      10

Whereas already in this period animal sacrifice seems to be losing the position which it had long enjoyed as the default religious activity,<sup>2</sup> the performance of song at festivals, which probably provided the most important context for the dissemination of poetry in Greece from the archaic period on, experienced no fall-off in popularity.<sup>3</sup>

Song was also a conspicuous element of much festival-*theōriā*.<sup>4</sup> Songs may have been performed on setting off, or in the course of the journey,<sup>5</sup> but the most important scenarios were at the sanctuary itself. Song-performance, usually by a chorus, is best-attested at the two great sanctuaries of Apollo, understandably, because of Apollo Mousēgetēs' special

<sup>1</sup> I follow the text of SGO 01/19/01; contrast Fontenrose (1988:B1).

<sup>2</sup> For the decline of sacrifice see Stroumsa (2009:57–62) and Elsner (2012). At SGO 08/01/01 Merkelbach and Stauber find a similar doctrine on the oracle of Ammon from Cyzicus. See further the views of Porphyry discussed in §19.2.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Fowler (1998) and following him Hall (2002) have argued that the meetings of the Amphiktionic delegates at *Pulaiā* and Delphi in the early sixth century BC could have shaped the Ps. Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, and so early Greek ideas about Hellenicity.

<sup>4</sup> This chapter adapts some of the material in Rutherford (2004a).

<sup>5</sup> The Milesian Molpoi performed paeans along the sacred way from Miletus to Didyma: see the Molpoi inscription (LSAM 50), discussed most recently by Herda (2006a:265–8). Sacred delegations of Thebans may have performed special songs on their journeys to Dodona, in the Tripodephoria ritual: see Str. 9.2.4, 402 = Ephorus FGrH70 F119; Photius 238, 321b32–322a13; see Kowalzig (2007:331–52).

association with music. In general, we find two main types of arrangement (which broadly match the general modalities of ritual performance I discussed in Chapter 12): either *theōroi* attending a festival watch the locals perform, or they stage a performance themselves, bringing a civic chorus from home. There are also other possibilities, such as joint performances of various sorts, and while much of the evidence is for cult songs in honour of a deity, song competitions between choruses entered by *theōroi* from different places may have taken place as well. In the Hellenistic period, with the greater professionalisation of music, the older association between chorus and polis seems to be less in evidence, but it surfaces again in Roman Claros.

## 14.2 Watching the locals perform

Some towns that presided over festivals maintained their own choruses, such as the Delian maidens, who performed for pilgrims and visitors at Delos, and, according to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* imitated the language or dialect of visitors. In his *Laws*, one of the types of visitor to his ideal state that Plato considers are those who come to watch musical performances. A mythical temple chorus are the Charmers (*Kēlēdōnes*), attached to the third of the temples at Delphi, according to one of Pindar's *Paeans*, whose music was so hypnotic that visitors to Delphi lost any inclination to return home. Another *Paeon* by Pindar mentioned a chorus of Delphian *parthenoi*.<sup>6</sup>

The Delian Maidens were still to be found performing on Hellenistic Delos, where visiting *theōroi* funded their performances by way of a sort of interstate *chorēgia*. The evidence for this comes from the inventories which attest a long sequence of dedications by the Deliades of *phialai*, sponsored by visiting *theōroi*; the dedicatory formula found is usually of this type:

χορεῖα τῶν Δηλιάδων ἐπιδιδόντων θεωρῶν τῶν Κωίων

Choral payment by the Delian maidens, a benefaction by the Koan *theōroi*

Apparently, the *theōroi* made a donation for their performance (the *khoreia*) to the Deliades, who then rededicated this to the deity. The Deliades were a traditional part of the ritual fabric at Delos, maintained to meet the expectations of visitors, expectations that had no doubt been shaped by the

<sup>6</sup> Deliades: *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 156–64; on this passage, see most recently Peponi (2009); Pl. *Lg.* see §19.4; *Kēlēdones: Paeon* 8, for which see *Paeans*: 201–32 (B2); Delphi: *Paeon* 2, 97–102.



literary tradition.<sup>7</sup> Funding of local choruses by *theōroi* is not attested elsewhere, but this does not need to be a unique case.<sup>8</sup>

Another source for knowledge of these local choruses are *poeti vaganti* decrees which record the activities of wandering poets, most of them probably Dionysiac Artists, in the Hellenistic world.<sup>9</sup> For example, a certain Amphikles from the island of Rheneia was honoured by Delos around 150 BC for having written a *prosodion* and having provided musical instructions to the *paides*, presumably a local chorus of boys. No doubt this song will have celebrated the recovery of Delos by Athens a few years earlier.<sup>10</sup> Around 230–225 BC, Delphi honoured an Athenian poet, Kleokhares, for having composed poems, and it is decreed that the *khorodidaskalos* appointed for the year (presumably a local) should teach them to the *paides* and have them perform them at the Theoxenia.<sup>11</sup> Another Delphic decree from around 118 BC honoured two musicians from Pheneia in Arcadia for a residence at the sanctuary when they staged performances and trained the local chorus of *paides*.<sup>12</sup> Finally, two poets were honoured by Samothrace, Dumas of Iasos around 200 BC and Herodas of Priene about a century later, for writing poems about Samothracian mythology, presumably intended for performance there.<sup>13</sup>

### 14.3 Bringing a song

It was also possible for a *theōros* or a pilgrim to take a song to a sanctuary. Olen of Lycia, according to Callimachus, came to Delos as a *theopropos*, bringing his *nomos* as an offering.<sup>14</sup> According to a famous anecdote,

<sup>7</sup> Bruneau (1970:35–8). App.#D6.1 is an excerpt from an inventory with this formula.

<sup>8</sup> Something similar may be implied in the difficult agreement between Argos, Knossos and Tulisos (ML no.42B36–8 (=ICret 1.84 + 1.30.1)), which prescribes rules for the cult of the hero Arkhos on the border between Knossos and Tulisos. Here, the Argives, perhaps represented by sacred delegates, are to give *xenia* to the *khōros* in Tulisos: so Vollgraff (1948:76–7); Meiggs and Lewis ad loc., but Tod (1946–8:1n.33) translated ‘at the Chorus’, i.e. as a place name. For the text, see also Graham (1964a:154–65).

<sup>9</sup> Guarducci (1929); discussed in Rutherford (2007a:284–6); cf. Hunter and Rutherford (2009b: 3–4).

<sup>10</sup> ID1497; Rutherford (2009c:147–8).

<sup>11</sup> FD 2.78. Another Athenian poet, Leonteus, was also summoned to perform at Delphi in the mid-second century BC. See §18.2, p.310n.

<sup>12</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup> 703.

<sup>13</sup> I.Iasos 153; I.Priene 68. See Rutherford (2007a). For significance of the ‘Hall of the Choral Dancers’ at Samothrace as a site of choral performance, see Kowalzig (2005:60–9) and Marconi (2010).

<sup>14</sup> Hymn 4, 305.

Pindar described himself as ‘sacrificing a dithyramb’ (or a paeon) at Delphi.<sup>15</sup> A particularly common form is for a city to send a group of singers and dancers to perform at a festival, a pattern common to many cultures.<sup>16</sup> Since the sanctuaries belonged to Apollo, the choruses often performed paeans; most of the surviving *Paeans* of Pindar were performed by choruses visiting sanctuaries of Apollo.

Probably the most celebrated centre for theoric *choroi* in the Classical period was Delos, which attracted *choroi* from the Cyclades, such as Keos and Naxos, from Athens and Euboea, and possibly from even further afield.<sup>17</sup> The tiny island of Keos was particularly celebrated as a sender of such theoric *choroi*. Pindar may have written a paeon for the Keians for performance on Delos and a fourth-century decree records that Aristopeithes of Karthaia acts as *chorēgos* for *paides* to Delos.<sup>18</sup> Another Pindaric song was probably written for a Naxian *theōriā*.<sup>19</sup>

Athens had a particularly intense relationship with Delos, and Xenophon talks with admiration of the ‘one *khōros*’ that Athens sends there.<sup>20</sup> Little of the texts of such poems survives, but we have a few fragments, including the end of Pindar’s *Fifth Paeon*, a short and simple composition with seven strophes of five lines. The extant part seems to describe the colonisation of Euboea and other islands, and then the singer asks Apollo and Artemis to receive him on Delos.<sup>21</sup> The title, which would have provided evidence about the performers, is lost. Some have thought that they were Euboeans (it would not be the only song written for Euboean performance on Delos),<sup>22</sup> but it seems likelier that they were Athenians narrating the

<sup>15</sup> *Paeans*: 145, 324n. 25; Svenbro (1984).

<sup>16</sup> For Peru, see Sallnow (1987:182): ‘Without ritual dancers, the purpose of a sponsored pilgrimage cannot be fulfilled. Apart from providing entertainment for the other pilgrims, their routines serve as rites of entry and exit at critical points in the passage of the laminae, especially at the sanctuary itself. There are dozens of different ceremonial styles in the central Andes, each with its own costume, choreography, music and symbolism. Very often a style carries undertones as to the social status of performers. Styles may become defunct, but new ones, or subvariants of old ones, are being created all the time’; on dance in Andean culture, see further Poole (1991), Sallnow (1991); also Bauer and Stanish (2001:233–4) on different forms of dance accompanying the Inca pilgrimage to the islands of the Sun and Moon on Lake Titicaca.

<sup>17</sup> See the extensive treatment in Kowalzig (2007:56–128).

<sup>18</sup> Pin. *Paeon* 4; contra *Paeans*: 292, where I suggested that the poem might have been performed on Keos; Aristopeithes: IG12.544A35–43; Wilson (2000:285, 387n.101).

<sup>19</sup> Pin. ‘Paeon 12’, probably a prosodion; see *Paeans* 364–73 (‘G1’).

<sup>20</sup> Xen. *Mem.*3.3.12; see §13.3. <sup>21</sup> *Paeans* 293–8 (‘D5’).

<sup>22</sup> The *aulētēs* Pronomus, son of Oeniades, composed a *prosodion* for the Chalcidians on the Euripus for performance at Delos: PMG767.

Athenian and Ionian colonisation of Euboea and other islands. The colonising movement described in the song thus mirrors their own *theōriā* from Athens to Delos, and the song is an assertion of Athenian claims to leadership in the region.

Delphi was a little different. Choral singing was not an integral part of the operation of the Delphic Amphiktion, as far as we know. No member of the Amphiktion is recorded as having sent any choruses to Delphi, if you except the account of the delegation from the Thessalian state of Ainis in Heliodorus' novel the *Aithiopika*, which does not look early.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, foreign cities did occasionally send choruses, particularly island-cities: I have already mentioned several times Herodotus' reference to the hundred-strong delegation, surely a chorus, that Khios sent to Delphi. And then there was the Cycladic island of Andros, for which Simonides wrote a paean, to which the ancient editors gave the title: 'For the Andrians to Delphi'. Aegina may be another example. Some of them may have done this on a regular basis, possibly coordinating the timetable with other cities, so that the needs of the sanctuary were met on every occasion.<sup>24</sup>

Athens probably sent *khoroī* to Delphi as well. The Hellenistic *Pūthai's* was accompanied by a subdelegation of Dionysiac Artists, who performed choral poetry, including the celebrated Delphic paeans by Limenios and Athenaios; but even in the Hellenistic period besides these professional groups there was also a citizen chorus made up of *Pūthaistai*.<sup>25</sup> There also is some evidence that Pindar and Simonides composed paeans for Athenian choruses at Delphi.<sup>26</sup>

Where the text of these poems survives, it seems that the subject is the past, mythical or historical, of the city they represent. We saw that the performers of Pindar's fifth paean tell the story of the Ionian colonisation of the Cyclades (which started from Athens), and the Limenios' poem repeats the well-known tale of Apollo's foundation of Delphi, and how his primordial pilgrimage from Delphi passed through Athens, which therefore has a privileged position in Delphic mythology. In both these cases, the performers also act out the movement implied in the myth. Such ceremonies, as

<sup>23</sup> See §20.4.

<sup>24</sup> Chians: Hdt.6.27; Andrians: Simonides PMG519fr.35b; Poltera (2008), fr.100; Rutherford (1990:171–6); Aegina: Pin. *Paeon* 6: §14.5.

<sup>25</sup> That is clear from subscription to the list of *Pūthaistai* in *Pūth* 1, FD 2.11.20–2, which specifies two *didaskaloi* of the *khoro*s of the *Pūthaistai*. Cf. the *didaskalos* of the 'great *khoro*s' (FD 2.47, 8–9) and the *khoro*didaskaloi of the *Pūthaistai* (FD 2.47, 28) in *Pūth* 2.

<sup>26</sup> Pin. *Paeon* VIIc(c) = *Paeans* : 345 (D9); Simonides PMG519fr.35,1–10 = Poltera (2008:fr.100); Rutherford (1990) in favour of a *Pūthai's* Paean, Poltera (2008) against.

Paul Connerton has shown, serve the purpose of creating and maintaining social memory and reinforcing among the performers and the audience a sense of who they are.<sup>27</sup>

From the Hellenistic period, there is little evidence for cities sending citizen choruses to sanctuaries, except for the chorus of the *Pūthaïstai* (see above). From the Roman period, there survives a magnificent dossier recording choral delegations sent to Roman Claros.<sup>28</sup> Nothing is known of the form or content of their songs, but since their singers were sometimes called *humnōdoi*, the songs were probably *humnoi*.<sup>29</sup> One verse oracle Hierapolis-Pamukkale orders the sending of a chorus of boys and girls to Kolophon, i.e. Claros, along with libations and hecatombs, as the culmination of a ritual procedure to cure a plague, and seems to suggest that the choruses and the offerings are thank offerings for services rendered.<sup>30</sup>

But when after appeasement the deadly spirits have departed  
I order that boys together with girls should go to Kolophon  
as singers with libations and hecatombs  
and go gladly, since I have often saved you  
but never received a just share of kindly fat.      25

If it happened in one case, it may be that Claros told other cities to send choruses as well, and a city once instructed in this way would presumably send them repeatedly, at least for a while, which is exactly what the records show.

One aspect that the records illuminate is the make-up of the choruses. The size of choruses varies from city to city, as does the gender balance (possibly determined by Apollo himself, to judge from the oracle cited above), but generally speaking the number and make-up for any individual city stays the same. Choruses sent by Laodikeia on the Lycos in Phrygia, perhaps

<sup>27</sup> See Connerton (1989). Another theoric poem that works in the same way may be Eumelus PMG696, the so-called *prosodion* to Delos, which referred to Zeus Ithomatas, god of the Messenians, and seems to celebrate their freedom from Spartan domination: see D'Alessio (2009b).

<sup>28</sup> See §17.3.3. See, most recently, the excellent study of Busine (2005:73–9). Not all delegations have choruses; chorus-less delegations are attested from e.g. Neocaesarea in Pontus: Macridy (1905:2.2); Caesarea by Mt Argeios (in Cappadocia): Macridy (1912:no.26); Stobi: Macridy (1912:no.20); Dionysopolis in Pontus: Macridy (1912:no.15); Amyzon: Macridy (1912:no.22); Amisos: Macridy (1905:4.4); Plotinopolis: Sahin (1997:no.23). States in Thrace and Macedonia tend not to send them.

<sup>29</sup> Attested about 25 times: see Busine (2005:73n.289). One record for Sagalassos in Pisidia (Macridy (1905:3.3)) calls them *μολποί*, a word with a rich background in Ionian cult.

<sup>30</sup> Oracle from Hierapolis: SGO 02/12/01, 21–25 (= Merkelbach and Stauber (1996:no.4)); αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν μειλιζαμένων ἀπὸ κῆρες ἴκωνται, / παῖδας παρθενικῆισιν ὁμοῦ Κολοφῶνα νέεσθαι / μολποὺς σὺν λοιβῆισιν ἐφέμεαι ἡδ' ἐκατόμβαις / προφρονέως, ἐπεὶ ἡ μάλα πολλάκις ὕμμε σάώσας / οὕτινος ἐκ δημοῖο λάχον μενοεικέος ἀΐσαν. See Rutherford (2007b).

the most consistent client of Claros, are made up of six boys and six girls, led by the *prophētēs* of Pythian Apollo and *agōnothetes* of the festival of Deia, apparently a local festival of Zeus in the home city. Those from Herakleia Salbakes, not far from Laodikeia, are composed entirely of boys, between eight and ten in number, and those from Tabai have seven to ten boys. Khios sends large delegations of up to eighteen boys and girls, accompanied by various officers, including a sacred herald. Aphrodisias sends six boys; Corinth sends ten boys, Phokaia seven to eight. Hierapytna in Crete sends seven boys and seven girls, nearby Lappa five boys. Akmonia send two boys and one girl.<sup>31</sup> Thus, some send boys and girls (e.g. Khios and Hierapytna; the delegation requested from Hierapolis also has both boys and girls), some just boys (Herakleia and Tabai; also Aphrodisias, the oracle from Cyzicus, Parion). Some of the records specify a designated chorus leader.

Some cities employed their own poet to write a song for the chorus and train them, such as Permissos son of Nothippos, the *hieroneikes* who carried out this service for his city Laodikeia on the Lycus from the 60<sup>th</sup> prytany of Apollo till the 79<sup>th</sup> (c. AD 128–155/6). The name Permissos seems to have been inspired by the river of Helicon; and his son, also called Permissos, who succeeded him (from the 90<sup>th</sup> prytany, about AD 174) also enjoyed a distinguished civic career at Laodikeia.<sup>32</sup>

## 14.4 Other scenarios

### 14.4.1 Communal performance

A theoretical possibility is that delegates from a number of cities take part in a communal performance. Delegates to the meetings of the Delphic Amphiktionion chanted communal paeon-cries in sacrificial contexts, but that is hardly singing.<sup>33</sup> A sacred law from Hellenistic Priene says that all the participants sacrificed EN XOPΩI, but this is perhaps more likely to refer to the place of the sacrifice.<sup>34</sup> The closest we get to the model is

<sup>31</sup> Laodikeia: SEG 37.961, 962, 966; Herakleia Salbakes: Carie:215; nos.132, 135–8, 143–5; Tabai: Carie: nos.21, 25, 31, 33; Khios: SEG 37.972, 973, 974, 977; Macridy (1912:no.5); Aphrodisias: SEG 37.976; Corinth: Macridy (1912:no.27); Phokaia: Macridy (1912:no.7, n.10, n.21); Hierapytna: Macridy (1912:no.6); SEG 37.965; Lappa: Macridy (1912:nos.2–3); Akmonia: Macridy (1912:no.28).

<sup>32</sup> For the term *hieroneikes* see Aneziri (2009:221). Permissos: Robert (1969:300–1). On one occasion in the middle of the first sequence we find a different *humnographos* writing for Laodikeia, Nedumianos son of Nedumos: see Robert (1969:299–300no.7).

<sup>33</sup> Dem. 18.287.

<sup>34</sup> PEP (Priene) 11, 11. ‘In a chorus’: Sokolowski (1970:111); of a place: Herda (2006b:51).

perhaps the text of a hymn that survives from Palaikastro at the eastern end of Crete, probably from the Hellenistic period, in which a *khōros* appeals to the deity called Kouros, apparently an avatar of Zeus, to return to the world.<sup>35</sup> No one knows much about the performance of the ‘Dictaeon Hymn to the Kouros’, as it is often called, but it is difficult to imagine that there was a standing chorus at such a minor sanctuary. Angelos Chaniotis has suggested that it was performed by representatives from a number of cities of eastern Crete that were interested in it: Itanos, Praisos, Hierapytna and Knossos.<sup>36</sup> And there is some confirmation for this hypothesis in the final verses of the poem, where the chorus appeal to Kouros: θόρε κῆς πόληας ἀμῶν (‘spring up in our cities’: line 57). There must have been other cases like this, but in the end one has to admit that, like other communal rituals, songs performed jointly by delegates from different cities are not well attested; the focus is almost always on the individual polis.

#### 14.4.2 Pindar’s ‘Sixth paean’

Earlier on in addressing the problem of the Aeginetan *Theānion*, I discussed myth and ritual links between Aegina and Delphi.<sup>37</sup> The most important document for this is Pindar’s ‘Sixth paean’, a song composed, as it seems to imply, for performance at the Delphic Theoxenia, the yearly festival held in the spring, whose aetiology it narrates, namely the myth of the great drought when Delphi instructed the Greeks to seek the help of Aiakos on Aegina. The second triad of the poem also narrates the myth of Neoptolemus, who died at Delphi in a quarrel over a sacrifice. His cult at Delphi was presumably the focus for this, and it may have had a special role in the Theoxenia.<sup>38</sup> The fragmentary third triad seems to have been devoted to the whole family tree of the Aiakidai, starting with Aiakos and proceeding to Achilles and the Trojan War. The mythology of Aegina and Delphi is thus doubly intertwined in the poem: first, the aetiology of the Theoxenia is an episode in the past when Delphi deferred to Aiakos on Aegina, and secondly Aiakos’ great-grandson became a Delphic hero. Thus, Delphi and

<sup>35</sup> Powell (1925:162–4); for the text, M. L. West (1965).

<sup>36</sup> Summarised in Chaniotis (1996:128); he also finds choral performance in the context of pilgrimage at *ICret*1.16.6 and *ICret*3.4.1B, and suggests for the ritual term θιασός the translation ‘Opferchor’. Perlman (1995b) sees the Dictaeon Hymn as performed by ephēbes from Itanos, who in line 57 mention cities with which their city was federated. Kowalzig (2005:57–60) sees the performance of the hymn as fostering peace in the region.

<sup>37</sup> §8.4.

<sup>38</sup> *Paeans*: 310–11 (‘D6’). Two excellent recent treatments of the song and its context are Kurke (2005) and Kowalzig (2007:181–223).

Aegina stand in a relationship of reciprocity: Apollo favoured Aegina in the age of Aiakos, and the payment for that is the untimely death of Neoptolemus at Delphi three generations later. These mythological intersections suggest that there were also links between Aegina and Delphi on the level of ritual. The Aeginetan *theōroi* to Delphi may have engaged in some sort of rituals before leaving the island, for example a sacrifice at Aiakeion on Aegina (at the entrance to which the Greeks supplicating Aiakos were represented in iconographic form), before making their way to Delphi to participate in the Theoxenia. Or again they might have sacrificed to Aiakos on the return, perhaps even on the summit of Mt Hellanios, where there was an important cult of Zeus.<sup>39</sup> The song itself is likely to have been performed against the background of the Aeginetan *theōriā* visiting Delphi (although it may have been re-performed, in whole or part, on Aegina). In principle, one could imagine either of the alternatives I mentioned earlier: a local chorus, or a chorus accompanying a *theōriā* from Aegina. A title at the start of the poem that says ‘for the Delphians to Pytho’ would suit the hypothesis of performance by a local chorus of Delphians. On the other hand, a second title, two-thirds of the way through the poem, that says ‘for the Aeginetans a Prosodion for Aiakos’, would be consistent with a theoric chorus, at least for that part.<sup>40</sup> A third possibility, which should be seriously considered, is that the song was a joint performance, with a Delphian chorus singing the first two triads and an Aeginetan one singing the third. This would be analogous to other joint rituals found in the context of theoric festivals at sanctuaries, such as joint sacrifice and joint procession.<sup>41</sup>

#### 14.4.3 Musical *agōnes*

A major scenario for poetic performance at festivals is the musical *agōn*. Certainly, the Dionysiac Artists of the Hellenistic period seamlessly combine the three roles of *theōroi* to festivals, organisers of *agōnes* at the festivals and participants in the *agōnes*.<sup>42</sup> But even in the Classical period, *theōroi* bound for festivals could have taken with them choruses or solo singers to participate in musical competitions, not unlike the way in which

<sup>39</sup> Paus. 2.29.8. cf. Kurke (2005:120). <sup>40</sup> Rutherford (1997); *Paeans*: 329–31.

<sup>41</sup> See §12.4, 12.5. If one were bold enough to see the poem as a sacrificial victim (cf. Svenbro (1984)), then it might be significant that sacrificial victims can be divided into thirds (cf. *CID*1.4 (#B4.1)).

<sup>42</sup> See §14.5.



athletes seem to have accompanied them on some occasions.<sup>43</sup> There is good reason to think that the Athenian festival on Delos, which started in 426/5 BC, had a poetic competition, since the accounts from 378–4 BC mention choruses in the plural, as well as ‘tripods’ for choruses, which would normally be prizes.<sup>44</sup> If it is possible that poetic competitions occurred at major festivals on Delos a few decades before, it would be tempting to see one of these as the frame for Bacchylides’ *Ode* 17, which narrates the transformative dive to the bottom of the Aegean made by Theseus in the context of the Dis Hepta’s voyage to Crete, and purports to have been sung by a chorus from Keos. In the ancient papyrus, this poem is classed as a ‘dithyramb’, and at Athens the standard context for the performance of dithyrambs was competitions.<sup>45</sup>

### 14.5 The Hellenistic period. Professionals and travelling poets

In the Hellenistic period, the music tends to be provided by Dionysiac Artists.<sup>46</sup> Alkinoe of Thronion, honoured by Tenos for writing a hymn for the local sanctuary, was probably a member of one of the guilds of Artists, like all practising musicians and poets in this period.<sup>47</sup> More commonly, Artists take part in elaborate poetic competitions, such as the one at the Delphic Soteria in which the different events were organised into three sections: a musical contest, comprising rhapsodes, kitharists, kitharodes and performers of *prosodia*, a cyclical contest comprising *aulētai*, *paidēs khoreutai* and *andres khoreutai*, and a dramatic contest, comprising *tragōidoi*, *komōidoi* and various other participants.<sup>48</sup> It is clear from this that even choral performance, traditionally the province of the citizen amateur, had been hijacked by the professional. Cities still maintained their own choruses, however, although professional musicians are sometimes honoured for helping to train them. Thus, in the records of *Pūth* 1 one of the trainers of the *khōros* of the *Pūthaïstai* is a certain Elpinikos, son of Epikrates, who we know from another source was a member of the *koinon* of the Athenian Artists.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> See §12.6, pp.209–10. <sup>44</sup> RO no.28, Aa33; see §18.1.

<sup>45</sup> Such classifications are not always reliable, however: see *Paeans*: 98–9. An excellent recent study of the poem is Fearn (2007:242–56).

<sup>46</sup> On the Artists, see the recent studies of Le Guen (2001) and Aneziri (2003).

<sup>47</sup> IG12.5.812.

<sup>48</sup> Nachtergaele (1977:305–13). For an *aulōdos* performing at Delphi with his own *khōros*, see Plut. QC7.5.1, 704c.

<sup>49</sup> Stefanis (1988:no.835).



The involvement of professional musicians was not itself new; the great poets of archaic and Classical Greece had been professionals. The real change in the Hellenistic period is that the *Dionysiac Artists* organise themselves into influential groups. Several ‘communities’ or ‘*koina*’ emerge, one based in Athens, another which defined itself with reference to the Isthmos and Nemea, and a third which was originally based in Asia Minor at Teos, but later fragmented into two, divided between Teos and Pergamum. These communities monopolised musical activities, and were able to do so partly because of the gradual demise of the old ‘song-culture’ of Greece, where every citizen might be called on to sing in a chorus. In so doing, the communities of the Artists began to acquire a more or less autonomous political status. Thus, at the very moment when the Hellenistic polis seems to be moving away from the culture of *mousikē*, *mousikē* is re-establishing itself in a new type of political organisation.

The role of the associations of the Artists was not just that of providing musicians for festivals and other performance contexts. Rather, they helped to organise the musical *agōn* within the festivals themselves, here again taking over to some extent the religious functions of the polis. Thus, the Koinon of the Artists of the Isthmos and Nemea shared the responsibility for the management of the Theban Dionysia with Thebes, and they may also have organised the Soteria at Delphi, or shared responsibility for its organisation with the Amphiktionry or the Aetolians.<sup>50</sup> The same pattern can be seen in the records for the Mouseia-festival held at the sanctuary of the Muses on Mt Helikon, controlled by the neighbouring city of Thespiiai in Boeotia. When Thespiiai reorganised the festival around 225 BC, it solicited participants from a number of places, including the Isthmian *Koinon*, which responded by stating that it regarded the *agōn* as ‘common’ to both Thespiiai and itself.<sup>51</sup> Subsequent victor lists attest the presence at the festival of officials from both Thespiiai and the *Koinon*, including both a priest and a *pūrpheōn* (‘fire-carrier’), the latter presumably there to fetch sacred fire from the temple of the Muses.<sup>52</sup> The Artists also helped advertise the festival, a role to which their musical skills will have suited them.<sup>53</sup> Other cases of Artists serving as roving announcers are known as well: some of the men who proclaimed the inviolability of Teos in the third century BC performed songs and music in the cities they visited, and, in view of the close link between Teos and the Artists of the Hellespont and Ionia, these men are likely to have been Artists themselves. Some Hellenistic diplomats

<sup>50</sup> Aneziri (2003:271–8).      <sup>51</sup> Aneziri B4, 47 (=SIG<sup>3</sup>457).

<sup>52</sup> See §7.5, p.123.      <sup>53</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup>457, 55.

proclaiming the *asūliā* of Mylasa also performed songs, including traditional ones by the great Cretan poet Thaletas.<sup>54</sup>

A second manifestation of the change is that we now find evidence that communities of the Dionysiac Artists send delegates to festivals to represent them, just like the cities. This pattern is found both when the festivals are ones that the Artists are helping to organise, and also in other cases. Two variations may be distinguished.

First, the association of the *Artists* sends a delegation to a sanctuary in its own right, presumably primarily to perform music, but also as a political act. Thus, the *Koinon* of Ionia and the Hellespont voted to send *theōroi* to the festival of Artemis at Magnesia, having been invited by Magnesia to do so.<sup>55</sup> As Rigsby observes, ‘The decree shows that the guild was treated in international law as a Greek government.’<sup>56</sup> In a similar way, Isthmian and Nemean Artists travel to the Theban Dionysia, and get free passage from the Delphic Amphiktionēs.<sup>57</sup> When the Isthmian *Koinon* accepts Thespiāi’s invitation to participate in the Mouseia (above), they undertake to send *theōroi*. The Athenian Artists may also have sent *theōroi* to Cappadocia to participate in festivals.<sup>58</sup>

Second, the *koinon* sends a *theōriā* of its own to accompany one from the city it is attached to. The Athenian Artists sent a *theōriā* to Delphi along with the main Athenian one in the Hellenistic *Pūthaiis*, starting with the second enactment,<sup>59</sup> a few years after the Amphiktiony had renewed their privileges.<sup>60</sup> In *Pūth* 2, the delegation consisted of an *arkhitheōros* and four

<sup>54</sup> Rigsby (1996); Chaniotis (1988b). Aneziri (2003:281) suggests that the announcement of festivals in the Hellenistic period was as much about attracting musicians as attracting *theōroi*.

<sup>55</sup> *I.Magnesia* 54 = Aneziri D8 = RigsbyA103. Cf. the follow-up decree *I.Magnesia* 89 = Aneziri D9, in which the three Magnesian *theōroi* who originally proclaimed the *asylia* are honoured with a crown. The second decree probably relates to the second announcement of the festival, when the Dionysiac Artists had apparently been awarded *prohedriā* (2.14–15).

<sup>56</sup> Rigsby (1996:246).

<sup>57</sup> *FD* 1.351, 11–29 = *CID*4.70 (228/7–23/2 BC); Robert (1977a).

<sup>58</sup> Robert (1963:495–6); Aneziri (2003:45, with n.138).

<sup>59</sup> *Pūth* 2 (Aneziri A6 = *FD* 2.47, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 698A): *arkhitheōros*: Heraclides son of Glaukias; *theōroi*: Philodromos son of Nikophon, Noumenios son of Alexander (*komōdos*), Menelaos son of Ariston, Eupolemos son of Hermogenes; *Pūth* 3 (Aneziri A10 = *FD* 2, 49, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 728K) lacunose; Alexander son of Ariston is *epimeletes* and *arkhitheōros* as in *Pūth* 4; *Pūth* 4 (Aneziri A11 = *FD* 2.48, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 711L) *epimeletes* and *arkhitheōros*: Alexander Ariston, comic poet; *theōroi*: Diokles son of Aiskhines (τραγικός ὑποδιδάσκαλος), Glaukias son of Heraclides (*komōdos*; his father was the *arkhitheōros* of the Artists in *Pūth* 2), Aristomenes son of Aristomenes (tragic poet), Agathokles son of Sokrates (*komōidos*), Ariston son of Menelaos (tragic poet, the father is *theōros* in *Pūth* 2), Khairestratos son of Philagros (τραγικός συναγωνιστής), Them[iso]n son of Poseidonios (τραγικός συναγωνιστής).

<sup>60</sup> The decree, dated to 134 or 130 BC, is *CID*4.114, formerly *FD* 2.68, Le Guen (2001:1.no. 6, with pp.77–80). See further §13.4, p.225n.

*theōroi*, plus a choir of thirty-nine singers who are to perform ‘the paeon’, a teacher for the ‘great chorus’, and twenty-seven other musicians and actors; in *Pūth* 4 it was an *arkhitheōros* and eight *theōroi*, as well as a slightly larger chorus with kitharists and a large number of poets and musicians for the *thumelikos* and *skēnikos agōn*. The intention here is to replicate the basic structure of an ordinary *theōriā*. Similarly, a *theōriā* from the Artists of Ionia and Hellespont seems to have accompanied *theōriai* from Teos and Priene to Samothrace.<sup>61</sup> In the decree, they are mentioned after citizens (i.e. *theōroi*) from Teos and Priene. Teos is the traditional home of the Artists, and Brigitte Le Guen links the reference to Priene with Plutarch’s testimony that Antony gave Priene to the Artists to dwell in after their contribution to his celebrations on the island of Samos.<sup>62</sup> So the decree represents a complex *theōriā* comprising delegates from the *Koinon* of the Artists as well as two cities commonly associated with them.

<sup>61</sup> A Samothracian decree appoints them *proxenoi*, implying that they had come there as *theōroi*: IG12.8.163c35–9 (Dimitrova: no. 10); Aneziri D19 = Le Guen (2001: DE57).

<sup>62</sup> Le Guen (2001: 1.288–9); Plut. *Ant.* 57.1.

Although the ostensible motivation for theoric missions was always religious, they often seem to have had a degree of political significance as well. This should not surprise us, since all aspects of Greek religion were heavily shaped by the concerns of the city-state, and *theōroi* in particular were nothing if not agents of the political bodies that they represented. Their political significance is perhaps most conspicuous in the case of oracle delegates tasked with making enquiries of critical importance to their polis. However, in principle any religious occasion attended by *theōroi* as representatives of their cities presented an opportunity for gaining political advantage – perhaps by engaging in political activities with the state that organised the festival, or with delegates from other cities, or by performing spectacular religious actions resulting in prestige for the city. This is no doubt why leading or taking part in *theōriai* sometimes involved important politicians or magistrates (see §10.3.1, §10.4). One possible explanation for the widespread use of *theōros* as a term for a civic magistrate is that experience of liaising with the major sanctuaries was a source of political influence in the home community (see §8.6).

My specific subject in this chapter is the role played by *theōroi* in the process by which cities and other political bodies managed external political relations (one could almost say ‘international relations’, except that we are not dealing with nations). This political dimension of the activities of *theōroi* is more explicit in some contexts than in others. It is comparatively explicit in the following three types of contexts: first, festivals organised by imperial powers (the only example before the Roman period is Athens) or kingdoms (the best attested example is Ptolemaic Alexandria); second, festivals organised by federations, or by groups of cities that have undergone a political unification. In both of these cases, sending *theōroi* was a way in which cities confirmed their participation in, and acceptance of, the political structure. The third context comprises a small number of cases where *theōroi* are explicitly said to have played the role of diplomats. With these three contexts I would contrast ‘ordinary’ forms of *theōriā* – by which I mean those that do not fall into the first and second categories above (such as *theōriā* to the four great Panhellenic festivals) – in which the political

dimension, though it existed, was less obvious and much less formalised. It is with this fourth category that I begin.

### 15.1 Interstate politics and ‘ordinary’ forms of *theōriā*

There are two ways in which the activities of *theōriā* in ordinary festival networks can be said to involve politics: first, political significance is implied in the formal activities of delegates at the sanctuary, as well as in the broader functioning of the festival network; second, the festival itself allows for those who attend, including *theōroi*, to engage in informal political activity.

The implicit political significance of the activities of *theōroi* at sanctuaries should already be clear from earlier chapters. In Chapter 13, I showed how, by sending *theōroi* to sanctuaries on their behalf, cities engaged in a form of self-advertisement. A particularly clear case is the Athenian *Pūthais* of the late Hellenistic period, the aim of which, particularly in the second, third and fourth enactments, seems to have been to make a demonstration of the full strength of the Athenian state. Another implication of a city sending its own *theōriā* seems to have been to demonstrate that it was autonomous; thus, a smaller community that has been absorbed into a larger one may in some cases have lost the right to send its own independent delegates, which amounts to a clear political message that a political union has taken place. Implied political significance can also be found in the ritual activities of *theōroi* at sanctuaries, as I showed in Chapter 12. ‘Joint sacrifice’ between hosts and visiting *theōroi*, or between groups of visiting *theōroi*, implies a political bond, however briefly realised.<sup>1</sup> Conversely, ritual activities where one community is awarded a privileged status – such as the Argive decree honouring Aspendos and its *theōroi* – have an obvious political significance as well.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes this is made explicit, as when in the early second century BC the Thessalian Confederation sent a [*theōriā*] and *thūsia* to the festival of Asclepius at Mytilene, which decreed that its magistrates should declare that they honoured the Thessalians on account of their virtue and goodwill towards it, and that the local sacred herald should pray on behalf of Thessaly.<sup>3</sup> The implied audience of all such symbolic and theatrical actions are other city-states, who learn about them through their official observers, the *theōroi*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See §12.4.      <sup>2</sup> See §12.5, p.207.

<sup>3</sup> IG12Supp3; Labarre (1996: no.14, p.273); for the context, Graninger (2011:144); Tziaphalias and Helly (2004–5:377–406).

<sup>4</sup> See §9.1, p.148.

Equally charged with political significance is the build-up to the festival, when the sanctuary authorities send out invitations. Just as participating in a festival network implies a degree of cooperation with other cities, refusing to participate in the expected way can be a calculated political act, as we see from Polybius' account of the events that led up to the outbreak of war between Rhodes and Byzantium in 220 BC.<sup>5</sup> The main cause of the war was that Byzantium had imposed taxes on ships trading through the Bosporos,<sup>6</sup> but one of a number of factors that motivated Prusias of Bithynia to side with Rhodes was the failure of Byzantium to send *theōroi* to the Bithynian Soteria, even though it had sent one to the Nikephoria festival celebrated in Pergamum by Attalus.<sup>7</sup> Nothing is known about the Bithynian Soteria, but it must have celebrated some significant victory in Prusias' early reign.<sup>8</sup> The only evidence for politically motivated non-participation in a festival before the Hellenistic period is Demosthenes' reference to Athens' 'abstention' from her usual *theōriā* to the Pythian Games in the crisis year of 346 BC, which he claims was a response to a general concern among Athenians for the Phocians who were threatened by Philip of Macedon's policies in northern Greece at this time.<sup>9</sup> Without other sources, it remains uncertain whether the decision not to send it was indeed a calculated political move, and interpreted as such, or whether it was forced on them by the tense military situation.

If refusing to send a delegation could be a political act, perhaps the same could be said of the refusing to allow a delegation access to the sanctuary. In 420 BC, Elis famously banned Sparta from the Olympic Games, alleging that it had attacked the town of Lepreon during the Olympic Truce, which the Spartans claimed had not yet been announced in Sparta when the attack took place. Just as it is difficult to judge which side was in the right about the Olympic Truce, so it is impossible to know whether the infringement was the real issue or just a front for Elis' politico-military strategy in its long-running confrontation with Sparta.<sup>10</sup> For a clearer case of exclusion

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. 4.49.

<sup>6</sup> For background, Walbank (1957–79:1.503); for the war, Berthold (1984:94–5).

<sup>7</sup> Two decades earlier, the previous king of Bithynia, Ziaelas, had replied to an invitation from Kos to attend the festival of Asclepius in rambling language that suggest that he was unfamiliar with the diplomatic conventions of Hellenistic festival network: see *IG*12.4.209 and §16.4, p.275. In the next century, Prusias II was honoured with a monument by the Aetolians at Delphi and, according to an inscription on that monument, a later Bithynian King, Nikomedes III, was generous in supplying Delphi with slaves (*FD* 4.77 with p.123).

<sup>8</sup> Habicht (1957:1087–8).

<sup>9</sup> 19.128 (ἀποστῆναι τῆς πατρῖου θεωρίας); the oracle from Dodona cited in *Against Meidias* 53 criticises the Athenians for neglecting their traditional *theōriā* there.

<sup>10</sup> Thuc. 5.49–50; on the question whether the truce has been violated, Hornblower (1991–2008:3.226). Little can be made of a report in Aristid. *Panath.* 372 (cf. Σ Dem. 3.20 (Dilts

on political grounds we must look to an event that happened almost 250 years later in 172 BC, when Rhodes, according to Appian, refused to receive a *theōriā* from Eumenes II of Pergamum sent to attend the festival of Helios.<sup>11</sup> This was the culmination of a decade of deteriorating relations between Pergamum and Rhodes, which were competing for the support of Rome. Little is known of the Rhodian Halieia festival, but it must have been of considerable importance at this time.<sup>12</sup>

As well as being bearers of implicit political significance of many sorts, festivals were also places where informal political business could be conducted. At the Olympic Games of 428 BC, ambassadors (*presbeis*) from Mytilene, having made it to Sparta to request help, were told to make an official request to the Spartans and their allies at the festival. In Thucydides' version of their speech, they describe themselves as suppliants in the temple of Olympian Zeus, and make references to the expectations of 'Hellenes'. The audience for this speech, who, according to Thucydides, were completely persuaded by it, would have included *theōroi* from the relevant cities.<sup>13</sup> A century later, the Olympics of 324 BC saw Demosthenes attending as an *arkhitheōros*, having got himself appointed to this position in order to negotiate with Alexander the Great's agent Nikanor of Stagira, who was known to be about to announce the 'Exiles Decree', which was considered to be against Athens' interests.<sup>14</sup>

Another festival that may have provided opportunities for diplomatic activity is an *agōn* organised in 129 BC by the Roman general M. Perperna to celebrate his victory over Aristonikos, who had led a slave revolt challenging the bequest of Pergamum to Rome by Attalus III.<sup>15</sup> Honorary

1983–6:1.95, 18–22) that when once the Corinthians refused admission of an Athenian delegation to the Isthmian Games, the Athenians sent both soldiers and *θεωροί* to the Corinthian border in order to guarantee that they would be admitted and the Corinthians came to Eleusis to offer a truce, at which point the Athenians sent their troops home. No context is provided for this, and we do not know why the Athenians were excluded.

<sup>11</sup> Appian 9 (Mac.) fr.11.3. See the discussion of Berthold (1984:180); E.V. Hansen (1971:109). According to Livy 42.14, 8, Eumenes was felt to have stirred up Lycia against Rhodes and to have oppressed Asia; Plb. 27, 7, 6 confirms that the Rhodian Peraia was an issue.

<sup>12</sup> On the Halieia, P. Stengel in *RE* 7.2 (1912), 2245–6 s.v.; Kahrstedt (1911:426–7); Craik (1980:182). In the Hadrianic period, a Spartan *sunthūtes* visits the Halieia: *IG*5.1.47 with Jones (1998:184).

<sup>13</sup> Thuc. 3.9–15. There is a good discussion in Hornblower (1991–2008: ad loc.).

<sup>14</sup> Dinarchus *In Dem.*82, cf. 103; Diod. Sic. 18.8; see §10.3.2. The fragmentary Athenian decree *SEG*30.66 in honour of the Athenian *proxenos* in Kleonai Lapyris, which mentions an *arkhitheōros* and *theōroi*, has been thought to relate to negotiations taking place at Nemea a few weeks after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC, when Athens was working on building an alliance against Macedon. See Miller (1982); Gerolymatos (1986:80–2).

<sup>15</sup> H. v. Campenhausen, *RE* 19.1 s. Perperna 4):895–6. Perperna probably died of an illness in Pergamum before the *agōn* took place.

decrees from Priene (which may have had some tangential involvement in the war) tell us that two prominent citizens were sent to the *agōn* as *theōroi*: Moskhion, who is praised for carrying out his duties well along with those appointed with him, and Herodas, who performed his duties ‘without food or olive oil’.<sup>16</sup> No doubt many other cities in Western Asia Minor sent delegations as well. Significantly, Moskhion is called *presbeutēs kai theōros*, which suggests that the purpose of his mission was partly seen as diplomacy with the Roman authorities.<sup>17</sup>

Major festivals were, of course, an excellent place to make an announcement if you wanted news to spread round the whole Greek world as quickly as possible.<sup>18</sup> One example is the above-mentioned ‘Exiles Decree’, whose proclamation in 324 BC was arranged by Alexander the Great. The Romans also seem to have used Greek festivals for the purpose of propaganda, as after the defeat of Macedonia in 197 BC Titus Flamininus chose the Isthmian Games of 196 BC to proclaim the freedom of the Greeks.<sup>19</sup> Conversely, the great festivals also seem to have been places where rumours could spread, as, for example, at the Isthmia of 412 BC, where the Athenians involved in *theōriā* there got wind of a plan by the Spartans to assist the island of Khios in staging a revolt from Athens.<sup>20</sup>

## 15.2 *Theōroi*, empires and kingdoms

The political significance of *theōriā* takes on a special form when the festival network in which they participate is run by an imperial power or a

<sup>16</sup> Moskhion: *I.Priene* 108, 223–32; Herodas: *I.Priene* 109, 91. Diplomatic activity may also have been involved in Moskhion's previous mission as *theōros* to Demetrius I of Syria; his business there could have concerned Orophernes of Cappadocia, who had strong links to Priene: see *I.Priene* ad loc., with p.218.

<sup>17</sup> For the combination, see below.

<sup>18</sup> This holds not just for politicians, but for intellectuals: see Tell (2007). A good example from recent history is the great ‘Kumbha Mela’ festival held at Allahabad in North India, which caused great concern to the British imperial authorities. See Maclean (2008:144–5): ‘The capacity of the pilgrimage network to carry information was also understood by the East India Company and later the administration of the Raj. The government, as we have seen, sought to positively influence the messages carried back to village India. It was the ultimate strength of the pilgrimage communication network to influence Indian opinion that forced the British, despite their dislike of the ‘heathen practices’ carried out at the mela and the overwhelming costs involved in providing adequate infrastructure, to patronise the melas as they did. Inevitably, with the rise of nationalist mobilization in the early twentieth century, the Allahabad melas became a site where these nationalist ideas were disseminated...’ The same point could be made about the Hajj and Islam: see Thayer (1992) etc.; Sheriff (2010).

<sup>19</sup> Plb. 18.46; Plut. *Flamininus* 10, 4–7. <sup>20</sup> Thuc. 8.9–10.



kingdom. In the Athenian imperial administration of the later fifth century BC, reassessments of tribute for states were made at the Great Panathenaia in Hekatombaion, where many of them must have been represented by *theōroi*.<sup>21</sup> The Erythraians are required to make a contribution there in a fifth-century decree of uncertain date, and another fragmentary decree from around 435–425 BC suggestively links the Kolophonians and *theōriā*.<sup>22</sup> As of 425/4 BC, if not before, subject allies were supposed to send a cow and panoply to the Great Panathenaia, and, according a plausible restoration of one decree, they sent them ‘like colonists’.<sup>23</sup> Recent Athenian colonies were required to contribute in a similar way; probably in the late 430s BC, it was decreed that Brea in Thrace should send (*apagein*) a cow and *panoplia* to the Panathenaia and a *phallos* to the Dionysia.<sup>24</sup>

Once established, such practices endured. As late as 331–28 BC Priene, decreed that it would send *theōroi* to each greater Panathenaia, with a procession, a panoply and *aparkhai* ‘as a memorial of the ancient relationship [*sungeneia*] and friendship that we have with them’. It used the opportunity to commend Athenian foreign policy, announcing a favourable report of Diphilos, the Athenian ‘general to Samos’. This striking renewal of a *sungeneia* relationship may celebrate the refoundation of Priene on a new site, possibly by Alexander the Great, who visited it in 334 BC.<sup>25</sup>

In the third century BC, the Ptolemies also used a festival network as a way of communicating with cities in their sphere of influence, although there was no tribute, as far as we know.<sup>26</sup> The earliest sign of this is in 308 BC, when Ptolemy Soter, then in control of Corinth, is said to have

<sup>21</sup> The Methone Decree: *IG*1<sup>3</sup>.61, 8 (= ML65,8) 430 BC. See V. Chankowski (2008:39–40), and §3.3.

<sup>22</sup> Erythrae Decree: 1<sup>3</sup>.14 = ML40; for background, Rhodes (1992:56–7); Kolophon: *IG*1<sup>3</sup>.43, 9 and 14.

<sup>23</sup> Reassessment Decree of disputed date: *IG*1<sup>3</sup>.71 (ML69), 55–8 (applicable to all cities paying tribute); ‘like colonists’: *IG*1<sup>3</sup>.71, 58; but cow and panoply are also mentioned in the Clinias Decree of 448/7: *IG*1<sup>3</sup>.34 (ML46), 41–2.

<sup>24</sup> Brea Decree: *IG*1<sup>3</sup>.46, 11–12 (ML49): βούν δὲ καὶ π[ανθοπλίαν ἀπά]γεν ἐς Παναθῆναια τὰ μεγάλ[α καὶ ἐς Διονύσι]α φαλλόν. So a decree of 372 BC (RO29, 2–6) requires the Parians, as colonists (!), to send a cow and phallos to the Dionysia and a cow and panoply to the Panathenaia. Isocr. *Peace* 82 describes the tribute of the allies at the Dionysia. For the *phallophoria* at the Dionysia, see Cole (1993:28).

<sup>25</sup> *I.Priene* 5. Curty (1995:no.49); see Hornblower (1982b:323–30); Demand (1986). Kleiner (1962:1187). For Diphilos, see Shipley (1987:160); Cargill (1995:142 and 300); *LGNP* II, s. Diphilos no.34. In Lücke's (2000) catalogue of decrees invoking *sungeneia* between states, this is the earliest example (SO1). Priene also sends delegations to Athens in the second century BC: *I.Priene* 45 and *I.Priene* 109, 47–52.

<sup>26</sup> On taxation and Ptolemaic possessions overseas, see Bagnall (1976:226–7).

announced the Isthmian truce, instructing Greek cities to attend (*theōrein*) carrying branches, as a symbol of liberation.<sup>27</sup> After Soter's death in 283 BC, his son Philadelphos set up the Ptolemaia festival, held for the first time in 283/2 BC, and known to have attracted delegations from Athens, the Nesiotic League, the Delphic Amphiktiony, Samos, Xanthos in Lycia, Kalynda in Caria and Arsinoe in Cilicia (see [Map 13](#)).<sup>28</sup> In 243 BC, soon after the accession of Ptolemy Euergetes, a new festival was established, the 'Theadelphia', in honour of Philadelphos and Arsinoe.<sup>29</sup> The change of ruler may have made it urgent for states to send delegations to Alexandria,<sup>30</sup> and we have a good example of one in a letter sent by Euergetes to Xanthos in Lycia after the festival, which in the course of praising the conduct of Xanthian *theōroi*, describes their duties in greater than usual detail.<sup>31</sup> After they had finished with their religious duties, including proclaiming the erection of statues in Xanthos,<sup>32</sup> the *theōroi* had an audience with the king and queen, where they expressed the goodwill of their city, and 'gave us the documents relating to your requests'. *Theōroi* from other cities in the Ptolemaic Empire attending this festival, or the Ptolemaia, are also likely to have used them as frames for diplomatic activity. Something of this sort may be implied in an extremely fragmentary decree from the Cycladic island of Ios, which Hiller von Gaertringen took as referring to the arrival of diplomats (*presbeutai*) in Ios, whose task was to deal with some sort of civil unrest, and an earlier mission of '*presbeutai* and *theōroi*' (line 3) sent by Ios to

<sup>27</sup> Suda s. Δημήτριος (Δ431):...καὶ τὰς Ἰσθμιάδας σπονδὰς ἐπὶγγελλε κελεύων οἷα ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει θαλλοφοροῦντας θεωρεῖν εἰς τὰ Ἰσθμια.

<sup>28</sup> The first enactment, probably the one attended by Kallias of Sphettos (*SEG* 28.60, 55–64) preceded the celebration of the Great Panathenaia by Kallias, which J. L. Shear (2010) has now placed in 282/1 BC; T. L. Shear (1978:33ff.) preferred 278 BC. This suits the date of the *theōriā* of Theopropos of Kalynda in 247 BC (PZenon 59341(a) = App.#D8). We know also of a *theōriā* from the Nesiotic League (*IG*12.7.506 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 390), which is probably early in the sequence (see §16.2); one from the Delphic Amphiktiony (*CID*4.40); one from Samos, funded by Boulagoras (*IG*12.6.11, 28–36 (*SEG* 1.366), probably in 243/2 BC); one from Xanthos (Bousquet (1986), *SEG* 36.1218), for the Ptolemaia and Theadelphia, for Ptolemy II and Arsinoe, also probably in 243/2 BC; and one from Arsinoe in Cilicia (Petzl (2002:87), between 238 and 221BC. For the possibility of *theōroi* from Argos in 254 BC (Skeat (1974:62–6, no. 1973) = App.#D7) see §9.2, p.152n. Koan participation, which is likely, has been detected in *IG*12.4.249 (Piejko (1986a = *SEG* 36.756), and *IG*.12.4.32 (with Herzog's supplements).

<sup>29</sup> *SEG* 36.1218; cf. Bousquet (1986). A letter from Euergetes to Kos from the same time refers to Koan acceptance of a third festival, 'the *agōn* on the Sacred Island' (*IG*12.4.212); on that, see Bosnakis and Hallof (2003:242–5); Rigsby (2010).

<sup>30</sup> Bousquet (1986:29). <sup>31</sup> *SEG* 36, 1218, 6–28 = Bousquet (1986) (App.#D12).

<sup>32</sup> Bousquet (1986:28) draws attention to a contemporary base of a statue of Euergetes in the Letoon.



Map 13. Cities known to have sent *theōroi* to the Alexandrian Ptolemaia

Ptolemy.<sup>33</sup> The *theōroi* would presumably have been combining attendance at one of the Alexandrian festivals with diplomatic activity.<sup>34</sup>

Because appointment as a *theōros* to Alexandria provided the opportunity of access to the Ptolemaic authorities, individuals might seek appointment in order to conduct private business, as we see from a unique record left by a *theōros* from the city of Kalynda in Caria to the Alexandrian Ptolemaia in 247 BC. This was the aptly named Theopropos, who used his *theōriā* as a pretext to make a petition to the Alexandrian authorities to sort out a financial problem back in Caria. The problem concerned a sum of 250 drachmas which he claimed he was owed for supplying wine to a festival

<sup>33</sup> IG12.5.7. See Bagnall (1976:147); for the Cycladic context, Brun (1996: 305n.30).

<sup>34</sup> Compare also the case of Androkles of Phalasarna, whose death at Alexandria in 221–220 BC is recorded on a Hadra vase (SEG 24.1177; see on App.#D15). Huss (1976:158–9) suggests that he might have been discussing the repercussions of Knossos' attack on Luttos (Plb. 4.53.3–54) with Alexandrian officials. Several Hadra vases hold the ashes of *theōroi*, and since Androkles had been *theōrodokos* for Epidauros (PerlmanPC24), the possibility arises that he was a *theōros* to Alexandria, though he is not identified as such on the vase, and the date of the death does not match that of the festival (see §5.2, p.85).

held at Kypranda by two treasurers of the festival, whom he brought before the local Ptolemaic officials (the *stratēgos* and the *oikonomos*). However, the treasurers had demanded that a ‘decree’ be issued, which was subsequently delayed by the prytaneis and clerk, apparently the city officials. It is not quite clear from this summary whether it is the Ptolemaic or the city-officials whom Theopropos believed to be at fault. At any rate, Theopropos was appointed *theōros*, presumably for the Ptolemaia, apparently along with one of the treasurers, Diophantos.

This is described in a letter to Apollonios, chief minister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, in which he asks that Apollonius write to the city, the *stratēgos* and the *oikonomos*. The petition may well have been negotiated by Zenon of Kaunos, then one of Apollonios’ aides, who happens to have had relatives in Kalynda (not far from Kaunos). In fact, the same document contains a petition from another citizen of Kalynda, who seems to be related to an aunt of Zenon (this second petition could well have been brought by Theopropos).<sup>35</sup>

The question arises: Why did Theopropos feel it was necessary to come all the way to Alexandria when he could have just sent a petition? The answer must be that a civic *theōros* could be expected to have an interview with the king himself (cf. the Xanthian delegates above), and that must have upped the ante considerably.

### 15.3 Federations, unions of cities and councils

Leagues and federations also have common festivals, and here too *theōroi* are sometimes in evidence, as I showed in Chapter 4. In these cases, the duties of these *theōroi* would not normally have involved political activity.<sup>36</sup> However, in one case, the meeting of the so-called Chrysaoric League at Stratonikeia in Caria, a delegate from Mylasa around 100 BC apparently bore the title ‘assembly member and *theōros*’ (*ekklēsiastēs kai theōros*). Although the political and religious aspects of the mission seem to be distinguished by different terms, it is significant that they are carried out by the same person and apparently on the same occasion.<sup>37</sup>

Equally, two cities which elect to undergo a political union (*sumpoliteia* or *isopoliteia*) could be required to participate in common festivals or

<sup>35</sup> Zenon Papyrus 59341(a) (App.#D8); Bagnall (1976:99–100); Edgar (1920:32).

<sup>36</sup> So in *I.Ilion* 10 (discussed in §4.3.2) the delegates who administer the organisation (*sunhedroi*) are distinct from the *theōroi* who attend the festival.

<sup>37</sup> *I.Mylasa* 101.15; see §4.3.2, p.60.

sacrifices.<sup>38</sup> *Theōroi* are found in this context as well, as in decrees of Miletus and Tralles/Seleukeia concerning *sumpoliteia* between the cities in 218/7 BC, where, among the various stipulations and clauses, Tralles undertakes to send *theōroi* to Miletus to contribute sacrifice to ‘Didymean Apollo the archegete of the kin[sh]ip’; the sending of Milesian *theōroi* to Tralles is not part of this asymmetrical agreement.<sup>39</sup> A related case is that of the *sumpoliteia*-decree between Mantinea and Helisson, which prescribes that Helisson is to send a *theāros* to Mantinea ‘like the other cities.’ This could indicate that *theāroi* from towns amalgamated with Mantinea sent delegates to a common festival. However, since we know that Mantinea had magistrates called *theāroi* anyway, the possibility arises that the *theāros* sent from Helisson participated in this body, along with ones sent from other cities. All the surviving evidence for the use of *theōroi* in such structures is Hellenistic, but it is not impossible that such things were going on earlier. As I suggested in Chapter 8, one of the possible explanations for the ‘magistrate-*theōros*’, already attested in the sixth century BC, is precisely that it arose from the practice of delegate-*theōroi* from different communities taking part in common councils at festivals.<sup>40</sup>

At the other end of the scale, attempts were made in the late fourth and perhaps the early third centuries BC to set up leagues covering the whole Greek world. One such was the League of Corinth, established by Philip II in 338/7 BC, another was the so-called Hellenic League, set up by Antigonus and Demetrius in 302 BC. The charter for the latter provided for regular meetings for a council (*sunhedrion*) attended by councillors (*sunhedroi*)<sup>41</sup> and Louis Robert made a strong case for its first meeting coinciding with the Isthmian Games of 302 BC.<sup>42</sup> In that case, the *sunhedroi* would have been identical to the *theōroi* who attended the Games.<sup>43</sup> Meetings of the earlier League of Corinth may well have been arranged to coincide with the

<sup>38</sup> Examples in Bousquet (1965).

<sup>39</sup> The texts are *Milet* I.143a, 10–11 (decree of Miletus) and *Milet* I.143b, 64–5 = *I. Tralles* 20 (decree of Tralles). The Milesian decree mentions the sending of a *pompē* as well (did the Milesians want more than the Trallians were prepared to give?). For the date, see *Milet* VI, 176–7; and see the discussion in Gawantka (1975: 11–20).

<sup>40</sup> §8.3.2. <sup>41</sup> *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>.68, 66–70; Billows (1990:228–30).

<sup>42</sup> Robert (1946a:26), basing this on Plut. *Dem.* 25.3 and a new interpretation of the Athenian decree for Adeimantos, *SEG* 14.58, 12; further references in Ferguson (1948:122); Ferguson does not seem to have been aware of Robert’s article, but came to identical conclusions.

<sup>43</sup> Robert *ibid.*, following Kaerst (1897:529); so Ferguson (1948:125): ‘(t)he coincidence of the meeting and the celebration made it possible for the synedroi and the liberated areas to be also accredited representatives of their cities to the festival (*theōroi*) and for the *theōroi* from cities not yet liberated to be unofficial *synedroi*’.

enactment of a common-Greek festival in a similar way, although no clear evidence for this survives.<sup>44</sup>

A ‘common council (*sunhedrion*) of the Greeks’ is also attested at Plataea, at least as early as the mid-third century BC, where it accompanied a sacrifice and *agon* in honour of Zeus Eleutherios and Homonoia.<sup>45</sup> Plutarch says that the Greeks sent ‘advisers (*probouloi*) and *theōroi*’ there every year after the Persian Wars, that a meeting of the Greek council was held there every year, with the Eleutheria festival being celebrated every fourth year; there was also a yearly commemorative ritual in the winter.<sup>46</sup> The Eleutheria clearly changed greatly over the centuries: by Plutarch’s time, it had taken on some new elements, including the so-called Dialogos, an exchange of speeches in which representatives of Athens and Sparta made competing claims to lead the procession.<sup>47</sup> It would be surprising if his ‘advisers and *theōroi*’ were part of the festival in the fifth century, but they could well go back to the late fourth century, or perhaps the third.<sup>48</sup> Probably we should understand that the *probouloi* attended the *sunhedrion* every year, and the *theōroi* (who are distinct) came along additionally to the festival every fourth year.<sup>49</sup>

#### 15.4 *Theōroi* and ambassadors

Earlier on, I cited two inscriptions with the formula *presbeutēs kai theōros*,<sup>50</sup> which seems to imply that the same person serves

<sup>44</sup> Aeschin. 3.255 refers to *to sunhedrion to tōn Hellēnōn* taking place a few days before the Pythian festival of 330 BC, which Kaerst (1897:526–8) suggested might be a meeting of the Corinthian League (527: ‘Ich glaube, dass allerdings die Gesandten des hellenischen Bundes bei den Pythien zusammenkamen, aber nicht als Bundesgerichtshof, sondern als offizielle Theilnehmer an der Feier als solcher’). He sees festival delegates acting as a council also in Aeschines’ account (3.124) of the *ekklēsiā* at the Pulaia of 339 BC. He also suggests that the *sunhedrion* mentioned by Diod. Sic. 17.48.6, which voted honours for Alexander after the Battle of Issos, took place at the Isthmian Games of that year. For common-Greek *sunhedria* earlier in the fourth century see S. Perlman (1985).

<sup>45</sup> Decree for Glaukon of Athens: Étienne and Piérart (1975:25–6).

<sup>46</sup> Plut. *Arist.* 19, 7; 21.1–2.

<sup>47</sup> For the Dialogos Ritual, see Robertson (1986). <sup>48</sup> See §16.2, p.269.

<sup>49</sup> Contrast the view of Robertson (1986:91n.17) that the *theōroi* went to the commemorative ritual in Maimakterion in winter and the *probouloi* to the council meeting in Metageitnion. In this context, notice also IG.2<sup>2</sup>.2788, 18–24, a rhetorical composition perhaps from the end of the second century BC (though see Spawforth (2012:134–8)), which may have formed part of the ‘Dialogos’, a speaker, apparently the city of Athens itself, describes *theōroi* from the Greek cities appealing to Athens during the festival to lead them against the barbarians; see Robertson (1986:98); Chaniotis (1988a:6) following Day (1980:175–8) prefers the view that it refers to Athenian festivals like the Panathenaia; see SEG 36.237 for further references.

<sup>50</sup> Moschion: p.254; Ios: pp.256–7.

simultaneously as ambassador and *theōros*. So too Matrophanes of Sardes, who is renewing the relationship between Delphi and his home town, is called *theopropos kai presbeutēs*, indicating that he combines his duty as oracle delegate with that of negotiator setting up the new relationship with Delphi.<sup>51</sup> The same double formula occurs a few other times in the context of delegates issuing invitations to festivals, which seems to cover what is perceived as a double role as an ambassador making arrangements for the festival and a sacred envoy.<sup>52</sup> Just as often, the term for festival announcer is the simple *presbeutēs*, as many times in the acceptance decrees for Magnesia.<sup>53</sup>

Conceptually, *presbeutai* and *theōroi* have a lot in common in so far as their duties have to do with travelling and having contact with other cities. However, they differ in so far as *theōroi* are restricted to contexts that have something to do with the gods (*theoi*) or festivals (*theōriai*). Thus, in an era when Demetrius and Antigonos were given divine status, it seemed appropriate to call delegates sent to liaise with them *theōroi* instead of *presbeutai*.<sup>54</sup> But the two concepts are similar enough that it would not be surprising if *presbeutēs* were found to have been occasionally used for a delegate visiting a sanctuary, just as it was sometimes used for festival announcers; there are no certain attestations of that, though the verb *presbeuō* is occasionally found in such contexts in the Roman period.<sup>55</sup> Usually the terms are distinguished, however, as in a decree from Magnesia on the Maeander, where a decision to give an award to the Dionysiac Artists of the Hellespont is brought to Teos by Magnesian *theōroi* who are attending a sacrifice there, and then the Artists send

<sup>51</sup> *SG*<sup>3</sup> 548, 2 (App.#D14). In one of the Delphic decrees for the Marathonian Tetrapolis, delegates who renew the relationship are identified as *πρεσβευταί*. Compare also the decree for Herodas of Priene, *I.Priene* 109.53, 57–60 (see on App.#E4), which, at least in Hiller von Gaertringen's restorations, says that when the Olympic festival was taking place, Herodas cared for all the things that have to do with the gods (i.e. served a *θεωρός*), and was also appointed a *πρεσβευτής* for the Eleans.

<sup>52</sup> τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς [κ]αὶ θεωροὺς: *IG*7.4139, 24–5; *πρεσβευταί*...οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ θεωροί: *IG*7.4138, 1–3; cf. also *IG*7.4141, 3–4, 4146, 2–3. For the combination cf. also RigsbyA89, 33–4; *IG*12.5.7 (see above). The same formula is used of the announcers for Antiochos IV's festival at Daphne by *Plb.* 30.25.1 (= *Athn.* 5.195a).

<sup>53</sup> For Magnesia, see RigsbyA93.2, 101.19, 103.3 etc; also *SEG* 38.812A,16 (Knidos); *FD* 3.241 (Sardes). *Presbeutai* may also request another city or sanctuary that their city be allowed to send a delegation to a sanctuary. See the decree of Hermione for Asine: *IG*4.679.18.

<sup>54</sup> *Plut. Dem.* 11.

<sup>55</sup> The decree of Antoninus Pius for Barca = App.#G4, 84; and a record from Claros: Macridy (1912:nos.16, 12). Compare also *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.1330, 49–51 = Aneziri A3, where the Athenian Dionysiac Artists, writing to King Ariarathes V of Cappadocia, anticipate him sending a *πρεσβεία* and say that the implied *πρεσβευτής* is to be lodged with a *θεωρόδοκος*.



*presbeutai* to Magnesia to announce that *theōroi* have been formally crowned; *presbeutai* are preferred to *theōroi* here because no sacrifice or festival was involved.<sup>56</sup>

Despite these differences, someone with the experience and status of a *theōros* might well make a good *presbeutēs*.<sup>57</sup> The same people can perform both activities, like Kallias of Sphettos, who undertook both *presbeiai* and *theōria* to Alexandria, or Moskhion, who acted on behalf of Priene in Syria in both roles on different occasions, or Eupolemos of Rhodes, who served as an ambassador to Augustus and was also *theōros* to the Aktia.<sup>58</sup> This easy combination of these two roles is formalised in a decree of the League of Athena Ilios (early first century BC), which lays down that if the League needs to send ambassadors, they are to be drawn from the *theōroi* appointed to attend its festival at Ilion.<sup>59</sup>

The same convertibility between religious delegates and ambassadors is illustrated by Polybius' account of the crisis in Egypt in 169 BC during the so-called Sixth Syrian War, when some Athenian (*arkhi*)*theōroi* were apparently subpoenaed to take part in a critical episode of international diplomacy. In retaliation for an abortive attack on Syria, Antiochus IV had occupied much of the Delta and Memphis, where he was holding prisoner his nephew the young pharaoh Ptolemy Philometor, while Philometor's young brother (the future Ptolemy Physcon) had emerged as the nominal head of state in Alexandria, backed by powerful advisers. Forced to conduct emergency negotiations with Antiochus, the government of Alexandria co-opted members of *presbeiai* and *theōriai* and other likely suspects who happened to be in town. Polybius helpfully gives us a list of these:<sup>60</sup>

a *presbeia* from the Achaeans, whose aim was to renew friendly relations;  
a *presbeia* from the Achaeans about the *Antigoneia*-festival;<sup>61</sup>  
a *presbeia* from Athens about a present, headed by Demaratos;

<sup>56</sup> *I.Magnesia* 89.

<sup>57</sup> Nachtergaele (1977:354–5); Olshausen (1974:311–37) classes *theōroi* as a subset of Hellenistic diplomats.

<sup>58</sup> Kallias: *SEG* 28.60, 72–3; Moskhion: §10.3; Eupolemos: *SEG* 39.752 = App.#F2.

<sup>59</sup> *I.Ilion* 10, 39–40; see §4.3.2, p.61. <sup>60</sup> Plb. 28.19. Habicht (1992:79–80).

<sup>61</sup> Probably the festival originally set up by Aratus of Sicyon in honour of Antigonus III Doson of Macedon. See Plut. *Arat.*45.2; *Cleom.*16.5 with Lippold (1923:2535). An Achaean *theōriā* visited Alexandria in 215 BC; see App.#D15.3. The use of the term *presbeia* rather than a *theōriā* for this embassy seems to demand an explanation (see Boesch (1908:7n.3), but it is not clear what it is.



a *theōriā* from Athens about the (Greater) Panathenaia, headed by Kallias the pancratist, presumably announcing the festival;<sup>62</sup>  
 a *theōriā* from Athens about the Mysteries, headed by Kleostratos, also presumably announcing the festival.

These, along with a few other individuals, were duly dispatched up the Canobic branch of the Nile to an unknown meeting point, where, after being lavishly entertained, a number of them (not, as it happens, the *theōroi*) pleaded with Antiochus to back down – unsuccessfully, as it turned out. One aim of including *theōriai* in this multinational peace embassy could have been to provide religious respectability, and in particular to conjure up the atmosphere of the Panhellenic truces which these delegates would have announced (this could still be true even if the time of the actual truce had passed). But the fact that both the *theōriai* listed were Athenian is unlikely to be accidental, and no doubt reflects the city's cultural and religious prestige and its political influence at this time.

\* \* \*

In this chapter, I have discussed three specific contexts – empires, federations and diplomacy – in which the association between *theōroi* and interstate politics seems particularly marked. We should not, however, lose sight of the broad political significance which – implicitly or explicitly – seems to attach to almost all *theōriā* (see §15.1). In the next chapter, I look at an aspect which also involves interstate politics – the relation between *theōriā* and Hellenism.

<sup>62</sup> Walbank (1957–79:3.354–5); Habicht (1992:79–80). The *theōroi* concerned with the Panathenaia (held in 170 BC) had most likely stayed on longer than they needed to (Boesch (1917:138n.2)).

## 16 | Hellenism, Panhellenism and common sanctuaries

### 16.1 The common sanctuaries

*Theōroi* and *theōriā* are most often encountered in the context of the Panhellenic sanctuaries, which ancient sources tend to identify as ‘common Greek’. Thus, in Herodotus’ account of the address the Athenians made to the Spartans in 480 BC, they pick on three features that unite all Greeks: common race/language; the ‘common foundations of the gods and sacrifices’; and common customs. The Peace of Nikias, as reported by Thucydides, has a clause guaranteeing access to ‘the common sanctuaries’ (*ta hiera ta koina*). In the next century, Plato, in a passage acknowledging the need for his utopian city of Magnesia to engage in the Greek festival culture, talks of ‘sacrifices and spectacles (*theōriai*) common to the Greeks and the other rites they share’.<sup>1</sup>

In the fifth century, the ‘common foundations of the gods’ would probably be the sites of the four great festivals, as well as Dodona, Eleusis, Delos and also Samothrace, despite its non-Greek associations. The remote oracle of Ammon, though it attracted plenty of *theōroi*, starting in the mid-fifth century, was probably never considered a common-Greek sanctuary in the same way, partly because not all Greeks will have used it and partly because those that did must have shared it with other ethnic groups.<sup>2</sup>

The force of the words ‘common’ and ‘share’ here is not that the sanctuaries were commonly owned, because by the logic of polis-religion the owner was always a particular city-state or political authority, great or small. The main idea is that of common use of the sanctuary, which breaks down into two related components:

- i. Unrestricted access. Whereas access to many cults in individual cities seems to have been restricted to their citizens or sometimes members of an ethnic group,<sup>3</sup> in the common sanctuaries there were no

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 8.144.2: θεῶν ἰδρύματα τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι; Thuc. 5.18 (see pp.52–3); Pl. *Lg.* 12, 947a: τῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας κοινῇ θυσιῶν καὶ θεωριῶν καὶ ὄσων ἂν ἐτέρων κοινωνῶσιν ἱερῶν.

<sup>2</sup> For the background, Kuhlmann (1988:63–4).

<sup>3</sup> See §12.4, p.201. Krauter (2004:80–94) provides a good survey of the evidence.

restrictions on who could use them. It may have been necessary in some circumstances to engage the services of a local *proxenos* in order to be able to perform a sacrifice, but that does not alter the basic principle.<sup>4</sup>

- ii. Shared activities. These were places where participants from all Greek cities could take part in the same festivals, sharing common activities such as joint sacrifices, and watching the athletic competitions.<sup>5</sup> Occasional common dedications may have been made to memorialise collective military victories, such as the Serpent Column at Delphi after Plataea.<sup>6</sup> Overall, however, there the element of 'Panhellenic' unity in ritual was rather small.<sup>7</sup> Far more dedications (though at Olympia and the Isthmos not, apparently, after the mid-fifth century BC) boast of military victories over other Greek states, and the general mood was much more that of rivalry between cities, and a desire by each of them to display their own wealth and power, albeit presupposing a Panhellenic audience.<sup>8</sup>

While these sanctuaries were common for Greeks, for non-Greeks their use was in one respect at least restricted, namely in that to compete at the Olympics it was necessary to be of demonstrably Greek origins, as we know from Herodotus' account of Alexander I of Macedon, and one might expect that a similar principle applied at other big competitions.<sup>9</sup> While there is no direct evidence that the sending of *theōroi* was ever restricted in the same way, the close association between *theōria* and that most Greek of institutions, the polis, might well have had the effect of restricting it to Greeks, and a restriction is also suggested by the apparent expectation that participants at these festivals should be united by ties of kinship (*sungeneia*).<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, there seems to be evidence for states that were not wholly

<sup>4</sup> See §12.4, pp.201–2.      <sup>5</sup> See §12.4.

<sup>6</sup> Serpent column: Steinhart (1997); other Panhellenic dedications: Gauer (1968); Heine Nielsen (2007); Cf. also Holloway (1967:100) on the metopes of Libon's temple of Zeus at Olympia: 'Whether the visitor came from Asia Minor or Thrace, Thessaly or Boiotia (the birthplace of Herakles), Attica or the Peloponnese, there was something that he could call his own'.

<sup>7</sup> That is to say, there is no sign of the intense *communitas* associated with modern Catholic pilgrimage traditions by Turner (1974); they would be better described as showing 'contestation' of the sort described by Sallnow (1981) in his critique of Turner.

<sup>8</sup> Morgan (1990:18); Mylonopoulos (2011:56); Siewert (1996). Cf. Plut. *Pyth.or.*15, 401d.

<sup>9</sup> Hdt. 5.22. On Greek birth as a condition for taking part, see Hall (2002:154–8); on the gradual weakening of this principle over the centuries, see van Nijf (1999:177). According to Hdt. 2.160, the Egyptians were asked to participate in the Olympic Games in the sixth century BC: see Decker (1974).

<sup>10</sup> For *sungeneia*, see §16.2, §16.2, pp.267, 271.

Greek joining major festival networks, at least in the Hellenistic period, and non-Greeks could certainly send delegates to consult oracles, as Croesus is supposed to have done.<sup>11</sup>

## 16.2 *Theōria* and Panhellenic memory in the Hellenistic world

While communal rituals performed by visiting *theōroi* at common sanctuaries seem to take a second place to those performed on behalf of individual cities, a rather different impression is given by some literary sources, which attest a much more intense ritual cooperation between representatives of different Greek states, particularly in the context of threats of barbarian invasion. Thus, the sophist Gorgias wrote and presumably delivered an ‘Olympian Speech’, apparently calling for concord (*homonoia*) between the Greeks.<sup>12</sup> Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* conjures up the same atmosphere in the speech in which she encourages the Greek women to embark on a strategy of Panhellenic sexual abstention:<sup>13</sup>

And now I have got you here, I mean to cast well-deserved reproaches on you both alike. You who at Olympia, at the Gates, at Pytho – how many others could I mention if there was need to extend the list? – purify the altars, like members of one family (*sungeneis*), with a single sprinkling of lustral water, are now engaged, though enemies are at hand with barbarous hosts, in destroying Greek men and Greek cities). (Tr. Sommerstein)

As contributing factors to Greek identity, Aristophanes singles out affinity (*sungeneia*) and common sanctuaries, two out of the three criteria mentioned by Herodotus.<sup>14</sup> Surprisingly, the common sanctuaries here include Pylai, whose clientele would normally be thought of as the member-states of the Delphic Amphiktiony, which, though covering a broad swathe of Greece, is less than fully Panhellenic.<sup>15</sup> In any case, the primary reference must be to the activities of *theōroi* and other delegates at these places.

Intense Panhellenic spirit also surfaces in accounts of the Olympic festival around the same period. Diodorus of Sicily, writing of the Olympics of

<sup>11</sup> See further §16.4.

<sup>12</sup> Thériault (1996:103–4); Gorgias VS82B8a = Plut. *Conj. praec.* 43, 144 BC; Philostr. VS1.493.

<sup>13</sup> *Lys.*1128–34. A somewhat similar idea of togetherness in the face of an external adversary is found in vivid fragment of a comedy by the Middle Comic poet Heniochus, *PCG*5.556, fr.5.6–11, where the cities of Greece have come to Olympia to sacrifice the freedom sacrifice (*eleutheria*), but this moment of cohesion breaks down, as the cities quarrel over political ideology.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Hdt. 8.144.2, cited in n.1 above.

<sup>15</sup> See §4.4.2.

388 BC (drawing from historians closer to the events, such as Ephorus or Timaeus?), says the Greeks joined together to resist the participation of Dionysius II of Syracuse.<sup>16</sup> The festival fell in the middle of his campaign against the Italic League, shortly after the Syracusans, allied to the barbarian Lucanians, had defeated Thurii, and, if we trust Diodorus' chronology, during the siege of Rhegium. The Syracusan delegation was led not by Dionysius himself, but by his brother, the aptly named Thearides, who had been a prominent general in the war. According to Diodorus, the *theōriā* was a disaster: the Greeks ridiculed the tyrant's poems, his chariots crashed into each other during the race, and on the return voyage the ship carrying the *theōroi* was wrecked near Tarentum. This was also the occasion when Lysias, following in the footsteps of Gorgias, is supposed to have delivered his *Olympian Speech*, in which he urged the Greeks not to 'receive at the sacred contest the *theōroi* sent out from that most impious tyranny'. A surviving fragment of the speech, generally regarded as genuine, confirms its strongly Panhellenic spirit, recalling how Herakles had founded the competition as a 'beginning of mutual friendship' for the Greeks, warning of the threat of Dionysius' tyranny in the West balancing that of the Persian Empire in the East, and appealing to Sparta as champion of Greek liberty.<sup>17</sup>

Two Olympiads later, in what was in fact the hundredth enactment of the festival since its foundation in 776 BC, Isocrates in his *Panegyricus* used *theōriā* as an oxymoronic metaphor for a Panhellenic military expedition against Persia:

This war alone is greater than peace, resembling a *theōriā* more than an expedition, suiting the interests both of those who want quiet and those who desire to fight.

The same process of *theōriā* which brought representatives of all the Greek city-states together at the great festivals is to be sublimated into an instrument of foreign policy, a 'crusade' against the Eastern barbarian, both Panhellenic and also divinely sanctioned.<sup>18</sup>

In the Hellenistic period, kings and leagues who sought to establish new festivals, justified them on the grounds of their contributions to Greek security and civilisation. The claim to be the saviour of Greece was a diplomatic tool of great value in the power politics of the third century BC, when Greek culture was a contested inheritance. The year 283/2 BC saw the first

<sup>16</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.109; 15.7; historical context in Sanders (1987:11).

<sup>17</sup> Lys. 33. On the speech, Flower (2000:93–4); Thériault (1996:104).

<sup>18</sup> Isocr. *Paneg.* 182. Μόνος γὰρ οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος εἰρήνης κρείττων ἐστίν, θεωρία μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ στρατεία προσεικώς, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ συμφέρων καὶ τοῖς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τοῖς πολεμεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. Cf. the word *panēguris* used of the Persian army in Timotheus *Persai* 171.

enactment of a new festival, organised by Ptolemy Philadelphos at Alexandria in honour of his father, Ptolemy Soter.<sup>19</sup> Hellenism figured in the propaganda for this, as can be seen from the introductory clauses of the decree of the Nesiotic League from Nikouria, which seems to date from one of the subsequent enactments:<sup>20</sup>

Since the king and saviour Ptolemy had been the cause of many good things for the Islanders and the rest of the Greeks, by liberating cities, restoring laws, establishing the ancestral constitution for all, and relieving them of taxes, and since now King Ptolemy, succeeding to the kingdom after his father, continues to show the same goodwill and concern to the Islanders and the rest of the Greeks, and is making a sacrifice for his father and organising an isolympic contest which is athletic, musical and equestrian, showing continued piety to the gods and goodwill to his ancestors, and is inviting to this the Islanders and the rest of the Greeks to decree the contest isolympic...

Ptolemy Soter's aggressive policy in the Aegean and mainland Greece in the years 310–308 BC could be presented as a process of 'liberating' the Greeks from Macedonian rule.<sup>21</sup> Here, the focus is on traditional Hellenic values: freedom, law and ancestral constitutions, and the agenda is to use the festival to project Soter and Philadelphos as the guardians of Greek traditions and of political independence.

A few years after the first celebration of the Ptolemaia, the Gauls under Brennos, who had been advancing through northern Greece, reached Delphi, where they were apparently defeated and repulsed by the Aetolians. The attack and the victory were quickly interpreted as having great significance for the Greek world at large. (Parallels were clearly drawn with repulse of part of Xerxes' army from Delphi two centuries earlier).<sup>22</sup> In the spring of 278 BC, Kos voted that *theōroi* already en route to the Pythia should be provided with money to sacrifice a golden-horned bull at Delphi, while a similar celebration took place back on the island. The decree, while it manages not to mention the Aetolians at all, refers several times to

<sup>19</sup> For the date, see above §15.2, p.256.

<sup>20</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 390, 11–26. See Bagnall (1976:140n.84). It cannot be from 283/2 BC because the islanders are invited to Samos, which was in the control of Lysimachus until the Battle of Koroupedion (281 BC); see T. L. Shear (1978:37); Hauben (2004:39). Thus, the likeliest occasion would perhaps be the second enactment in 279/8 BC, but it might have been later. Hazzard (2000:53–7) argued for 262 BC, for which see *SEG* 53.907. Note that the Delphic Amphiktionny accepted an invitation to the Ptolemaia in the 260s (*CID*4.40).

<sup>21</sup> See the account of Diod. Sic. 20.37, 2; relevant here is Ptolemy's management of the Isthmia of 308 BC, for which see §15.2, pp.255–6.

<sup>22</sup> Hdt. 8.211–26; Nachtergaele (1977:147–9, 161–4).

the Greeks, and twice to ‘the salvation of the Greeks’ (*hē tōn Hellānōn sōtēria*).<sup>23</sup> Subsequently, a new ‘Soteria’ festival was established at Delphi, to begin with an Amphiktionic festival, perhaps dating from 260s, and then a much bigger crown-festival under Aetolian control, which we now know dates from 250/49 BC.<sup>24</sup> A number of decrees survive accepting the invitation made by the Aetolians at that time, and these show that they marketed it as ‘a reminder of the salvation of the Greeks and the victory over the barbarians who attacked the sanctuary of Apollo, common to the Greeks, and attacked the Greeks’.<sup>25</sup> In view of the similarities with the Persian campaign two centuries before, it could even be argued that the Soteria allows the Greeks indirectly to celebrate that earlier victory in a manner that had not been possible before owing to the fragmentary nature of the tradition.<sup>26</sup>

The idea of commemoration of Greek unity in the face of a common enemy may go back to the remodelling of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataea under Macedonian influence. This cult is supposed to have been set up after the Persian Wars,<sup>27</sup> and much later sources say that a festival there attended by *theōroi* from all over Greece was established at that time along with a Panhellenic council. However, there is no proof of a common-Greek festival there until the mid-third century BC, the date of a decree of the Hellenic League for Glaukon of Athens, which mentions a festival in the name of both Zeus Eleutherios and the abstract deity Homonoia or ‘Concord’ (cf. Gorgias’ speech).<sup>28</sup> Some have thought that the decree for Glaukon coincides with the beginning of the festival, others that it started under Macedonian patronage after the Battle of Chaeronea.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup>398 = *IG*12.4.68 = Nachtergaele.A1.

<sup>24</sup> Nachtergaele (1977) is still the best guide; on the new dating for the archonship of Polyuektos, see §3.4, p.45.

<sup>25</sup> Khios, Nachtergaele.A22.5–7 (= *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 402, *FD* 3.215); very similar language in the Athenian decree, Nachtergaele.A21, 9–14 (= *SIG*<sup>3</sup>408, *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.680). So the decrees of Tenos, Nachtergaele.A23, 4–6 (= *FD* 1.482); and of an unknown location: Nachtergaele.A24, 7–9 (*FD* 1.481). The decree from Smyrna, Nachtergaele.A25 (= *FD* 1.483) has slightly different rhetoric, mentioning *inter alia* the epiphany of the deity.

<sup>26</sup> Rutherford (forthcoming c).

<sup>27</sup> Thuc. 2.71.2; Schachter (1981–94:3.126–32); Étienne and Piérart (1975); Raaflaub (2004:102–4).

<sup>28</sup> See §15.3, p.260. Étienne and Piérart (1975).

<sup>29</sup> Former view: Étienne and Piérart (1975); latter: West (1977), who mentions traditions that Philip and Alexander were interested in Plataea; Thériault (1996:115) inclines towards the former. The latter possibility would make it just about contemporaneous with the latest possible date of the fragment of a comedy by the poet of the Middle Comedy, Heniochos, *PCG*5:556 fr.5, 6 (see n.13 above) which talks about Greek cities at Olympia sacrificing ἐλευθέρια: see Kassel and Austin at *PCG*5.557.

If we fast forward to the second century BC, we find ruling powers still using common-Greek festival culture to promote themselves as guardians of traditional Greek culture. Take, for example, the festival organised by Aemilius Paullus at Amphipolis in 167 BC to celebrate victory over the Macedonians at Pydna. According to Livy's account, this was organised on the lines of typical common-Greek festival with delegations sent to Asia Minor and the kings to announce it.<sup>30</sup> On one level, it was a demonstration of Roman power, but it is easy to imagine (though none of our sources explicitly says this) that Aemilius Paullus used the festival to present him and Rome as the saviours of Greek civilisation, as the Aetolians had done eighty years before. The festival at Amphipolis prompted a swift reaction from Antiochus IV of Syria who, according to Polybius, organised a massive festival at Daphne near Antioch the very next year, sending out invitations 'so that the Greeks were very eager to visit him'.<sup>31</sup> The text of Polybius says that 300 *theōriai* attended, not an impossible number (it is about half the total number of cities listed in the DTL), though the transmitted reading *theōriai* in the text is not certain.<sup>32</sup> However, although the invitation goes out to the Greeks, Polybius' account suggests that the festival was arranged in such a way as to communicate the religious and cultural diversity of the Seleucid Empire; in other words, its message was radically different from that of a common-Greek festival.<sup>33</sup>

Another innovation in the third century BC is that cities that established new festivals, often as part of an attempt to get their city or sanctuary recognised as 'inviolable' (*asūlos*),<sup>34</sup> emphasised in their invitations that the festivals were directed towards 'the Greeks'. Thus, Miletus, when it voted around 196

<sup>30</sup> Livy. 45.32, 9; Plut. *Aem. Paul.*28; Ferrary (1988:560).

<sup>31</sup> Plb. 30.25 (from Ath. 5.194–5 and 10.439); Livy 45.32.8; Ath. 5.194c–195f; Downey (1961: 97–8); Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993:220–1). Geller (1991) redated the Daphne festival to 169/8 BC on the basis of a Babylonian festival calendar, which mentions that the 'citizens' (Akkadian <sup>lu</sup>pu-li-te-e = Greek *politai*) organised a procession (pu-up-pe-e = *pompē*) and ritual? 'according to Greek design', but this Greek procession in Babylon does not have to be the festival at Daphne: see Gera and Horowitz (1997); van der Spek (1987: 67–8). For a Greek theatre in a Seleucid Akkadian source, see van der Spek (2001).

<sup>32</sup> 30.25.12 (= Ath. 5.195a); see the discussion of Walbank (1957–79:3.452).

<sup>33</sup> Daphne and Hellenicity: Bunge (1976:68–9), who suggests that the 'Antiocheians from Jerusalem' might have sent a *theōriā* (see §16.4); Mittag (2006:282–95). Note in particular Plb. 30.25.13–15 (= Ath. 195a): πάντων γὰρ τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις λεγομένων ἢ νομιζομένων θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, προσέτι δὲ ἡρώων εἰδωλα διήγετο, τὰ μὲν κεχρυσωμένα, τὰ δ' ἡμφιεσμένα στολαῖς διαχύροις. καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις οἱ προσήκοντες μῦθοι κατὰ τὰς παραδεδομένας ἱστορίας ἐν διασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι παρέκειντο ('The number of statues is impossible to state; for of all the gods, demi-gods and heroes spoken of or worshipped among men, statues were carried, some gilded, others clad in golden raiments, and the myths appropriate to all of these according to traditional accounts lay along side, in rich materials').

<sup>34</sup> See §3.4, p.46.



BC to transform the Didymeia into an *agōn stephanitēs*, stated that it would ‘welcome the Greeks to it’.<sup>35</sup> And when in 208 BC Magnesia on the Maeander decided on the advice of the Delphic oracle to establish a pentaeteric festival in honour of Artemis Leukophruea, it explicitly extended its appeal for recognition of festival and inviolability to all the Greeks.<sup>36</sup> The requests were supported by the claim that the city or its sanctuary or both had a special place in Greek tradition. Thus, the decrees relating to the Magnesians Leukophruea often dwell on the services of Magnesia ‘to the Greeks’, as we see in the decree from Corcyra that records that the announcers:<sup>37</sup>

...explained the epiphany of the goddess and the affinity (*sungeneia*) that exists between the cities and the good services done by their ancestors to the temple at Delphi and to the Greeks through Apollo's oracles and the poets and prestigious decrees they have in the cities, and invited us and thought it was right for us, by accepting, just like the Greek cities, to share in the sacrifice and the contest and send *theōroi* every four years to share in the sacrifice and the other honours they have ...

So the Magnesians had three main arguments: first, the epiphany of the goddess, an argument from religion; second, affinity (*sungeneia*) between Magnesia and other Greek cities; and third, reciprocity, in so far as acceptance of the request would reward the good services done by the ancestors of Magnesia to Delphi and the Greeks. There is also a trace of a fourth argument deriving from peer pressure: the other Greek cities have done it, so you should as well. The same *theōroi* who visited Corcyra also called at Epidamnus, and the decree relating to this has more detail:<sup>38</sup>

...(they spoke), indicating the epiphany of Artemis and the help supplied by their ancestors to the sanctuary at Delphi when they defeated in battle the barbarians who attacked it to pillage the property of the god, and the good service that they performed for the *koinon* of the Cretans when they resolved the civil war, and they also indicated services done to the rest of the Greeks by means of divine oracles, poets and historians who have written of the achievements of the Magnesians ...

Particularly striking here is the use of primary sources: the Magnesians seem to have carried a sort of mini-library with them, and perhaps they even performed the poetic texts for the benefit of their audience.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> IG12.4.153 = SIG<sup>3</sup> 590, 21; *IClaros* 53. <sup>36</sup> See §5.2.2, pp.77–8.

<sup>37</sup> *I.Magnesia* 44, 13–20 = RigsbyA94.

<sup>38</sup> *I.Magnesia* 46 = RigsbyA96.

<sup>39</sup> For performing delegates, see Chaniotis (1988b). For the sort of semi-historical material the Magnesians might have had at their disposal, see Rigsby (1996:181) on *I.Magnesia* 17 (foundation story) and *I.Magnesia* 20–1 (decree of the Cretan cities). A decree relating to Magnesia's membership of the Roman Panhellenion (IG2<sup>2</sup>.1091) describes the Magnesians as the ‘first of the Greeks’ to have crossed to Asia.

### 16.3 The Panhellenion: only authentic Greeks need apply

Even in the Roman period, when the main focus of so many new festivals was imperial cult, some festivals were still celebrating Panhellenic identity. Indeed, this was encouraged by the Roman imperial authorities who, like Macedonians before them, skilfully appropriated for their own use the very Panhellenic religious sentiment which owed its origins to a movement of resistance against foreign invasion.<sup>40</sup> At Plataea, the festival of Zeus Eleuthérios and Homonoia flourished as never before; in this period, it included a race in armour, the winner of which was proclaimed 'best of the Greeks.'<sup>41</sup>

Important too is the Panhellenion, an Athens-based institution set up under the patronage of Hadrian around AD 131–2. Its primary purpose seems to have been that of honouring the imperial cult of Hadrian, though alongside that there was also a common council meeting or *sunhedrion*. The representatives of member states – called Panhellēnes or *sunhedroi* (the

lier),<sup>42</sup> – apparently wore crowns decorated with busts of the emperor.<sup>43</sup> In AD 137, a regular athletic competition was added: the Panhellenia.<sup>44</sup> The attested member cities seem to be located mostly in the Aegean and Asia Minor, which suggests that the membership was not truly Panhellenic *qua* representative of the whole Greek world, as traditionally imagined.<sup>45</sup> However, perceived Greek identity was a necessary condition for membership, and cities had to justify their right to participate, which seems to have come down to demonstrating kinship-ties.<sup>46</sup> Surviving decrees show how several Greek cities of Asia Minor went about doing this, including Magnesia on the Maeander, whose pedigree no one would have doubted, and Cibyra on the border between Caria and Pisidia, whose claim is more questionable.<sup>47</sup> The most complex case is a decree of Hadrian relating to the claim of Ptolemais-Barca in Cyrenaica to become a member, which is reported in a

<sup>40</sup> For the use of the Persian War tradition on Greece in this period, see Spawforth (1994:243–7), id. (2012:103–41).

<sup>41</sup> See Thériault (1996:112–30); Spawforth (2012:130–8, 245); C. P. Jones (1996:45); for the race: Schachter (1981–94:3.140–1).

<sup>42</sup> For the *sunhedroi* in the Panhelleion, see the text from Ptolemais-Barca cited below; for the Hellenic League, §15.3. A new text from Naruka in eastern Locris, IG9<sup>2</sup>.2018.13 (SEG 56.565), uses a third term, θεηκόλος, a term used for the priests in the Panhellenion: see C. P. Jones (2006:155).

<sup>43</sup> Spawforth (2012:250); Riccardi (2007:383). <sup>44</sup> See C. P. Jones (1996:33).

<sup>45</sup> See map in Romeo (2002:23).

<sup>46</sup> See Romeo (2002); C. P. Jones (1999a:118–19); id. (1999b); Spawforth (2012:252–5).

<sup>47</sup> C. P. Jones (1996:38–9).

decree from Cyrene from AD 134/5. The relevant section is this (heavily restored):<sup>48</sup>

[The people of Ptolemais-Barca] must be admitted [to the Panhellenion;] however, they make an unjustified request [in desiring] the same (privileges) [as the people of Cyrene, whose] ancestry is Achaeian and perfectly Dorian. They themselves, though, [are] true-born [Greeks], but got the additional name [of 'Ptolemae]ans' from the fact that [the Macedonians (?)] when they were mas[ters (of the land?)], renamed (resettled, restored?) th[e city. Since therefore the Cyrenaeans are sending two delegates (*sunhedroi*), [it is my decision that the Barcaeans should send only one.] (Trans. C. P. Jones (1996:53))

Here, then, we seem to have two levels of membership: full membership for true Greeks, and half-membership for those whose Hellenic credentials are less impressive. The use of kinship-ties as a criterion for membership of a festival network such as this was by no means new, of course, but there is no precedent for the intense application of the principle for the purpose of excluding cities that did not qualify, or for the two levels of membership.

## 16.4 Non-Greeks and *theōriā*

Although you had to be Greek to compete at the Olympics, Greek sanctuaries did not exclude non-Greeks, and patterns of dedication there in the Archaic period may well indicate that non-Greeks occasionally visited.<sup>49</sup> At the same time, there are several reasons for thinking that sending *theōroi* to the great festivals was also something conceived of as exclusive to Greeks. For one thing, it is closely associated with the polis, a distinctively Greek institution. For another, early texts from Olympia that give the *theōros* a role in supervising athletes gives us reason to think that the *theōros* and the athlete will have been treated in the same way. Finally, many texts talk about sending *theōroi* to a common sanctuary as an expression of common kinship between participants.<sup>50</sup> Since the choice of which states got invited to a festival was made by the sanctuary-authorities who sent out the invitations, it may be that these authorities to some extent acted as the arbiters of who counted as Greek and who did not.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> I follow the revised text of C. P. Jones (1996:47–53) = *SEG* 46.2206; for the inscription as a whole, of which this is lines 8–12, see Reynolds (1978). It also contains Antoninus Pius' letter to Barca, for which see App. §G4.

<sup>49</sup> Hall (2002:95–6). <sup>50</sup> See §16.2, pp.271, 275.

<sup>51</sup> L. Mitchell (2007:63): 'active decisions were made about which cities did have the right to belong'.

Non-Greek *theōroi* rarely occur in the record.<sup>52</sup> They are sometimes found in the distant primeval past: the Hyperborean Maidens, who make up a sort of proto-*theōria* to Delos, Abaris, who comes as a *theōros* to the Attic Proerosia, and Callimachus' Olen, who was a Lycian *theopropos* at Delos.<sup>53</sup> To move to the comparatively recent times, Herodotus represents the kings of Lydia, Alyattes and Croesus, as having sent *theopropoi* (the Lydian term is, of course, unknown) to Delphi; Croesus also sent them to other oracles in Greece, as well as to the *exēgetai* of Telmessus near Halikarnassos; the idea of Lydian *theopropoi* does not seem to have struck anyone as compromising any rule. However, the conventions governing access to oracles may have been different.<sup>54</sup>

Ethnic identity is not always a clear-cut issue in the Mediterranean, however, and in some cases sending *theōroi* may have been a way for a city to present itself as Greek, in order to acquire or consolidate a Greek identity. To take one example, two Etruscan or quasi-Etruscan cities had treasuries at Delphi, and presumably belonged to the Greek festival network. One was the city of Spina in the northern Adriatic, described in some ancient sources as Greek, or a Greek colony (unlikely), though the archaeology suggests that it was Etruscan, albeit 'profoundly Hellenised', with Greek merchants living *in situ*, and that it was most active from the sixth century BC to the third. Here, one might perhaps see the Greek element in the city's population as having been responsible for the setting up of the Delphic treasury and the cultic links that that implies.<sup>55</sup> The other city was Agylla (= Caere), which consulted the Delphic oracle around 540 BC according to Herodotus, and it too may have been to some extent Hellenized at this time.<sup>56</sup> Another Italian city with contacts with Delphi in this period, Rome,

<sup>52</sup> At Samothrace, there are inscriptions in a non-Greek language, and one of these has been thought to be a list of Thracian *theōroi*; see Fraser (1960:120–1n.64): 'the similarity of terminations in many of the names suggests that the words may be proper names, and the inscription a list of *theōroi* or initiates'; Lehmann (1955:100) saw it as a hymn. Among the recorded oracle enquiries from Dodona, there is one in a non-Greek language (LhôteL164), possibly in the North-Picene language from north-west Italy.

<sup>53</sup> Hyperborean Maidens: §7.1; Abaris: §7.2; Olen: §14.3, p.239.

<sup>54</sup> Hdt. 1.19, 1.47–55. Hall (2002:96). Croesus and Delphi: Högemann and Oettinger (2008:7–11); Telmessus: Harvey (1991). Aesch. *Eum.*31–3 and *Hymn. Hom. Ap.*250–3 specify the catchment area of the Delphic oracle as Greece, but they hardly indicate that non-Greeks were banned.

<sup>55</sup> Spina: *IACP* no.85 (J. Wilkes, T. Fischer-Hansen); the quote comes from p.34. On Spina, see Str. 5.1.7, 214c: now a village, formerly a famous Greece city, once a thalassocracy; Pliny *NH*3.120: the former importance of Spina inferred from the size of the 'thesauri' at Delphi; see the discussion of Braccisi (1977:esp.149–52). For an ancient anecdote about a *theōros* from Spina at Delphi: see §10.3.1.

<sup>56</sup> Hdt.1.167. Agylla: Str. 5.2.3, 220; for the treasury, see GD (Site), 231–2. Vatin (1991:235–59) argued that the Etruscan dedication at Delphi (*FD* 4.124–9) had traces of Etruscan script, but most scholars have been sceptical: cf. *SEG* 41.496 with O. Masson in *BE* 1994:no.349.

never had its own treasury, and the expensive offering it made to Delphi in

In one case, we may have evidence of a semi-Hellenised city joining a

Argos, and granted Aspendian *theōroi* privileges.<sup>58</sup> Aspendos had deep Anatolian roots, and even in the fourth century BC the culture there may have been mixed.<sup>59</sup> Robin Lane Fox has recently argued that the context for this initiative of kinship diplomacy was Alexander's harsh treatment of Aspendos when he was in the region in 334–333 BC, after it reneged on the first treaty it made with him. Prior to this, it had claimed to have been founded by the Greek prophet Mopsos, like other cities in south-eastern Anatolia, but now it invented a new tradition that the true founder was Amphilochus, son of the Argive hero Alkmaion. This, they would have reasoned, was more likely to appeal to Alexander, who saw himself as of Argive ancestry and is said to have sacrificed to Amphilochus at Mallos in Cilicia.<sup>60</sup> The decree from Argos shows that the ritual embodiment of this new tradition was henceforth to be the sending by Aspendos of delegates to the great Argive festivals, and the conspicuous privileges bestowed on these by the Argive authorities.

Judging from this document, Aspendos' introduction into the festival orbit of Argos was unproblematic, but sometimes things went less smoothly. When Kos declared its games Panhellenic and its temple inviolable in 242 BC, it sent delegates to a large number of cities, including at least two that were on the borders of the Greek world, and not fully Hellenised.<sup>61</sup> One of

that the Koans had raised concerns about the treatment of Koan merchants in his country.<sup>62</sup> For the second, whose identity is less certain, the evidence is a fragmentary text in unpolished Greek. Its author seems to mention various difficulties for which he has been blamed, and to say that he is una-

queen) recognise Koan inviolability and accept the invitation, and also 'accept the kinship':

<sup>57</sup> See §7.3. <sup>58</sup> SEG 34.282 (App.#C9); see §12.5.

<sup>59</sup> See IACP no.1001, p.1215 (A. G. Keen, T. Fischer-Hansen); Brixhe (1976:193–4, 148–9).

<sup>60</sup> Lane Fox (2008:232–8); Arr. *Anab.*1.25–6.

<sup>61</sup> For the declaration, Rigsby (1996:106).

<sup>62</sup> IG12.4.209 = RigsbyA11; the passage about Koan ships is ll.29–44.

I and my sister ... and our citizens accept both your [proclamation] that has been made for the god and the inviolability, and we also have accepted gladly the kinship as true and worthy of you and us, the best testimony being that of our father, which you have made clear he himself furnished. If any [of the other] Greeks, [making this] a start of friendship, should first proclaim us [kin], we would gladly approve them

and blood ties and choose to preserve them. (Trans. Rigsby (1996:122–3))<sup>63</sup>

What kinship links he had in mind are unknown, but the reference to the

think of himself as Greek. The suggestion has been made that the city was the Cimmerian Bosphorus, situated at the eastern extremity of the Crimea.<sup>64</sup> At this time, the king was Pairisades II, who is known to have been interested in establishing links with Greek powers: we hear of *presbutai* from

In one case, a Greek sanctuary seem to have become obliquely involved in a foreign and probably much older religious network. Carthage is known to have sent regular offerings back to its mother-city of Tyre, destined for the cult of Melqart, known to the Greeks as Herakles, and the chances are that many of the other Phoenician foundations in the Mediterranean did the same thing. To Greek perception, these were Phoenician *theoroi*.<sup>65</sup> The Phoenicians also turned their attention to Greek sanctuaries. The *hieronautai* ('sacred sailors') of Tyre dedicated images of the cities of Tyre and Sidon at Delos, apparently during the reign of Straton I of Sidon (376/70–361/58 BC),<sup>67</sup> while the Delian inventories of 276 BC attest an offering from Byblos, which could have been brought by *hieronautai* or *theōroi*.<sup>68</sup> An unusual verse epitaph from the Piraeus for Antipatros-Shem of Askalon (late fourth

<sup>63</sup> RigsbyA12 = Lücke (2000:SO4e).

<sup>64</sup> The suggestion goes back to Robert and Robert in *BE* 1963:156–7, no.169. Note that the speaker of Isocr. *Trapez.* (392 BC) is from the Bosphorus Kingdom, under King Satyrus. He was not a *theōros*, but claimed to be engaged in *theōriā* (see §9.2). At the western side of the Crimea was Tauric Chersonesos, which seems to have maintained closer relations with Greece.

<sup>65</sup> See E. Diehl s.v. Pairisades (2), *RE* 18.2 (1942) 2425; *presbutai* in Egypt: Bell (1927:5).

<sup>66</sup> Ferjaoui (1993:42–6); Plb. 31.12.11; Quintius Curtius 4.2.10; Arr. *Anab.* 2.24.5 (Καρχηδονίων τινές θεωροὶ εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους κατὰ δὴ τι νόμιμον παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀφικόμενοι). *ID*50 (App.#C2).

<sup>68</sup> Lipinski (2004:166–71); Byblos: *IG*11.2.164B4 with Bruneau (1970:113); background: Hauben (1987). Diod. Sic. 19.2.2, describing events of the mid fourth century BC, mentions a consultation of Delphi by the city of Therma in Sicily, which he implies was Carthaginian at this time. For the possibility of pilgrims from Hellenistic Cyprus in Phoenicia, see Masson (1982).

century BC) also mentions a ‘sacred ship’, and this has led to the speculation that Antipatros-Shem was a *theōros* visiting a Phoenician cult there.<sup>69</sup>

*Theōroi* attending the festival of Melqart in Tyre also figure in a narrative in the Second Book of Maccabees, but this time the *theōroi* are Jewish and the point of the story is that the festival of Herakles-Melqart symbolises Greek civilisation. In the first few decades of the second century BC, and particularly from the start of the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 175 BC, a philhellene party emerged in Jerusalem, led by Jason the High Priest. According to the Second Book of Maccabees, they began to introduce Greek institutions, including a *gymnasion* and the *ephēbeia*; and the Hellenisers in Jerusalem adopted the name ‘Antiocheians’, suggesting that Jerusalem itself was being rebranded as ‘Antiocheia’. In 173 BC, or thereabouts, on the occasion of the celebration in Tyre of the pentaeteric games in honour of Herakles-Melqart (a festival which, significantly, may have been established by Alexander the Great), Jason sent an offering of 300 drachmas to be conveyed to Tyre by a group of what Maccabees 2 calls *theōroi* representing ‘Antiocheians from Jerusalem’. It is possible that some saw this as a traditional act, harking back to the days of Solomon, who, according to the Jewish historian Eupolemus, sent a golden pillar to King Souron in Tyre.<sup>70</sup> But Maccabees 2 reports that the *theōroi* refused to go through with the offering on the grounds that it was impious, and instead spent the money ‘on the construction of triremes’, presumably for the Seleucid king’s fleet. Whatever its historical validity, it can be argued that this text expresses in succinct narrational form the problem of a clash between two religious mentalities: on the one hand, Greek polytheism, where political relations are worked out through the symbolism of sending delegations to pay respects to each others’ gods; and on the other hand, Jewish monotheism, for which the only religious centre worth caring about is the Temple in Jerusalem itself.<sup>71</sup>

## 16.5 *Theōriā and the origins of Hellenicity*

In the last few years, there has been an intense debate about the origins of the idea of a common-Greek identity, usually assumed to be post-Mycenaean. Five contributing factors have been suggested: first,

<sup>69</sup> IG2<sup>2</sup>.8388. Stager (2005:438n.52), who conveniently catalogues scholars who have seen a *theōriā* here, starting with Köhler in IG2.2836 (1888), and including Wolters (1888), Bonnet (1990) and Barbanera (1992:94); to these can be added Xagorari-Gleissner (2009:120).

<sup>70</sup> FGrH723F2.

<sup>71</sup> 2Macc.4,18–19; Mörkholm (1966: 137–9); Hengel (1974:1.73); Abel (1949:335–6); Grainger (1991:118); Hengel (1989:221–2).



shared traditions and customs, including religious traditions; second, the use of one of the dialects of the Greek language; third, affinity (Greek *sun-geneia*), i.e. belief in a shared, common ancestry, however remote, and dependent on hazy mythological figures; fourth, participation in a common religious network, based round a set of common 'Panhellenic' sanctuaries; and fifth, contrast with those perceived as foreigners or *barbaroi*. These five factors are not exclusive of each other, and it goes without saying that none of them, least of all perceived 'affinity', would prevent someone who had not before passed for Greek taking on Greek identity. The fourth factor concerns me in this book for obvious reasons: participation in a common religious centre has been a focus for the development or expression of national or even transnational identity in many societies. In Islam, the *hajj* to Mecca and Medina brings together all members of the extended religious community of Muslims,<sup>72</sup> and in modern Hinduism, pilgrimage to Benares has a similar significance, symbolising the whole of India and its peoples.<sup>73</sup> Sanctuaries can play a similar role at the regional level, and we find plenty of examples of that from ancient Greece, for example in the case of federal leagues.<sup>74</sup>

A phrase like 'be a focus for' (as I used it above) leaves open the precise nature of the relationship between the religious centre and the national/group identity. Does shared ritual activity at common religious centres foment a feeling of group identity, which may then be reflected back onto the religious centre, thereby enhancing its status? Or do groups who have

<sup>72</sup> Turner (1974:177–8), quotes B. Lewis (1965:37) 'The needs of pilgrimage – the commands of the faith reinforcing the requirements of government and commerce – help to maintain an adequate network of communications between the far-flung Muslim lands; the experience of the pilgrimage gives rise to a rich literature of travel, bringing information about distant places, and a heightened awareness of belonging to a larger whole. The awareness is reinforced by participation in the common rituals and ceremonies of the pilgrimage in Mecca and Medina, and the communion with fellow-Muslims of other lands and peoples. The physical mobility of important groups of people entails a measure of social and cultural mobility, and a corresponding evolution of institutions.'

<sup>73</sup> Hertel and Humes (1993:2): 'Hindus consider the city to be a microcosm of all of Hindu Bharat, sacred "India". Banares is believed to contain within its boundaries not only each of the four dhams, or principal sites of the cardinal directions, but in principle every major sacred site of the Hindu landscape; shrines and temples named for the distant sites which they represent have been built in the architectural style of those regions ... By visiting Banares pilgrims may have darshan (a sacred glimpse) of all that is Hindu'. Eck (1982:38–9) says that at Benares there is a temple called Bharat Mātā- ('Mother of India'), containing a large map of India, which pilgrims make a *darsana* of, climbing to the second-floor balcony for a good view. Similar patterns: Sri Lanka: Obeyesekere (1966); India: Sharma (1966:333–4); Morinis (1984:239–40); Cohn and Marriott (1958:4); Thailand: Keyes (1975).

<sup>74</sup> See §4.3.2.



already developed a weak sense of group identity strengthen it by focusing it on specific sanctuaries and rituals? Or are the processes involved so subtle and complex that we cannot hope to unravel them?

In two important recent discussions of ‘Hellenicity’, Jonathan Hall has stressed the importance of affinity, arguing that the idea of Hellenism arose in the sixth century BC and reflected the make-up of the Delphic Amphiktion. Its foundational text is the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, which dates from the same period. This is not the place for a full discussion of the subject, but my own view is that Greek notions of Hellenism could be significantly older than that. In the Homeric poems the unified and univocal Greeks are already contrasted with the dissonant clamour of the forces fighting on the Trojan side.<sup>75</sup> Hall is right to see the structure of religious networks as critical, and the Delphic Amphiktion as playing a key role, but that could be much older than the sixth century, and in any case Delphi was already active by the eighth century, Olympia perhaps considerably before that.<sup>76</sup> However, the hypothesis that Olympia and Delphi were somehow the matrices for the spontaneous generation of the idea of Greekness seems no more likely than that they reshaped a tendency that was already there, perhaps a reflex of a tendency towards self-definition that emerges in the earliest phases of colonisation (as Irad Malkin believes), perhaps even something that had survived from the Bronze Age.

Granted that the sanctuaries played some part in the development of Greek identity from, say, the eighth century BC, the further question arises: What role did *theōriā* have in all of this? One answer would be that its effect was the general one of consolidation, acting as the most conspicuous ritual framework for it. Another possibility is that it helped to reshape Greek identity in a specific way, by giving it a special civic form. Whatever may have gone before, the convention of communication between sanctuaries and cities via *theōroi*, which we see in the Classical period, was an innovation, presumably reflecting the crystallisation of the city-state as the normal political unit in the eighth century. The network that subsequently emerges is characterised not by a hierarchy between a powerful sanctuary and lots of subaltern cities, but rather by a large number of equal and reciprocal relationships between the authority that runs the sanctuary and the cities that

<sup>75</sup> See Ross (2005), who points to two linguistic diversity on the Trojan side implied at *Il.*2.802–6 and *Il.*4.433–8. By contrast, linguistic diversity on the Greek side is found only in Odysseus’ description of Crete at *Od.*19.172–7.

<sup>76</sup> For Delphi: Morgan (1990:106–47); at Olympia, cult is now traced back to the eleventh century BC: see Eder (2001) and Kyrieleis (2006:61–79).

individually participate, and in a broader way between all participating cities.<sup>77</sup> In this system, common-Greek identity always takes second place to the individual city-state and its relationships with other ones. To put it another way, to be Greek means to belong to a particular Greek city-state, and the *theōroi*, sent to represent their cities at the common sanctuaries, are the embodied sign of this principle.

<sup>77</sup> See the insightful analysis of Giovannini (1993:274 and 280–3), who describes the relations involved as ‘interhellenic’.

### 17.1 Introduction

Modern ethnographers and geographers map patterns of pilgrimage by direct observation of what happens at festivals and by interviewing participants.<sup>1</sup> The student of ancient religion has to depend on whatever data happens to survive. Data-sets that directly attest the visits of *theōroi* are rare. The best documented cases are Samothrace and Delos (both Hellenistic). Also worthy of mention are Dodona (Classical and Hellenistic), Didyma (Hellenistic) and Claros (Roman). For fourth century Delphi, the records of the *nāopoioi* who were charged with the rebuilding of the temple there may also record the presence of *theōriai*.<sup>2</sup>

Some forms of data seem unlikely to provide a reliable guide to patterns of visitation. Records of *theōrodokoi* do not tell us which cities actually sent *theōroi* to a sanctuary any more than data about where a product is advertised is an accurate guide to where it is sold. Some of the people awarded privileges such as *proxeniā* were probably *theōroi* or other visitors, but not all of them.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, it is difficult to know what to make of the presence of treasuries or valuable dedications at major sanctuaries, which may indicate a tradition of state-delegations, but could equally well be a substitute for it.<sup>4</sup>

In doing this type of analysis, it is important to distinguish what was said about sanctuaries, either by themselves or by poets, from what actually happened. Just because a sanctuary claimed common-Greek status does not mean that it actually had it. Take, for example, the Komuria festival held at Panamara in Caria in the second century AD, organised by nearby Stratonikeia. A number of invitations survive, in which it is stated that the god invites ‘all men’ to the festival, but in fact the invitations go out to a much more limited group of cities, which includes Rhodes, Alinda, Nysa,

<sup>1</sup> See Bhardwaj (1973).    <sup>2</sup> See below, §17.2, 3.    <sup>3</sup> See §2.1.5.

<sup>4</sup> As the dedication of bronze figures by Orneai at Delphi was interpreted as a substitute for the presence of their citizens bringing sacrificial victims: Paus.10.18.8; Elsner (1996:526–32).

Mylasa, Iasos, Miletus and Smyrna.<sup>5</sup> There must have been many other such discrepancies between aspiration and reality.

## 17.2 Two case studies: Samothrace and Delos

### 17.2.1 Hellenistic Samothrace

Samothrace was a Greek polis, apparently founded from the island of Samos, presiding over a religious centre where the deities worshipped, whatever their origins, are decidedly non-Greek.<sup>6</sup> It was a major mystery-sanctuary already in the fifth century BC. From the fourth century BC it becomes associated with the Macedonians, and from around 200 BC, it seems that Rome, which was being drawn into the region at this time, encouraged for reasons of political propaganda the tradition (which may already have existed) that the Roman Penates had originated on Samothrace, having been brought from there to Ilion by Dardanos and from Ilion to Italy by Aeneas.

The cult of the Samothracian Kabeiroi (known locally as the ‘Megaloi Theoi’) had a wide following among cities in Asia Minor, the Aegean, Thrace and the Black Sea. Three forms of participation in the cult may be distinguished: first, cities send *theōroi* to the festival (possibly a Dionysia-festival, as Nora Dimitrova argues<sup>7</sup>); second, individuals come to Samothrace to be initiated as *mustai*; and third, some cities have filial cults of the Samothracian gods.<sup>8</sup> Only two cities appear in all three of these categories: Ephesos and Rhodes, and Cyzicus may perhaps be added to these, though the argument for a cult of the Samothracian gods there is rather tenuous.<sup>9</sup> Besides these, those for which we have evidence of a cult at home and visitors of one type or the other to the sanctuary are Khalkedon, Methymna, Mylasa, Stratonikeia, Teos (*theōroi*), Amphipolis, Ilion and Tomis (*mustai*).

<sup>5</sup> See *I.Strat.*: nos.22–37a; Rigsby (1996:423–7); Curty (1995:no.70).

<sup>6</sup> On the background, see Graham (2002).

<sup>7</sup> Dimitrova:no.73. The most important piece of evidence is IG12.4.148, the decree for Praximenes of Kos (line 12), which may well refer to the destination of the *theōros* as the Διονύσι[α]. Bear in mind, however, that there may have been several festivals at Samothrace.

<sup>8</sup> For the filial cults, see Cole (1984:57–86). Of the types of data Cole collects, I place most emphasis on official documents (59–61), priests (69–75) and temples (75–86), and less on personal dedications (61–9).

<sup>9</sup> Some records that include people from Cyzicus (Dimitrova:nos.56, 57, 58) have an illustration of a round building with snake-entwined torches on either side, which P. Lehmann in Lehmann and Lehmann (1973:36–44) suggested might be a building in Cyzicus associated with the Samothracian gods. See Cole (1984:45–6); Dimitrova:nos.136–7.

The provenance of *theōroi* is revealed in two main types of inscription:

- i) Samothracian decrees dating mostly from the second and first centuries BC register that such and such *theōroi* from such and such cities have been appointed *proxenoi* of Samothrace in their cities.<sup>10</sup>
- ii) Inscriptions of the first century BC and possibly first century AD register visits by people who were both *theōroi* and ‘pious initiates’ (*mustai eusebeis*).<sup>11</sup>

Prima facie it seems that type i) and type ii) represent two chronological phases in the recording of *theōroi* visiting Samothrace: in the earlier phase it was considered important to emphasise their political role as liaisons between their cities and the Samothracian *demos*, and in the later phase the stress is on their religious experience at the sanctuary, which may mean that the political dimension is no longer as important.

Besides these two types, a few decrees survive for *theōroi* from individual cities: for Praximenes of Kos in the third century BC; for Gryllos and Euktos of Iasos, probably around 240 BC; and a newly published decree from Kaunos (early first century AD).<sup>12</sup> (See [Map 14](#).)

*Theōroi* seem to come from all over the north-west and south-west of Asia Minor, as well as few Aegean islands; there are two from Thessaly, one from Abdera in Thrace, and possibly one from Athens.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, the *mustai* come from a more general area, including Macedonia, Thrace as well and the west coast of the Black Sea (see [Map 15a](#)).<sup>14</sup> Filial cults of the Samothracian gods are also well entrenched on the west coast of the Black Sea, but also on the coast of Asia Minor, particularly in the south-west, in the vicinity of Rhodes (see [Map 15b](#)).<sup>15</sup>

How should we explain this distribution? Samothrace's geographical position seems to have been that of an interface zone, situated roughly

<sup>10</sup> Dimitrova:nos.1–13i; [p.18](#). Dimitrova dates one of these (her no.4 = *IG*12.8.168) to the first century AD, though it is perhaps more likely to be Hellenistic: see Salviat (1962:274–5). I would like to thank William Mack for a discussion of the date of this text. Cole (1984:122n.412) thinks that *IG*12.8.171 (Dimitrova:no.6) could be early Imperial as well.

<sup>11</sup> Dimitrova:nos.13ii–17, with [p.19](#). Fredrich thought that *IG*12.8.176 (= Dimitrova:no.16) could be first century AD, though Dimitrova thinks that it is second–first centuries BC. Cole (1984:122n.412) suggests that *IG*12.8.174 and 5 (Dimitrova:nos.15 and 18) could be first century AD as well.).

<sup>12</sup> *IG*12.4.148; *SEG* 43 715 (= App.#D3); *I.Kaunos* 28. Note also the fragmentary decree from Kos, *IG*12.4.207 = App.#D9, which stipulates that Koan *theōroi* bound for Samothrace in the mid third century BC are to announce the festival of Asclepius on the way at Khios.

<sup>13</sup> The Thessalians are from Larisa and Pherai: Dimitrova:no.26, 6 and 8. The Athenian is Dimitrova:no.23, 3; Dimitrova suggests that this could be an Athenian from Lemnos or Imbros (cf. Dimitrova:no.30 for an initiate from Imbros).

<sup>14</sup> Dimitrova:map on [p.3](#); Cole (1984:43; Map I). <sup>15</sup> Cole (1984:57–86; Map III).



Map 14. Cities known to have sent *theōroi* to Samothrace

between north-west Anatolia and the north coast of the Aegean, and about 50 miles west of the Hellespont, which connects these regions to the Black Sea. It was an intermediate zone too in political terms, probably more or less independent in the earlier part of the third century, under Ptolemaic influence apparently between 240 and 200,<sup>16</sup> but also patronised by the Macedonians, most directly in the 170s,<sup>17</sup> but also earlier on, in the era of Philip II, who was supposed to have met his wife Olympias there, and Lysimachus, who was thanked by Samothrace in the early third century for protecting the sanctuary.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, its ritual and myths seem to point to Asia Minor: however we explain the Kabeiroi, they seem to have been perceived as Phrygian at this time,<sup>19</sup> and the hero Dardanos, who was supposed to have been born on the island, was connected in Greek mythological imagination to Troy.<sup>20</sup> The high proportion of the *theōroi* who emanated from cities of western Asia Minor seems to confirm an Anatolian

<sup>16</sup> Fraser (1960:8), Bagnall (1976:162). <sup>17</sup> Fraser (1960:12); Cole (1984:21–2).

<sup>18</sup> Philip and Olympias: Plut. *Alex.*2; Samothracian decree for Lysimachus: *IG*12.8.150. In general, Fraser (1960:13). Notice also that Perseus seems to have sought asylum at Samothrace in 168 BC: Livy 45.5, 3–12; Naiden (2006:257). See also the discussion in Kowalzig (2005:67).

<sup>19</sup> Massimila (1993) on Call. *Aet.*fr.115; see Kowalzig (2007:66).

<sup>20</sup> It is interesting to note that a poet from Iasos and another from Priene wrote about Samothracian mythology in the Hellenistic period: see Rutherford (2007a).



(a)



(b)

**Map 15.** (a) Provenance of initiates to Samothrace; (b) Filial cults of the Samothracian gods

alignment. Macedonian cities, on the other hand, sent no *theōroi*, with the possible exception of Aigai,<sup>21</sup> though a number of *mustai* seem to have come from this area.

### 17.2.2 Hellenistic Delos

The poet of the *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo*, endorsed by Thucydides, says that Delos was once an Ionian centre.<sup>22</sup> During the fifth and most of the fourth century it was Athenian, administered through the Athenian Amphiktion, and Athens seems to have sent regular *theōriai* there on a number of different cycles.<sup>23</sup> The grandest was that coordinated with the pentaeteric Delia festival, held in the month of Thargelion, which is attested from 426/5 BC until 331/0 BC, with an interruption in the period after the Peloponnesian War.<sup>24</sup> Dedications recorded in inventories from Leontini and Tauromenion in Sicily and from Naxos may also indicate delegations from these places in this period.<sup>25</sup> During the period of Delian Independence (314 BC to 166 BC), the main festival is the Apollonia held in the spring month of Hieros, and we find Delos again patronised by a number of states, including a cluster from the south-east Aegean (see [Map 16](#)). The spread is well documented by the temple inventories, which record dedications of *phialai* made by the Delian maidens at the expense of the *theōroi* and also, in the early decades, occasional expenses for the Delian choral performances that honoured the visitors (see [Table 9](#)).<sup>26</sup> Records continue in the early decades of the Athenian control, but are less detailed.

Apart from these, the inventories register isolated dedications from Byblos, the Tauric Chersonesos and Tarentum.<sup>27</sup> The only Ionian states here are Karystos and Siphnos (and it may be significant that they are not said to dedicate a *phialē*, merely to pay for a chorus).<sup>28</sup> No *theōriai* from the

<sup>21</sup> Dimitrova: no. 8, col. I, 7 with Dimitrova ad loc.

<sup>22</sup> *Hymn Hom. Ap.* 141–8, cited by Thuc. 3.104,3–4. See V. Chankowski (2008:1618); Kowalzig (2007:102–10) argues that Delos was never an Ionian centre.

<sup>23</sup> The survey in Davies (1967:38) is still useful. On the Delian religious network in this period, see Constantakopoulou (2007:38–60).

<sup>24</sup> See now V. Chankowski (2008:90, with table on pp.225–6). Chankowski believes that it changed from the third year of the Olympiad in the fifth century to the second year of the Olympiad in the fourth century.

<sup>25</sup> Bruneau (1970:113). <sup>26</sup> Bruneau (1970:94–105).

<sup>27</sup> Bruneau (1970:113); for Byblos, see §16.4, p.276n.

<sup>28</sup> *ID291b* 8 from 247 BC refers to a payment for a chorus by *hieragōgoi* from Karustos, which could represent the last leg of the Hyperborean offerings: see Bruneau (1970:112), and bibliography cited there. If so, Karuystos would be a special case, a ritual tradition preserved independently of the rest of the network.



Table 9. *Cities of theōroi who pay for Delian choruses in the Hellenistic period (Arabic numerals refer to records of the dedication of a phialē, Roman numerals to records of grants for choruses)*

	Alexandria	Kalymnos	Kasos	Knidos	Kos	Megalopolis	Rhodes	Siphnos	Karystos
289–80					i		ii		
279–70	3	1	1		7	1	13, i		
269–60	1				2				
259–50	4	1		1	6, i		6	i	i
249–40					1		1		i
239–30					1		1		
229–20									
219–10									
209–200					2				
199–90					1				
189–80					4		4		
179–166					2				



Map 16. Provenance of *theōroi* to Hellenistic Delos

once-dominant Athens are attested in the period of Independence. In place of the Athenian ‘amphiktion’ we seem to have a new league of clients, including Kos, Rhodes and Alexandria. This seems likely to reflect the political geography of the south Aegean in the first half of the third century BC, when the Ptolemies dominated through the agency of the First Nesiot League. Alexandrian interest in Delos does not long outlast the middle of the century; and the later Second Nesiot League, led by the Rhodians, was centred not on Delos but on Tenos.<sup>29</sup> Kos, however, along with Kalymnos, continues to make dedications into the second century BC, and Kos even makes them after 166 BC, as did Rhodes, which on one occasion apparently dedicated a ‘Delphic tripod’.<sup>30</sup>

### 17.3 Some other cases

#### 17.3.1 Dodona

Some 1,500 lead tablets are said to survive from Dodona, in all containing about 4,000 oracle inquiries, only a fraction of which have been published.

<sup>29</sup> For the Second Nesiot League, Gabrielsen (1997:56–9); Sheedy (1996).

<sup>30</sup> Bruneau (1970:101, 105). The Rhodian tripod is *ID1423*, AbII, 3 etc.

The best guide is Éric Lhôte's collection (2006), which includes 167 tablets, some of which have more than one enquiry, dating from the sixth century BC to the second.<sup>31</sup> Most of the enquiries are by individuals, but a few come from cities or political communities (e.g. the 'Chaones'), mostly from the Hellenistic period. The officials conveying the message between city and oracle are never referred to, but we have no reason to think that they would not have been called *theōroi* or *theopropoi*.<sup>32</sup>

The private enquiries rarely supply the home-city of the enquirer,<sup>33</sup> but the public ones do, identifying them as citizens of a certain city or community. Achilles already invokes Zeus Dodonaïos in the *Iliad*, and Dodona is normally regarded as being recognised by the whole Greek world; Thebes is supposed to have regularly sent tripods there, and the Athenian orators speak of consultations by Athens in the fourth century.<sup>34</sup> The evidence of the tablets gives a different picture: the public enquiries almost all come from north-west Greece (see [Map 17](#)). The best attested is Corcyra with four (LhôteL1–4), in one of these making a joint consultation with Orikos (LhôteL2). The others are: Mondaia (LhôteL8B); the Chaones (LhôteL11); Dodona itself (LhôteL14); an unknown state in Epirus (LhôteL9); Bullis (LhôteL7); and Onkhesmos (LhôteL13). Magna Graecia is also well attested: Rhegium (LhôteL154–5, both fifth century BC); Tarentum (LhôteL5); and Herakleia (LhôteL6A), which is probably Herakleia in Lucania, near Tarentum.<sup>35</sup> The only published one from further afield is from the island of Paros, and there the issue was the local one of whether or not to found a colony at Pharos in Illyria (LhôteL6b). It is easy to see that the sanctuary itself will have been a node that brought these different networks together, connecting north-west Greece with Magna Graecia and Sicily and bringing Greeks from elsewhere into contact with those regions.

### 17.3.2 Hellenistic Didyma

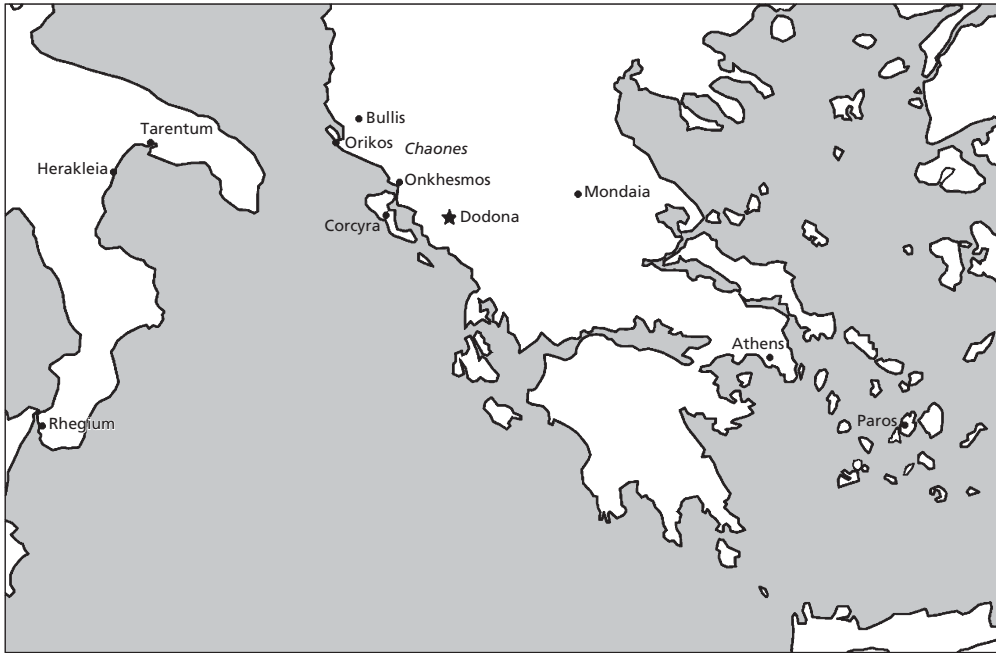
A catchment area for Didyma can be reconstructed from two types of evidence. As I mentioned in Chapter 7, the fragmentary Hellenistic offering

<sup>31</sup> For the catchment of Dodona, see also Kowalzig (2007:336–41). <sup>32</sup> See §6.3.

<sup>33</sup> Exceptions: individuals come from Athens (LhôteL23), Apollonia (LhôteL50; cf. L97), Metapontum (LhôteL146), Hergetion in Sicily (LhôteL75), perhaps Megara (LhôteL86). In some cases, it may be possible to identify them roughly by dialect, e.g. LhôteL133 (someone going to Sybaris, possibly a Boeotian), LhôteL100 (an Ionian?) or LhôteL103 (an Athenian?). A significant proportion of the private enquiries concern cities in north-west Greece and Magna Graecia: LhôteL97–9, L102, L106, L114, L132.

<sup>34</sup> *Il.* 16.233–4; Theban *tripodēphoriā*: Kowalzig (2007); Athens: see §7.3, pp.118–20.

<sup>35</sup> So Lhôte ad loc., pp.40–1, who compares another enquiry, LhôteL132, about whether to relocate from Herakleia to Tarentum.



Map 17. State delegations at Dodona

lists, attested over a period of two centuries, record dedications by cities in western Asia Minor and occasionally further afield, including Rhodes, Megalopolis (always keen to establish links to major sanctuaries) and, most exotic of all, Naukratis in Egypt, which, according to Herodotus, had a temple of Milesian Apollo (see Map 18).<sup>36</sup> Of the dedicators, Kios and Cyzicus are colonies of Miletus, and Iasos also has a close ancestral connection, in view of the tradition that it was assisted in the period immediately following its foundation by Neleus himself.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps Naukratis also felt itself to be a sort of Ionian colony. But otherwise, the correlation with Milesian colonies, which were mostly on the shores of the Black Sea, is not strong, and the main factor here is that Didyma was a prestigious religious

<sup>36</sup> *Didyma* 452, 9–13 (cf. *Didyma* 457, 10) which mentions that the *phiale* was dedicated from a sum left over from a sacrifice by Anaxithemis, son of Anaxithemis and 'X', son of Androteles, who, as the commentary to *Didyma* 452 says, could be members of a Naukratite *theōriā* or alternatively *proxenoi* of Naukratis in Miletus. Cf. Herda (2006a:144–5n.1015), who talks of 'enge kultische Bezüge' between Miletus and Naukratis. Naukratis also contributed to the rebuilding of the Delphi temple in the fourth century BC (see below). It is the only Egyptian city besides Alexandria known to have sent religious delegations.

<sup>37</sup> Iasos: Ehrhardt (1983:26–7), who classes it as a 'Nachsiedlung'.



Map 18. State delegations at Didyma

centre.<sup>38</sup> The other sources are oracles. In Joseph Fontenrose's analysis, most of the thirty-three recorded consultations are made by Miletus or its citizens, and there are only five civic consultations by cities other than Miletus, ranging in date from the third century BC to the third century AD, with a similar geographical range.<sup>39</sup>

### 17.3.3 Roman Claros

The best diachronic data is to be found in the records from the oracle of Claros in the early Imperial period. The oracle dates back at least to the sixth century BC, but it came to prominence in the Hellenistic and Roman

<sup>38</sup> §7.1. For references, cf. Günther (1971:124–7). Debord (1982:18–20) with map on p.19, taking as his scope both public and private dedications, sees three zones: Pontus and Propontis, i.e. the zone of the Milesian colonies; Caria (a group 'de proximité'); and an Ionian group.

<sup>39</sup> Fontenrose (1988:104–5). Iasos, C3 BC: Fontenrose R9; Teos, 201 BC: Fontenrose R11; the subject was inviolability, and they consulted Delphi as well; the *stephanēphoroi* of Cyzicus, Severan Period: Fontenrose A9; Pergamum, second century AD: Fontenrose A7; Kalymnos, second century AD: Fontenrose A10.

periods, when it started to rival Didyma. The turning point may have been the attention of Hadrian, who seems to have restored it.<sup>40</sup> Two types of data are important. First, visits of religious delegations are documented on inscriptions surviving at the sanctuary. In his recent survey, Jean-Louis Ferrary includes a total of 331 texts of which the chronology is certain and another 65 uncertain fragments.<sup>41</sup> Many of them have never been published. They are usually datable by reference to the local magistrates; Claros usually appointed Apollo himself as the eponymous magistrate, the *prutanis*, attaching a number to the years when he held the office, so that AD 128/9 is Apollo 61 in the Clarian calendar and AD 186/7 is Apollo 102. Apollo was thus *prutanis* in 42 out of 59 years. Ferrary arranged the records into 15 chronological groups, of which Group 2 belongs to AD 128/9–138/9, and Group 15 could be as late as the AD 240s. Many delegations included one or more *theopropoi* who were there to consult the oracle,<sup>42</sup> but others may have been timed to coincide with local festivals. In composition, the delegations resemble the *theōriai* of earlier centuries, although the term *theōros* is rarely used.<sup>43</sup>

The second form of data, much harder to date, are verse-oracles which were displayed in the home cities of the consultants. Many of these texts, now collected in a convenient edition by Merkelbach and Stauber (1996), are responses to enquiries relating to plague which ravaged the Roman world in the Antonine period.<sup>44</sup> Most of the consultants come from Asia Minor, and almost all of them are cities. These types of data are linked in so far as religious delegations were often sent for the purpose of consulting oracles, and in so far as it seems that the oracle motivates a delegation to the shrine in one case, guaranteeing further contact.<sup>45</sup>

The delegations come from these main areas (see Map 19): Ionia and Aeolis (Khios, Phokaia, Kyme); Macedonia and Thrace (Ainos, Philippopolis, Thasos, Plotinopolis); the Black Sea (Marcianopolis, Dionysopolis, Odessus, Deultum, Anchialus); Northern Asia Minor (Creteia Flaviopolis, Amisus, Neoclaudiopolis, Nicomedia, Amaseia, Neokaisareia); the

<sup>40</sup> Parke (1985, appendix) on the development.

<sup>41</sup> Ferrary (2005:730n.40). The main publications are: two papers by the pioneering Greek archaeologist Theodore Macridy in *Jahrbuch der österreichisches archäologische Institut* for 1905 and 1912 (the 1905 publication has an unusual enumeration, arranging the texts by the stones they appear, i.e. II.1–4, III.1–3, IV.1–4); J. and L. Robert, *La Carie... II. Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs* (1954) (= *Carie*), and an article by Sencer Şahin in *Epigraphica Anatolica* for 1987.

<sup>42</sup> See §6.3, pp.98–9. <sup>43</sup> See §6.3, p.98, §6.4, pp.101–2.

<sup>44</sup> For Claros and the plague, C. P. Jones (2005); more generally, Gilliam (1961).

<sup>45</sup> That case is one of the oracles from Hierapolis: Merkelbach and Stauber (1996:no.4, 21–5); see §14.3, p.242. I discuss this in Rutherford (2007b).



Map 19. Clientele of Roman Claros

Propontis (Perinthus, Ainos, Callipolis, Parion, Apameia, Kios, Kaisareia Germanica); central Asia Minor, including Caria, Lydia and Phrygia (Caria: Amyzon, Sebastopolis, Aphrodisias, Bargasa, Tabai and Heracleia Salbakes; Lydia: Thyatira and Kaisarea Troketta; Phrygia: Laodikeia on the Lycus, Akmonia, Mios); and Crete (Lappa, Kudonia, Hieraputna). The only delegation from mainland Greece is an early one from Corinth. The addition of the oracles does not change the overall picture very much, though it adds Oinoanda and Syedra from Southern Anatolia.

### 17.3.4 Records of the Delphic *nāopoioi*

In Chapter 2, I discussed the accounts of the Delphic *nāopoioi*, which indirectly recorded delegations sent to Delphi in the mid-decades of the fourth century BC to finance the reconstruction of a new temple after the earthquake of 373/2 BC.<sup>46</sup> These record contributions known as *eparkhai*, some of them conveyed by delegates on behalf of cities, others made by individuals.

<sup>46</sup> See §2.1.5.



**Map 20.** Delegations to Delphi that can be inferred from the records of the Delphic *nāopoioi*

Where, as often, we find a cluster of contributions made by several individuals from the same city at the same time, the presence of a larger delegation may be indicated. I set out the evidence for delegations of three or more members in [Table 1](#) (p.26); see [Map 20](#). This data-set is unique in providing a crude census of which cities were sending delegations in that period, and it is the closest thing we have to a snapshot of *theōroi* attending one of the great sanctuaries, although the context of these – the period of the reconstruction of the temple – was not typical, since the oracle may have been out of action of many years after the destruction of the Alcmaeonid Temple.<sup>47</sup>

In a few cases, it looks like the sending of the delegation might reflect a specific political crisis in the history of the city. One such case is the new city Megalopolis, founded by the Arcadian League as its federal capital in the aftermath of the Battle of Leuctra of 371 BC, which freed Arcadia from Spartan control. In the 360s, the League split into two parts, one dominated by Megalopolis and Tegea, the other by Mantinea, and in 362 BC they fought on opposing sides at the Battle of Mantinea, when Mantinea was

<sup>47</sup> See Davies (2001:214); Arnush (2005:103–4). Bousquet (1938:354) suggested that the political crisis fostered piracy.



backed by Sparta and Megalopolis by Epaminondas of Thebes, who was killed in action. Trouble continued in 361 BC, when some of the Arcadians transplanted to the new city attempted to return to their original communities, and Megalopolis had to call in Thebes to help.<sup>48</sup> The records of the Delphic *nāopoioi* show that Megalopolis sent an *eparkhē* brought by Nikolokhos son of Proxenos in 360 BC, and that in 358 BC no less than ten citizens of Megalopolis made contributions.<sup>49</sup> In view of the historical context, it seems a reasonable assumption that its leaders wanted to consult the oracle (if it was operating again) or to do some political networking there. This trend continues and in 345/4 BC Megalopolis, together with Messene – another recently founded city in a troubled relationship with Sparta – seems to have made a request to become a member of the Amphiktiony.<sup>50</sup>

## 17.4 The shape of theoric systems

Meagre as they are, these data-sets allow us to begin to trace general patterns in the spatial and temporal distribution of the clientele of sanctuaries. In this section, I shall sketch seven key aspects which merit attention. These are: proximity and distance; special connections between city and sanctuary; clusters; significant absences; diachronic patterns; migration of cults to the home polis; and reciprocity.

### 17.4.1 Proximity and distance

All things being equal, one might expect that there would be more delegations from places closer to a sanctuary. This expectation is confirmed by the records from Dodona, but not by those of Hellenistic Samothrace, where the distribution seems evenly spread across the eastern Aegean or of Hellenistic Delos, where the recorded *theōriai* come mostly from the comparatively remote Dodekanesos. In the records of the Delphic *nāopoioi* also, the major delegations do not come from the areas closer to Delphi (which are

<sup>48</sup> Diod. Sic. 15.94.1–3; Nielsen *IACP* 520 s. Megale Polis. On the historical background: Nielsen (2002:505–8); Larsen (1968:180–94).

<sup>49</sup> *CID*2.4.III50–7; *CID*2.5.I, 26–48. Notice that Proxenos of Tegea was one of the *oikistai* of Megalopolis: Paus. 8.27.2; H. Ziegler *RE* 23.1 (1957) s.v. Proxenos (7). Could he be the father of Nikolokhos?

<sup>50</sup> *CID*4.7 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 224. Its connection with Delphi remained close in the third century BC, with no fewer than 14 grants of *promanteiā* to its citizens and one to the city as a whole. *FD* 1.12, 17, 19, 21, 22, 26, 27, 34, 36, 44–8. Notice that of all states recorded as making dedications at Delos in the third century BC, the only one from mainland Greece is Megalopolis (see Bruneau (1970:102)).

states that supplied members of the Amphiktiony).<sup>51</sup> In the case of Delos, an apparent inverse correlation between proximity and the number of recorded delegations could perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that the delegations that get recorded are likely to be the more elaborate ones, and these may well be ones from further away, because more remote cities tend to invest more resources in what is for them an enterprise of unusual significance. By contrast, local Cycladic polities may have sent more frequent delegations, but also smaller ones, which do not get recorded. Another possibility is that sanctuaries or festivals became to some extent specialised, so that some attracted *theōroi* from a distance, and others were favoured by people within a region.<sup>52</sup>

#### 17.4.2 Special connections between city and sanctuary

Theoric networks tend to consist of bilateral links between a sanctuary and a particular city, and some of these seem especially strong, as judged either by the volume of traffic or the size of the delegations. In the case of Hellenistic Delos, the *theōriā* from Kos seems to have been the most enduring, which may reflect its having deep roots in local ritual practice and in myth.<sup>53</sup> Some of the largest delegations attested at Hellenistic Samothrace come from the small city of Dardanos in the northern Troad,<sup>54</sup> and these may reflect a tradition about hero Dardanos, son of Electra and Atlas, who was supposed to have migrated from Samothrace to the Troad, where he founded an eponymous city.<sup>55</sup> Another sign of a special connection is a city's choosing to stage an elaborate procession or performance of song-dance at a sanctuary, for example the Aeginetans, for whose song-dance performance at Delphi in honour of Neoptolemus Pindar wrote the Sixth Paean.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Contrast the geographical analysis of contributors in Davies (2001:220).

<sup>52</sup> For such a contrast in the case of Delphi and Kalapodi, see C. Morgan (2003:113–34) and now McInerney (2011).

<sup>53</sup> See §13.5.

<sup>54</sup> Dardanos is mentioned four times in the Samothracian theoric inscriptions, two of them records of awards of *proxenia*, Dimitrova:nos.9 and 13 (IG12.8.162, 160) (second century BC?) and two records of *theōroi-mustai*, Dimitrova:nos.14 and 15 (IG12.8.173–4) (first century BC?). Dimitrova:no.15 is reproduced as App.#E6.

<sup>55</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.*3.12.1 (cf. Conon *Narrat.*21; Hellanikos *FGrH*4F23, cf. 135), says that he left because his brother, Iasion, raped Demeter, and he was welcomed in the Troad by Teucer; Lycoph. *Cass.*72–80 that he left because of the flood. In Huxley's (1969:165–6) interpretation, Mnaseas of Patara, *FHG*3.154, fr.28 (from St. Byz. s.v. Δάρδανος) says that Dardanos originally came to Samothrace from Sigeion in the Troad.

<sup>56</sup> See §14.4.2.

The records of the Delphic *nāopoioi* show that of all Greek cities there were particularly large numbers of visitors from the islands of Andros<sup>57</sup> and above all Keos,<sup>58</sup> the latter consistent with the high volume of grants of *promanteiā* to Keians in the third and second centuries BC.<sup>59</sup> Other evidence suggests that Keos punched above its weight in extraterritorial religion, both in athletic competition and in song.<sup>60</sup> There may even have been cultic links between Keos and Delphi since Xenomedes of Keos, as reported by Callimachus, stated that the first event in Keian history was the arrival of certain nymphs, who had been driven from their home on Parnassos by a lion.<sup>61</sup>

### 17.4.3 Clusters

The distribution of cities sending delegations to sanctuaries, and of those sending the most frequent delegations sometimes seems to take the form of clusters. Thus, we have seen that in the data-set from Hellenistic Delos, a lot of the *theōriai* come from one region, the Dodekanesos. It seems likely that this came about via communication between cities in the region, possibly within the framework of participation in a common regional cult of Delian Apollo, and there may well have been some degree of ‘peer-polity interaction’ between them. It is also likely to have been encouraged by Ptolemaic interest in Delos.

The data-set from Claros show a similar distribution in so far as, although the cities sending delegations are distributed all over Asia Minor, some of the cities that send delegations particularly frequently come from one particular geographical zone. These are Laodikeia on the Lycus, Herakleia Salbakes and Tabai, all located within a few miles of each other in north-west Caria/south-east Phrygia, Laodikeia at the eastern end of the Maeander valley, Herakleia a little to the south, beneath Mt Salbake, and Tabai further south still. Laodikeia has more delegations attested than any other

<sup>57</sup> CID2.22 and 23. Davies (2001:220); Rutherford (2004c).

<sup>58</sup> CID2.6 from the autumn of 358 BC, attending the Pythia (?) (at least 9 delegates; no specification of city); and in CID2.12 from the autumn of 341 BC (8 delegates, 7 from Karthaia, 1 from Ioulis). Also from the spring of 340 (2 delegates, both from Ioulis) and from the autumn of 340 BC (7 delegates, 3 from Ioulis, 4 from Karthaia).

<sup>59</sup> Nine grants bestowing privileges on a total of 14 Keians: FD 1.124, 2.211, 2.188, 4.10, 4.402. Keos has slightly fewer awards than Megara (28 awards: see §6.1), but is roughly on a level with Knidos (see n.92 below), Pellene, Rhodes and Khios.

<sup>60</sup> Hdt. 4.35 mentions a Keian *hestiātorion* there; a *theōriā* attested in ID 2539 with Bruneau (1970:141–2). Athletics: see Schmidt (1999); song: Bacch. 17.130–2; IG 12.544A35ff; Pin. Pa. 4.24.

<sup>61</sup> Call. Ait. fr.75, 57; Huxley (1965).

city (40), and it, together with Herakleia (26) and Tabai (17) make up three of the six best represented cities, the others being Khios and Phokaia (also a sort of cluster) and Ikonion in Lykaonia, which is comparatively remote.<sup>62</sup> In the case of Laodikeia, Herakleia and Tabai, it seems likely that the proximity of the cities was a factor in the volume of delegations to Claros, perhaps because it made them aware of each other's activities, and so led to competition.

#### 17.4.4 Significant absences

Some cities we might expect to be represented at a given sanctuary are absent from the records (which are, admittedly, generally incomplete). For example, Miletus is known to have sent *mustai* to Samothrace, but no *theōroi* as far as we know,<sup>63</sup> even though it had its own cult of the Kabeiroi, purportedly founded by Onnes and Tottes from Phrygia.<sup>64</sup> Nor are there any *theōroi* from the neighbouring islands of Lemnos (unless the attested 'Myrina' means the Lemnian city) or Imbros, the former a centre of Kabeiroi worship, the latter of the Megaloi Theoi.<sup>65</sup> It is difficult to know what to make of such cases. Some sort of historical exclusion cannot be ruled out, as Corinth is once supposed to have excluded Elis from the Isthmian Games.<sup>66</sup> Another possibility is that attending the Samothracian festival was for some reason less attractive to cities that had independent cults of the Kabeiroi or the Megaloi Theoi (when the local cult was a filial version of the Samothracian one, it would be different: see below). New data could always change the picture.

The case of Roman Claros is more complex. Although delegations come from almost all over Asia Minor, ones from Ionia are rare, with the exception of Khios and Phokaia. Athens is also unrepresented. The apparent absence of delegations from Ephesos at Claros, together with what they took to be evidence from the time of Trajan that Ephesos was deliberately

<sup>62</sup> For the frequency of delegations from Herakleia (every year at some points), *Carie* 216; for Iconium: Robert (1966:96).

<sup>63</sup> Dimitrova:no.62.

<sup>64</sup> Nikolaos of Damascus (*FGrH*90F52), perhaps drawing on Maiandrios or Leandrios of Miletus (*FGrH*491–2); Hemberg (1950:137); Massimila (1993) argues that the myth was dealt with in Callimachus' *Aitia*.

<sup>65</sup> Lemnos: Hemberg (1950:160–70); see §4.3.4; Imbros: Hemberg (1950:37–43). Myrina: Dimitrova:no.6, i.3; no.9,11; no.25ii7, with pp.36–7.

<sup>66</sup> Plut. *Pyth.or.*13, 400e.

ignoring Claros, prompted Louis and Jeanne Robert to talk of ‘reciprocal exclusion’ between the two sanctuaries.<sup>67</sup> The Roberts also showed that delegations at Claros came principally from recently Hellenised cities, including Roman *coloniae*,<sup>68</sup> whereas the older Greek cities sought oracles from better-established centres, such as Didyma and Delphi.<sup>69</sup>

#### 17.4.5 Diachronic patterns

Some theoric traditions are represented as highly traditional, going back to mythological times, such as the Athenian *theōriā* to Delos, which, as Plato says in the opening of the *Phaedo*, was supposed to have been continuously practised since the time of Theseus, inaugurated in fulfilment of a vow; even the boat used was the same. In reality, however, such continuity of tradition is almost always an illusion; traditions last a few generations, then die out, sometimes to be revived again.<sup>70</sup> In some cases, these fluctuations are visible in the records. Thus, inventories of Hellenistic Delos show considerable variation between the first half of the third century BC, when many states are sending delegations, and the first half of the second century BC, when they are only attested from Kos.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, the records from Claros indicate that some client cities had a particularly enduring relationship – Laodikeia again stands out here – while others participate only for a short period or intermittently. Bargasa in Caria sent three delegations right at the beginning of the sequence but never afterwards, while Lappa in Crete is a regular client, but does not begin to send delegations until quite late in the sequence.<sup>72</sup>

In some cases, a city may have decided to renew a tradition of *theōriā* which it had a distant memory of having performed in the past but had more recently abandoned. In the late third century BC, Matrophanes of Sardes ‘renews’ (*ananeoutai*) the relationship between Sardes and Delphi that had flourished in the time of Croesus but had since been so neglected that Sardes did not even have a *proxenos* there.<sup>73</sup> In the first half of the second

<sup>67</sup> *IClaros* 6, 85; Robert (1954:26). The evidence from Ephesos is the reference to a statue of Apollo Manteios in the prytaneion at *I.Ephesos* 1024:5–7 which J. Robert and L. Robert *BE* 1982:no.298 believed is an attempt to upstage Claros. This interpretation of *I.Ephesos* 1024:5–7 is challenged by Engelmann (1985:156) = *SEG* 35.1112.

<sup>68</sup> *IClaros* 3–6; *Carie* 328–9; Debord (1982:20–2).

<sup>69</sup> Debord (1982:19–20) on dedicatees at Didyma and comparison with Claros; also Günther (1971); Rehm and Harder (1958:nos.424–78).

<sup>70</sup> Theseus: §11.2, pp.180–1. Invention of tradition; Hobsbawn and Ranger (1983). <sup>71</sup> §17.2.2.

<sup>72</sup> Bargasa: references in Ferrary (2005:745–6); Lappa (*ibid.*: 755–6).

<sup>73</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 548, 4; App.#D14b.

century BC, the Marathonian Tetrapolis twice ‘renewed’ (*aneneōsanto*) its relationship with Delphi.<sup>74</sup> In the Roman period, the island of Keos displayed at Delos a decree ‘renewing’ the *dōdekēis* offering and all ancestral practices ‘through *theōroi*’.<sup>75</sup> Philostratus’ mock historical overview of the Thessalian *theōriā* to Achilles’ tomb in the Troad seems to mimic this rhetoric of periods of neglect alternating with renewal.<sup>76</sup>

#### 17.4.6 Migration of cults to the home polis

The branching-off of a central cult into secondary filial cults located in other places is a phenomenon well attested in Greek religion, most often indicated by distribution of cult epithets.<sup>77</sup> The process of dissemination can happen in various ways. One way would be by embedding local religious experts, such as the *manteis* that Olympia had in place in various cities, or the *exēgetai* ‘appointed by Delphi’ (*Pūthokhrēstoi*) we found at Athens.<sup>78</sup> In many cases, dissemination will have happened within the framework of – and as a result of – pilgrimage to a sanctuary. The *Iamata* from Epidauros give several examples of this, for example the case of the man of Halieis who, having visited Epidauros without receiving a dream, inadvertently transported a snake back from there to his home town, which a consultation of the Delphic oracle interpreted as a sign that a cult of Asclepius (presumably Epidaurian Asclepius) should be set up there.<sup>79</sup>

We have already observed that cities that sent a *theōriā* to a sanctuary often had their own cult of the same deity. The cult of Delian Apollo is attested in cities of the islands of the south-east Aegean that participated in the cult of Apollo on Delos (not so much in the Cyclades), especially Kos, and Kalymnos.<sup>80</sup> At Kos, it seems that *theōroi* to Delos may have departed on the occasion of a local festival of Apollo Dalios attended by delegates

<sup>74</sup> *FD* 2.20, 5 and 21, 4. <sup>75</sup> *ID*2539; Bruneau (1970:141–2).

<sup>76</sup> See §20.3. <sup>77</sup> On which, see Parker (2003:178).

<sup>78</sup> *Manteis*: see §5.3, p.89; *exēgetai*: Persson cited in §10.4, p.168.

<sup>79</sup> *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>.1 122 69–82 = LiDonnici (1995:B13); cf. Dillon (1997a:199), comparing the case of Nikagora of Sikyon in Paus. 2.10.3; cf. the case of Isis, Thessalonike and Opous discussed by Sokolowski (1974). For the cult of Athenian Asclepius and other cases, Garland (1992:116–35).

<sup>80</sup> For early evidence, see Kowalzig (2007:77–8). For Hellenistic Kos, we know of a priest of Apollo Dalios (Paton and Hicks (1891:no.125)) and a shrine called the Dalion (*IG*12.4.281); for Hellenistic Kalymnos, we have a temple of Apollo Dalios (*TimCal*52.9; cf. 105–6). The only other Delia attested outside of Delos is at Tanagra, for which see Schachter (1981–94:1.44–7) and Brelaz, Andriomenou and Ducrey (2007).

from neighbouring city-states, and his importance in the region is confirmed by a month-name Dalios.<sup>81</sup> Even the famous Delian Maidens had been exported, to judge from a Koan inscription from the second century BC, which mentions ‘Daliades’.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, some of the cities that sent *theōroi* to Samothrace are known to have their own cult of the Samothracian gods, and here to the dissemination may have been facilitated by the *theōroi* or pilgrims of other sorts.<sup>83</sup>

In the Roman period, the oracle at Claros sometimes encouraged consultants to set up branches of the cult of Apollo Klarios in their home cities, or to erect statues of a bow-wielding deity, which is a gesture in the same direction.<sup>84</sup> The wide dispersion of the cult of Artemis of Ephesos is surely to be explained in much the same way;<sup>85</sup> the context of the fourth-century ‘Sacrilege Inscription’ may have been the foundation of a cult of Ephesian Artemis by the Ephesians in Sardes.<sup>86</sup> At a much earlier period, the cult of Apollo Pythios, which is well established all over the Greek world, may have been spread in a similar way, by individuals or state delegates carrying it back to their own communities.<sup>87</sup> According to Favorinus of Arles (Hadrianic period), Ammon of Libya once told the people of Aphytis in the Khalkidike that they should no longer send delegations to Libya to consult him, but make enquiry of him there ‘in Thrace’, since he would listen to them there as well, and he did indeed listen.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>81</sup> See §13.5, p.232.      <sup>82</sup> IG12.4.292, 9.

<sup>83</sup> Cole (1984:52) is sceptical: ‘There is also little correspondence between the sites which sent *theōroi* and the sites where the Samothracian gods are known from other inscriptions. Of the forty-six cities which sent *theōroi* to Samothrace, only seven are represented among those which preserve any epigraphical record of interest in the Samothracian gods.’ I am not sure that this is such a bad correspondence, given how incomplete our records are.

<sup>84</sup> The best case is the oracle of Symmachus, who set up a cult of Apollo Klarios at a location in Phrygia on the instructions of the oracle: Merkelbach and Stauber (1996:no.19). Statues of Apollo: oracle for Kallipolis: Merkelbach and Stauber (1996:no.9, 30); oracle for Hierapolis: Kaisareia Troketa: Merkelbach and Stauber (1996:no.8 reverse 14–17); oracle for Hierapolis: Merkelbach and Stauber (1996:no.4, 18–19). Sagalassos, which sent delegations to Claros in the second century AD, had a temple of Apollo Klarios, built in the Augustus period: see Mitchell, Owens and Waelkens (1989:70–3); texts in Lanckoroński-Brzezic (1890–2:227); at Apameia Myrlea, which also sent delegations, a local cult has been inferred from coinage; cf. Head (1911:510; also 710 for Sagalassos); *IClaros* 5n.1). Busine (2005:129–30) rightly warns against the view that the only form of Apollo worshipped by cities that sent delegations to Claros was Apollo Klarios.

<sup>85</sup> See Jessen (1905:2768–9); for Artemis Ephesia on coinage, see Head (1911:940–1); Paus. 4.31.8 says that all cities worship Ephesian Artemis, something he attributes to the Amazons. Kötting (1950:46–7) talks of ‘Filialgründungen’.

<sup>86</sup> See §7.4, p.122; App.#C8.1.      <sup>87</sup> Davies (2007).

<sup>88</sup> Favorinus *De exilio*, ed. Barigazzi (1966:383, 23–6). Cf. Parke (1967:219–20).

### 17.4.7 Reciprocity

In the Hellenistic period, as more and more cities sought common-Greek recognition for their sanctuaries and festivals, festival-networks seemed to become increasingly reciprocal. Cities that sent delegates to festivals at the traditional sanctuaries would also now seek to attract delegates from all over Greece to their own festivals.<sup>89</sup> (This is different from the reciprocal relationship that exists between *theōroi* who visit festivals and *theōroi* who announce festivals, which I discussed in Chapter 5). This tendency towards reciprocity is illustrated neatly by the Koan decree which assumes that *theōroi* visiting festivals in Samothrace and Thessaly will also announce the Koan festival of Asclepius en route.<sup>90</sup> It is symptomatic of this change that around 200 BC Delphi accepted the request of Knidos to recognise a new pentaeteric festival of Artemis Huakinthotrophos.<sup>91</sup> In the distant past, Knidos had been hugely active at Delphi, giving its name both to a treasury and to the celebrated Leskhe that housed Polygnotus' paintings, and to judge from honorific grants it had remained a loyal client of Delphi in more recent times,<sup>92</sup> but now, by the deconstructive logic of Hellenistic festival culture, Knidos acquires the right to expect that Delphi will send delegates in the other direction.

Although this tendency towards reciprocity certainly becomes more marked in the Hellenistic period, we cannot be certain 'exchange pilgrimage' was not a feature of earlier periods as well. It is worth remembering that sources from the fourth century BC already mention lists of gifts to be given to visiting Delphians. Were these festival announcers or festival attenders?<sup>93</sup>

\* \* \*

Such are the disconnected insights about the shape of festival networks that the surviving evidence allows us. If we had fuller data, the story we could tell would no doubt be more complex and more nuanced. However, I also suspect that additional data would tend to confirm some of the patterns

<sup>89</sup> Durand (1987:174): 'Un autre aspect du pèlerinage andin, qui ressortira sans doute des cas concrets évoqués ultérieurement, est son intégration sans le système d'échange et de réciprocité dont nous signalions plus haut l'importance...'

<sup>90</sup> See §5.2.3. <sup>91</sup> *FD* 1.308. See Rigsby (1996:354).

<sup>92</sup> Leskhe: see Kεbric (1983); honorific grants to Knidians at Delphi: *FD* 1.299–1, *FD* 3.186: early third century BC; *FD* 1.290, 296, *FD* 4.424: mid third century BC; *FD* 1.327, *SGDI* 2609: end of third century BC.

<sup>93</sup> Exchange pilgrimage: §4.4.1, p.64n.; gifts to Delphians: §12.3, p.198.



that we can already make out, namely that for any given festival network, the distribution of cities participating tends not to be uniform geographically – some cities (or clusters of cities) have strong relationships with the sanctuary, while others do not participate at all – and that the clientele shows considerable variation over time, as individual cities abandon or renew their connections with it.

### 18.1 Fifth–fourth centuries BC

Athenian *theōriā* can be traced over at least eight centuries, from the time of Solon till the mid-second century AD, and it was directed towards all of the major sanctuaries. The high points, judging from surviving evidence, are: the long sequence of *theōriai* to Delos in the late fifth and fourth centuries BC; and the magnificent *Pūthaïdes* sent to Delphi between 138/7 BC and 98/7 BC. Only in the third century, while Athens was under Macedonian influence, Delphi in Aetolian hands and Delos independent, does its volume seem to diminish. There are also signs that delegations to festivals within Attica were regarded as forms of *theōriā*: Aristophanes’ pentaeteric *theōriā* which the Athenians ‘banged’ to Brauron, and likewise Herodotus’ account of the *theōris* ship on a mission to Sounion.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, Athens also promoted itself as a centre for *theōriai* from elsewhere, an agenda which at least in the fifth and fourth centuries was part of its imperial ambitions. In the Hellenistic period, we have evidence for foreign *theōroi* attending up to four Athenian festivals (the Panathenaia, the Mysteries, the Eleusinia and perhaps the Athenian Ptolemaia).<sup>2</sup>

In this chapter, I shall briefly survey the evidence (§18.1–2), before focusing on three key aspects: evidence that *theōriā* is embedded within the Athenian religious system (§18.3); special groups within Athens that have a close association with *theōriā* (§18.4) and the extent to which Athens attempts to attract foreign *theōroi* to its own festivals (§18.5).

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The links to Delos look particularly old. The myth of Theseus and the Dis Hepta seems to have functioned as an aetiology for at least one Athenian *theōriā* to Delos (cf. the beginning of Plato’s *Phaedo*; one of the Athenian *theōris*-ships was supposed to contain parts of Theseus’ original vessel).<sup>3</sup> Another mythological figure linked to the *theōriā*, perhaps even older, is

<sup>1</sup> Ar. *Peace* 871–80 (cited below, §20.2); Hdt. 6.87; see §4.3.4, p.63.

<sup>2</sup> For the Athenian Ptolemaia, see below, §18.5, p.321.

<sup>3</sup> See §11.2, pp.180–1; Parker (2005:80–1); Kowalzig (2007:92–3).

the hero Erusikhthon, eponym of the Erusikhthonidai.<sup>4</sup> In addition, there is reason to think that the so-called Nicomachus Calendar, which may well be based on Solon's law-code, regulated *theōriā* to Delos: one fragment of it regulates sacrifices on Delos to Apollo, Poseidon and Leto, perhaps at the Delia-festival,<sup>5</sup> and it could also be the source for a document with the suggestive title 'Tablets about the *Dēliastai* ('*Kurbeis peri tōn Dēliastōn*'), referred to by the Hellenistic author Polemo the Periegete, where 'Dēliastai' should probably be understood as 'those involved in the *Dēlias-theōriā*', on the analogy of the *Pūthais-tai*.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from the *theōriā* to Delos linked to the name of Theseus, there was also a pentaeteric one coinciding with the major *agōn* which the Athenians established when they purified the island in 426/5 BC.<sup>7</sup> Yet another, 'hepteteric' festival on Delos is mentioned in the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Athenians*, which may imply a further Athenian *theōriā* there on a six-yearly cycle.<sup>8</sup> The Theseus-*theōriā* is usually placed in the month of Thargelion, though Noel Robertson has associated it with the Oschophoria festival in Pyanopsion, which had links to Theseus and the Dis Hepta.<sup>9</sup> Most evidence suggests that Athenian *theōriai* to Delos left from Piraeus or Phaleron on the south-west coast of Attica, but it is possible that the earlier ones left from Prasiai on the east side, where Erusikhthon had links.<sup>10</sup>

The sequence of pentaeteric festivals on Delos, to which Athens sent *theōriai*, lasted with short interruptions and minor modifications all the way through the fourth century until the period of Delian Independence. In Véronique Chankowski's recent reconstruction, it was enacted every four years from 426/5 until 406/5 (i.e. the same civil year as the Greater Panathenaia), following which there was a break of fifteen years in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War, until it resumed in 391/0, the cycle having been brought forward one year. There were thus a total of twenty-one enactments from 426/5 BC to 331/0 BC.<sup>11</sup> The first enactment is

<sup>4</sup> See §10.5, p.168; Jacoby suspected that the myth of Erusikhthon was influenced by the Atthidographers: see §18.1, p.307.

<sup>5</sup> SEG 52.48 fr. 8A col. 2.6–12; Lambert (2002a:382).

<sup>6</sup> Parker (2005:82 with n.12). The *Dēliastai* are also mentioned by Lycurg., fr.89, and Medeios was honoured as a *Dēliastēs* in the late second century BC (see below, p.310n.46).

<sup>7</sup> Thuc. 3.104. For background, see Hornblower (1991–2008:1.517–25).

<sup>8</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 54.7; Rhodes (1981:607); Chankowski (2008:118).

<sup>9</sup> Robertson (1992:128–31).

<sup>10</sup> Hirst and Hirst (1927) suggested that *theōrides* to Delos might have sailed from the east coast because Paus. 1.31.2 says that a memorial of Erusikhthon at Prasiai commemorated his death returning from a *theōriā* to Delos. Delmousoy (1988) argued that it went via Brauron, on the basis of Ar. *Peace* 873–6, but there Brauron is clearly the final destination: see Bruneau (1991:377–9), and §20.2.

<sup>11</sup> See V. Chankowski (2008:225–6).

recorded in a dedication from Delos which lists five Athenian *arkhitheōroi*, and early on in the sequence, probably in 422/1 BC or 418/17 BC, Nikias is supposed to have led a particularly splendid *theōriā* to Delos, described six centuries later by Plutarch.<sup>12</sup> Administration of the festival was carried out by Athenian *amphiktuones*, and we get a good sense of it from the accounts of 377/6 BC to 374/3 BC, which cover the festival of Thargelion 375/4 BC, the first time it was celebrated after the Second Athenian Confederacy was established three years earlier. Entries include a crown for the god (1,500dr.), tripods as prizes for the choruses (over 1,000dr.), a payment to the *arkhitheōroi* (1 talent), a payment to the trierarch Antimachus for transport of *theōroi* and choruses (1 talent and 1,000dr.), as well as cows for sacrifice (2,419dr.) and gold leaves (126dr.).<sup>13</sup>

Religious relations between Athens and Delphi go back at least as far as the sixth century BC when the Alcmaeonids helped to finance the construction of the Fifth Temple,<sup>14</sup> and it is also in this period that the Athenians acquired their own treasury at Delphi. Whether or not they took part in the 'First Sacred War', or whether indeed such a conflict ever happened, they were members of the Delphic Amphiktion from as early as we have records, supplying one of the two voting positions reserved for Ionians, a duty which will have obligated them to send a *hieromnāmon* and a *pulāgorās* to the twice-yearly *Pūlaiai*.

For Delphi, besides consultation of the oracle,<sup>15</sup> there were two regular *theōriai*: there was the one to the Pythian Games and there was also the famous *Pūthaiis*, alluded to in the opening of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*,<sup>16</sup> and probably also in Euripides' *Ion*,<sup>17</sup> and regulated in the Nicomachus Calendar, which may go back to Solon (see §18.3). From the fifth century BC or the first half of the fourth, we have fragments of a sacred law from the Athenian Treasury which seem to refer to 'shares of the *proxenoi*' and 'a third share of the Athenians' and to a *dōdekēis* ('sacrifice of twelve victims'), which seem to point forward to the *dōdekēis*-offerings in the first century BC–AD. Was this part of the *Pūthaiis* or something different?<sup>18</sup> The *Pūthaiis*

<sup>12</sup> Nikias: §20.1; *arkhitheōroi*: IG1<sup>3</sup>.1468 = App.#B5. See §10.2.

<sup>13</sup> RO no.28, Aa32–6. For the date, V. Chankowski (2008:194).

<sup>14</sup> The best discussion is Daux (1940). Nilsson (1920:366) saw early Delphic influence on the Athenian calendar.

<sup>15</sup> Athenian consultation of the Delphic oracle has been illuminated recently by Bowden (2005).

<sup>16</sup> See Gülke (1969:43–57). For the possibility of a Simonidean Paean for the *Pūthaiis*, see §14.3.1.

<sup>17</sup> *Ion* 285; Hedrick (1988:203–4) argues that Euripides identified the Athenian Apollo Patroos with Pythian Apollo, an identification found later in Dem. *De cor.*141, Pl. *Euthd.*28 and Plut. *Dem.*40.4.

<sup>18</sup> App.#B4.1, 3; see §18.2, pp.311–12.

continued to be celebrated in the fourth century BC. It was then that a *horos*-stone marking the route of the *Pūthais* was inscribed in the Agora.<sup>19</sup> A passage from the *Seventh Oration* of Isaios, dated to some time after 357/6 BC, may indicate that a certain Thrasullos took part in the *Pūthais* in Thargelion a year earlier.<sup>20</sup> A few decades later, probably in 326 BC, a tripod-base was dedicated at Delphi by ten Athenians, described as *hieropoioi hoi tēn Pūthaida agagontes* ('*hieropoioi* who brought the *Pūthais*'). This may have coincided with the dedication of the newly rebuilt temple of Apollo there.<sup>21</sup> Some of the *hieropoioi*, each of whom represents one of the Tribes, are known from elsewhere as religious conservatives:<sup>22</sup> one of them is the orator Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, who prosecuted Menesaikhmos for an impropriety in sacrificing on the Delian *theōriā*, a speech which also included a reference to the *Dēliastai*;<sup>23</sup> another is Nikias the son of Nikeratos, grandson of the famous Nikias who led the *theōriā* to Delos almost a century earlier, and a third is Phanodemos son of Diullos, the celebrated Atthidographer, who wrote about *theōriā* at Athens and her traditional links to Delos.<sup>24</sup> Jacoby argued that the myth of Erusikhthon's involvement in Athenian *theōriā* to Delos was invented by Phanodemos, and goes back no earlier than the fourth century BC, and that during the period of Athenian domination of Delos, there was a tendency for local historians to invent a mythology to match the practice of *theōriā*.<sup>25</sup> At a time when Athens was threatened by Macedonian expansion, Athenians will have appreciated being told that their city had a central role in common-Greek ritual traditions.

<sup>19</sup> Agora 19, H34; see §11.3, pp.183–4.

<sup>20</sup> Isaios 7.28; on the dating, Parke (1959).

<sup>21</sup> *FD* 1.511 (App.#C10). See Boethius (1918:29–31 and Test. 14.I 148–9); date: Lewis (1955:34), Parker (1996:247n.102). The Akanthos Monument may have been dedicated by Athens on the same occasion: see Bousquet (1964) and §2.3.

<sup>22</sup> Parker (1996:247). Androtion and Philochoros show similar interests. Several of them were also *epimeletai* of the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos, honoured in 329/8 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 298).

<sup>23</sup> See §10.4, p.167; reference to *Dēliastai*: fr.14. For an evaluation of the religious policy of Lycurgus, see Mikalson (1998:11–45). Lycurgus' descendants were important in later enactments of the *Pūthais*.

<sup>24</sup> *FGrH*325F2, dealing with Erusikhthon, Delos and quails and *FGrH*325F19, on *akhanē*, a special sort of box in which those going or set ἐπὶ θεωρίας put their provisions (Hesychius, s. ἀχάνας, Σ Ar. *Ach.*108a (Wilson (1975:23, 12–13)). For the etymology, which has been linked to Egyptian and Near Eastern words, see Beekes (2010 s.v.).

<sup>25</sup> Kleidemos: *FGrH*323F22 on the religious mission of the Aiantis tribe to Kithairon; Androtion: *FGrH*324F36, the *kōlakretai* give provisions to Athenian *theōriai* going to Delphi; *FGrH*324F24: on the Paralos; Philochorus: *FGrH*328F75, on the *theōriai* to Delos and Delphi sent by the Marathonian Tetrapolis; *FGrH*328F47–8, on the new *theōrides* commissioned after the liberation of Athens in 307 BC.

In the fourth century, Athens can be shown to have established links with the oracles of Dodona and Ammon, perhaps encouraged by the eclipse of Delphi after the earthquake of 373 BC, although consultations of Delphi continued, as we see from the Decree of the Sacred Orgas (352/1 BC).<sup>26</sup> Evidence for *theōriā* to Dodona in the fourth century comes from the Athenian orators between 343 and the 320s.<sup>27</sup> As we saw earlier, the tradition of regular *theōriai* to Ammon may have started with the decree of 363/2 BC, a copy of which was found at Mahdia, and an inventory from the Acropolis records dedications made by, inter alios, *theōroi* returning from Ammon. A *theōros* in one of the delegations mentioned was Hieronumos son of Xenophantos, presumably a relative of a dithyrambic poet with the same name and patronym mentioned by Aristophanes.<sup>28</sup>

## 18.2 The Hellenistic and Roman periods

Athenian *theōriā* after Alexander reflects the momentous changes in religious geography and mentality that characterise the period. We have already seen how in 304 BC Athens renamed the delegates sent to Antigonos and Demetrius *theōroi*, and soon after introduced new theoric ships with the names Demetrias and Antigonis.<sup>29</sup> In 290 BC, when Delphi was blockaded by the Aetolians, Demetrius celebrated rival Pythian Games at Athens, an initiative that made *theōriai* to Delphi superfluous.<sup>30</sup> The first major *theōriā* known to have been sent out by Athens in the third century is, significantly, the one to the Alexandrian Ptolemaia in 283/2 BC, organised by Kallias of Sphettos, and we should assume that Athens continued to send delegates to subsequent enactments of this festival. Of *theōriai* to Delos and Delphi in the third century BC, or the first half of the second century BC, there is, by contrast, little sign. Athenian control of Delos comes to an end with the onset of Delian Independence, which lasted from 314 BC until the Romans handed it back to Athens in 166 BC, and no *theōriai* from Athens are known during this period; according to Plutarch, the Athenians gave up

<sup>26</sup> This was the same earthquake that affected Helike (see §7.4, p.121); for the effects, see Davies (2001:213ff.); Arnush (2005:103–5).

<sup>27</sup> See §7.3, pp.118–20.

<sup>28</sup> See §7.3, p.117; SEG 46.122 (App.#C3); SEG 21.562 (App.#C4); Hieronumos (2) in LGPN II; P. Maas, RE 8.2 (1913), 1564–5 s. Hieronymos (14); a Hieronumos mentioned later in the inventory may be the same.

<sup>29</sup> §3.4; see §11.2, p.181.

<sup>30</sup> See references in §3.4, with Habicht (1997:94) and Kuhn (2006).

using Theseus' ship, a symbol of the tradition, in the period of Demetrius of Phaleron (317–307 BC).<sup>31</sup>

The relations between Athens and Delphi in the interim century are not as well understood. After the so-called Chremonidean War (ended in 261 BC), the Athenians found themselves subject to Macedon again while the Aetolians tightened their grip on the Amphiktiony.<sup>32</sup> The Athenians lost their seat on the Amphiktionic council, but they sent a delegation to the Soteria when the Aetolians raised its status to that of a crown-festival in 250/49 BC.<sup>33</sup> Some time in the late third century they proclaimed the truce for the big three Athenian festivals at Gonnoi in Thessaly and probably elsewhere as well.<sup>34</sup> Several years after regaining her independence in 229 BC, Athens finally reoccupied her seat on the Amphiktiony around 214 BC.<sup>35</sup> Around 215 BC the Athenians also accepted an invitation from Megalopolis to attend a revived version of the ancient Lykaia-festival.<sup>36</sup> The paucity of evidence for Athenian *theōriā* in the third century is especially striking, in view of the fact that this was exactly when many other cities were inviting *theōroi* to their newly proclaimed festivals.<sup>37</sup>

As the second century BC began, the political map was transformed: Athens entered a military alliance with Rome against Macedon in 200 BC, and against the Aetolians a little later.<sup>38</sup> In the mid-180s the city was heavily involved in the reorganisation of the post-Aetolian Amphiktiony, a process that drew on the rhetoric of political freedom that Flamininus had used in his proclamation a decade earlier.<sup>39</sup> The first sign of a revival in *theōriā* around 200 BC is a series of Delphic decrees honouring *theōroi* from the

<sup>31</sup> Plut. *Thes.*23.1.

<sup>32</sup> Habicht (1997:157); Aneziri (2003:40), suggests that the Isthmian Koinon of the Dionysiac Artists replaced the Athenian one at Delphi in this period.

<sup>33</sup> Habicht (1997:133); Nachtergaele.A21. From the same period is the dedication by the *arkhetheōros* Gylon of Halai and someone else recorded in Inventory V, 30 (IG2<sup>2</sup>.1534b) from the Athenian Asklepieion (Aleshire (1989:252)), now dated to 248/7 BC.

<sup>34</sup> See §5.3.

<sup>35</sup> Habicht (1997:177). Relations had again been strained during the 'War of Demetrius' between Macedon and Aetolia (239–229 BC), but the death of Demetrius II in 229 BC did not lead to an immediate taking up of the seat. In 215–200 BC, the *hieromnāmon* Eudemos of Anakaia was honoured for conducting the traditional sacrifices at Delphi (FD 2.86–7). In DTL (220–210 BC) Athens is included, though written over an erasure in the middle of a sequence of Euboean cities (1.43).

<sup>36</sup> IG2<sup>2</sup>.993; Dow (1937:120–6).

<sup>37</sup> Among all the evidence for recognitions of asyilia in the third–second centuries BC, only two Athenian acceptances are found: for Magnesia (RigsbyA87) and for Alabanda (RigsbyA162). For remarks on the history, see Daux (1936:531–2).

<sup>38</sup> They abstained from the Amphiktionic council in 193/2BC, as a gesture of support for Rome (Habicht (1997:210)).

<sup>39</sup> Habicht (1997:211) and id. (1987); for the relation to the proclamation of Flamininus, Giovannini (1970).

Marathonian Tetrapolis, one of them datable to 178 BC, two of them probably to the end of the third century.<sup>40</sup> Around 140 BC, one of the most influential Athenian politicians of the time, Mikion of Kephisia, was honoured by Delphi for a service connected with the celebration of the Soteria, probably involving a *theōriā*.<sup>41</sup> In the same period, a certain Telesias of Troezen may have been commended for serving as *arkhitheōros* to the Herakleia and Agrionia at Thebes and the Mouseia at Thespiiai on behalf of Athens.<sup>42</sup> The second century also sees a marked increase in the number of *theōroi* from other cities attending Athenian festivals.<sup>43</sup>

Soon after this, Athens began its spectacular revival of the *Pūthais*. As we have seen, there were four enactments under the archons Timarkhos in 138/7 BC (*Pūth* 1), Dionysios in 128/7 BC (*Pūth* 2), Agathokles in 106/5 BC (*Pūth* 3) and Argeios in 98/7 BC (*Pūth* 4). There are some indications that it was meant to be enneaeateric.<sup>44</sup> Athens also relaunched its local festival of Apollo in 129/8 BC, just before *Pūth* 2, and it is tempting to link this to the *Pūthais*, especially since Thargelion, when the festival took place, is also the likely time of the Hellenistic *Pūthais*.<sup>45</sup> Athens sent *theōriai* to Delos as well in this period, although the old hypothesis that there was a Delian *Pūthais* has turned out to be untenable.<sup>46</sup>

One factor in the revival was the new political situation in Greece, another was the economic prosperity of Athens and the emergence of a new entrepreneurial class with something to prove. Thanks in large part to the records of the *Pūthais*, it has been possible to reconstruct some of the main families in some detail.<sup>47</sup> Another factor must have been the resurgence of the local branch of the Artists of Dionysus, who had been out

<sup>40</sup> FD 2.20:178 BC; FD 2.18–19: end of third century; FD 2.21–2: mid second century. See §18.4.

<sup>41</sup> FD 2.140–1. Nachtergaele.A30, 30 (*bis*); Habicht (1997:275, 287–8). In the mid second century, the Athenian artist Leonteus performed at the Delphic Theoxenia: SEG 17.235 = Bousquet (1942–3:129–31).

<sup>42</sup> So Schachter (1981–94:2.170n.4) = SEG 36:175, restoring IG2<sup>2</sup>.971; the date is 140/39 BC.

<sup>43</sup> See §18.5.

<sup>44</sup> FD 2.48, 8 (*Pūth* 4); cf. FD 2.54, 6, as reinterpreted by Daux (1936:557–8); Tracy (1975b:195–6) ascribes FD 2.54 to *Pūth* 3.

<sup>45</sup> See §13.4. LSS 14; Karila-Cohen (2005b:72).

<sup>46</sup> *Theōriā* at Delos: IG2<sup>2</sup>.1095 (98/7 BC) the *agōnothetēs* was the important politician Medeios, son of Medeios. Byrne (1995) sees him as *arkhitheōros*. Medeios himself had been a *Dēliastēs* two decades earlier (ID 1869b4), so perhaps we should posit an elaborate *Dēlias* at this time. Delian *Pūthais*: proposed by Kirchner apropos of IG2<sup>2</sup>.2336; cf. Dow (1940); refuted in Tracy (1982:146). The apparent reference to a Delian *Pūthais* in P.Oxy.2086, fr.1, 3 (Austin (1973:no.238)) is likely to be an ancient mistake.

<sup>47</sup> The main families were: (a) that of Sarapion of Melite, a major contributor to *Pūth* 4, when he was hoplite general; (b) that of Medeios of Piraeus, who served as a *Pūthaištēs pais* in *Pūth* 2 (FD 2.12), and was also a major contributor to *Pūth* 4 (see Byrne (1995)). Both Sarapion and Medeios served as *epimeletes* of Delos, an important position at the time (Habicht (1990b));



of favour at Delphi, following the renewal of their privileges between *Pūth* 1 and *Pūth* 2.<sup>48</sup>

The revival did not last long. *Pūth* 4 was smaller than *Pūth* 3, perhaps the consequence of a slave-revolt that had taken place in the interim.<sup>49</sup> The fact that there was no *Pūthais* 5 in 90/89 BC can be explained by the political turmoil in the late 90s and early 80s BC, when Medeios illegally became archon for three consecutive years, only to be ousted by his fellow Athenians, who then allied themselves with Mithridates.<sup>50</sup>

After Sulla's devastating sack of Athens, she did not entirely withdraw from common-Greek festival culture. Although the year of an Athenian *theōriā* to the *Erotideia kai Romaia* festival at Thespiiai is uncertain,<sup>51</sup> Delphi, with whom relations resume quickly, honours an Athenian priest of Pythian Apollo and *theārodokos* around 80 BC.<sup>52</sup> While there were no more *Pūthaidēs*, there were two delegations to the Pythian Games in the period 50 BC–48 BC, led by the *hieromnēmōn*, the priest of Apollo and an *arkhitheōros*, along with several *theōroi*.<sup>53</sup> In 37–6 BC (more or less when Antony was in Athens) the Attic *genos* of the Gephuraioi, the descendants in name at least of an old *genos* known to Herodotus, consulted the oracle on behalf of another *genos*, the Bouzugai, who controlled the cult of Zeus at the Palladion.<sup>54</sup>

During the last three decades of the first century BC, possibly starting right after the Battle of Actium, Athens sends five *dōdekēides* to Delphi,<sup>55</sup> each one led by Eukles of Marathon, priest of Apollo (in fact, great-great

and (c) that of Ammonios of Anaphlustos; one son, Dionysius, was archon in 128/7 (*Pūth* 2), another, Ammonios, had been a *theōros* in *Pūth* 1 and later served as *epimeletes* of Delos, and their nephew Dionysius was hoplite general in 106/5 (*Pūth* 3) and *epimeletes* of Delos in 106/5, where he won a musical competition in tragedy and satyr-drama (*ID* 1959). For the families, see most recently Karila-Cohen (2005b) and id. (2007).

<sup>48</sup> Around 117–112 BC, the Athenian Dionysiac Artists received further support from the Amphiktion in a dispute with the *koinon* of the Isthmian Dionysiac Artists (Aneziri (2003:41); C1A–C).

<sup>49</sup> Tracy (1979); the small number of ephebes in *Pūth* 4 may indicate that they were engaged in active service.

<sup>50</sup> Habicht (1997:301).

<sup>51</sup> *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.1054. Knoepfler (1997) dates it c.85 BC, but Byrne (1995) to the late second century BC because the erased name of the *arkhitheōros* was probably Medeios.

<sup>52</sup> Demetrios son of Aristoxenos: *FD* 2.55.

<sup>53</sup> *FD* 2.57 (42/38 BC) and *FD* 2.58 (50 BC?). For the date, G. Colin in *FD* 2, 61. On the background, see Spawforth (2012:148).

<sup>54</sup> *SEG* 30.85. Oliver (1980:40–3); Parker (1996:257); Meritt (1940:86–96); for the oracle see §6.5. For the Gephuraioi see now Ismard (2010:76–8 and 372–3); on the Bouzugai in this inscription, see Spawforth (2012:148–56).

<sup>55</sup> These are *FD* 2.59 (30/29 BC?; *FD* 2.60 is abbreviated doublet) (App.#F1), *FD* 2.61 (22/21 BC?), *FD* 2.64 (21/20–18/17 or 13/12–10/9 BC), *FD* 2.62 (14/13–11/10 BC?), *FD* 2.63 (around 13/12–9/8 BC). For the chronology, see Follet (1998); for the meaning of δωδεκῆϊς see §12.4.

grandfather of Herodes Atticus).<sup>56</sup> Other officials are the *exēgetai* (drawn from the Eupatridai), the herald, the *hieromnēmon*, priests and the *aulētēs*. The Delphic *dōdekēis* was also enacted twice in the late first century AD, when the leading role is given to ‘the herald of Apollo (a new title) and priest of Hermes ‘patron of heralds’, Philon of Marathon.’<sup>57</sup> Philon’s role confirms Marathon’s long tradition of involvement at Delphi. Athens also sent a regular *dōdekēis* to Delos in the first half of the second century AD, attested a total of 17 times.<sup>58</sup> The priest of Delian Apollo in the earlier two enactments is M. Annios Puthodoros, the grandson of Ammonius the Middle Platonic philosopher and teacher of Plutarch, who represents him as lecturing at Delphi on the significance of the E at Delphi.<sup>59</sup>

### 18.3 Embedded rituals: the *Pūthaístai* and *Dēliastai*

A striking feature of some Athenian *theōriā* is that it can be shown to have been deeply embedded in local ritual practice. A key piece of evidence here is the so-called Nicomachus Calendar,<sup>60</sup> which contained separate lists for annual sacrifices, two sequences of biennial sacrifices, and also included variable festivals. In his 2002 paper on the calendar, Stephen Lambert has shown that it mentions several sacrifices involving *theōriā*. To begin with, there are two references to the *Pūthaïs*. The lower register of Face A of Lambert’s fr.1 has two surviving columns (App.#B7.1), the one on the right with a title ‘... for Apollo’, and a description of a procession below it; and in the left column (col.ii) there is a sequence of letters that could, in view of the Apolline context, be most of the name ‘Harma’, the location on Parnes where the sign for the dispatch of the *Pūthaïs* was supposed to appear. This hypothesis was confirmed when Lambert discovered traces of some new letters, which allowed him to reconstruct a form of the verb *sēmainō* (‘signal’).<sup>61</sup> In that case, the procession in the right-hand column (which I discussed in Chapter 11)<sup>62</sup> must have something to do with the *Pūthaïs* as

<sup>56</sup> Stemma in Ameling (1983:1.170). His grandfather, also called Eukles, had taken part in *Pūth* 3 in 105 BC as *phylarkhos* of the Aiantis tribe; his grandson, Hipparkhos, was also a priest of Apollo, and as such mentioned in the *dōdekēis*-decrees for the late first century AD.

<sup>57</sup> *FD* 2.65 (AD84/5–92/3), 66 (AD87/8–95/6). For the dates, Follet (1998:253–4); for the imperial context, Weir (2004:149–51).

<sup>58</sup> *ID* 2535 (App.#G1): 9 enactments from AD112 to AD120; *ID*2536: 4 enactments from AD121 to AD124; *ID*2538: 4 enactments from AD138 to AD161. See Bruneau (1970:139–41).

Mavrogiannis (above) stresses the link between Delian Apollo and Augustus in this period.

<sup>59</sup> *ID* 2535 and *ID* 2536. C. P. Jones (1967); Follet (1976:162–3)

<sup>60</sup> *SEG* 52.48. On the calendar and its relation to Solon, see Parker (1996:44–5, 218–20).

<sup>61</sup> Lambert (2002a:370); earlier discussion in Boethius (1918:157–9). See §11.2.

<sup>62</sup> See §11.1, p.177.

well. The fact that all of this text is marked off from the rest of the calendar above indicates that the *Pūthaiis* was considered a ‘variable rite’ that did not fit into the annual or biennial system.

Face A of Lambert's fr.6 (App.#B7.2) says that on the seventh of some month a ‘sheep lacking age teeth’ is to be offered for the seventh day offering, the seventh being Apollo's day,<sup>63</sup> and something is to be given to the *Pūthaistai*. Boethius suggested that the context here was a gathering in Athens to watch for the lightning.<sup>64</sup> However, in the local calendar from the deme of Erchia, published in 1965, which dates from the early fourth century, there are two occasions when *Pūthaistai* receive offerings: one of these is on Thargelion 4 for Pythian Apollo, more or less the time that the *Pūthaiis* is believed to have taken place.<sup>65</sup> Besides the *Pūthaistai*, the only other group singled out in a similar way are women. Few other Attic sacred calendars survive, and, although the *Pūthaistai* are not mentioned in any of these, the chances must be that Erchia was not unique, and that many demes gave the *Pūthaistai* similar privileges.<sup>66</sup> The Erchia calendar cannot refer to the watching for the lightning, since that ritual took place in Athens, so perhaps these are sacrificial privileges given to them after service (or before?). It might be possible to reconcile the Erchia and Nicomachus Calendars if we posit that the *Pūthaistai* were honoured in their own communities on Thargelion 4<sup>th</sup>, and then moved to Athens where the state honoured them on the 7<sup>th</sup>, the day of the Thargelia-festival.<sup>67</sup>

Three other fragments of the calendar could refer to *theōriā* as well. Fr.8, 6–12 (Face A) describes small sacrifices on Delos: a full-grown offering to Apollo (12dr.), a ram for Poseidon (17dr.) and a full-grown offering for Leto (12dr.). Lambert concludes that the context is a *theōriā* to Delos, of uncertain timing and frequency.<sup>68</sup> This is preceded by references to

<sup>63</sup> Mikalson (1975:19); Schmidt (1908:88–94); compare the Hebdomaistai, who make a dedication to Apollo at Ikaria: SEG 32.244; see below, p.315.

<sup>64</sup> Boethius (1918:24, Test.11). <sup>65</sup> SEG 21.541; see §11.6, p.191.

<sup>66</sup> By contrast Karila-Cohen (2005b:79) suggests that there was a special link with Erchia on the grounds that one member of a Hellenistic *Pūthaiis* comes from Erchia.

<sup>67</sup> For the *Pūthaiis* and Thargelia, see §13.4. Isaeus 7.27 implies that a *Pūthaiis* around 355 BC left after the Thargelia; the same speech (7.15–16) says that a participant in that, Thrasullos, who had been adopted as an heir by Apollodorus, was formally introduced to his kinsmen and *phratores* at the Thargelia, and that it was normal practice to introduce sons and adopted sons in this way. This seems to make sense in so far as Apollo Pythios is also Patroos at Athens. In view of this practice, one might wonder whether one of the functions of participation in the *Pūthaiis* was for sons and adopted sons to confirm their status in the presence of Apollo, though this cannot have been regular practice since the *Pūthaiis* was so rare.

<sup>68</sup> Lambert (2002a:383–4). Notice that fr.8 and fr.12 (below) come from ‘Group B’, which Lambert (2002a:357) suggests might be specifically for quadrennial sacrifices or those on other cycles.

other small sacrifices, including one to Apollo, which might be the corresponding sacrifices in the city. At fr. 2 (Face A), 10 there is an entry for a biennial sacrifice to Zeus Ne[meios, which probably implies a *theōriā* to Nemea. Lambert restores the date as the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> of Metageitnion, the second month of the year.<sup>69</sup> No doubt if more of the Calendar survived, we would find sacrificial protocols relating to the other common-Greek festivals as well.

The most problematic passage is fr.12 (Face A), 4–5, which specified offerings to Artemis at Oinoe (*Oinoēsi*). This must be Oinoe in the Marathonian Tetrapolis, where Philochorus says that sacrifices were made in the Pythion while the Marathonian *theōriai* were away in Delphi. Philochorus also says that sacrifices were offered at the Delion in Marathon when the *theōriai* were *en mission* to Delos.<sup>70</sup> Just before this point in the fragment of the Calendar (fr.12A, 1–3) there is a reference to an offering made for ‘two heralds’ and then to ‘Eleusis’. This pairing is reminiscent of the ‘*Kurbeis peri tōn Dēliastōn*’ which, according to Polemo, specified that ‘the two heralds’ had to be drawn from the Eleusinian *genos* of the Kerukes and that they had the privilege of being *parasitōi* in the ‘Delion’ for a year.<sup>71</sup> The possibility thus arises that fr.12A, 1–5 is closely related to the text Polemo cites, that it has something to do with the Delion and Pythion in the Tetrapolis, and that the context for it may be the rituals described in the Philochorus fragment.<sup>72</sup>

Thus, the Nicomachus Calendar treated extraterritorial sacrifices as an integral part of the Athenian state calendar, acknowledging the special position of the *Pūthaistai* and possibly of the *Dēliastai* as well. A different

<sup>69</sup> Lambert (2002a:372–3); id. (2002b).

<sup>70</sup> Philochorus *FGrH*328F75; see §12.8.

<sup>71</sup> Polemo fr.78Preller= Ath. 234e–f: ἐν δὲ τοῖς κύρβεσι τοῖς περὶ τῶν Δηλιαστῶν οὕτω γέγραπται: καὶ τῶ κήρυκε ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Κηρύκων τοῦ τῆς μυστηριώτιδος· τούτους δὲ παρασιτεῖν ἐν τῷ Δηλίῳ ἐνιαυτον (‘The following is inscribed on the law-code tablets concerned with the *Dēliastai*: and the two heralds are from the Kerykid clan associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries. These men are to serve as parasites in the precinct of Delian Apollo for a year’). One wonders whether these heralds drawn from the Kerukes of the *mustēriōtis* could be related to the *spondophoroi* of the *mustēriōtides spondai*, who are drawn from the Kerukes and Eumolpidae: see §18.3. Parker (1996:88n.84; 300–1); Stroud (1979:24–5); attributed to Solon’s laws by Ruschenbusch (1966:F88). The term παρασιτεῖν is associated with Solon at Plut. *Sol.*, 24. For παράσιτοι in cult, see L. Ziehen, ‘Parasitōi 1’, *RE* 18.4 (1949), 1377–81). The *Kurbeis peri tōn Dēliastōn* could be alluded to in Callimachus fr.114: “Ἡρῶς ὦ κατὰ πρύμναν, ἐπεὶ τόδε κύρβις ἀεῖδει (‘O Hero at the Stern, since the *kurbis* sings’), if this hero is linked to the Delian *theōriā*: see Robertson (1992:130).

<sup>72</sup> See Lambert (2002a:384), who says that Polemo’s citation ‘may well have originated in a passage of the calendar close to ours’; text on 365; translation on 394. Contrast Parker (2005:82), who thinks that Polemo’s Delion was in Athens.

Table 10. *Dedications by the Pūthaistai in the Pythion at Ikaria*

Ikaria 1	IG2 <sup>2</sup> .2817 (above the image) Peisikrates <i>Pūthaistēs</i> ... (below the image) ... son of Akrotimos dedicated (Πυθαίστης Πεισικράτης Ἀκροτίμου ἀνέθηκεν). <sup>73</sup>
Ikaria 2	Fragmentary. <sup>74</sup>
Ikaria 3	IG2 <sup>2</sup> .2816: dedication to Apollo by four <i>Pūthaistai</i> : Peithon son of Sosigenes, Timokritos son of Timokrates, Ameinokles son of Ameinippos and Hagnodemos son of Hagnotheos; see Fig. 4. <sup>75</sup>
Ikaria 4	SEG 32.244: A fragmentary relief of the Hebdomaistai (Ἑβδομαῖοι οἱ ἐπὶ [-----]). <sup>76</sup>
Ikaria 5	IG2 <sup>2</sup> .4556. dedicated by Hippok[rates] son of Charmes. <sup>77</sup>

insight into how extraterritorial religious activity is embedded in local religion comes from a group of votive reliefs recording dedications to Apollo in the Pythion in the deme of Ikaria, dating from the second half of the fourth century BC. All of them depict Apollo at Delphi, in some cases accompanied by Artemis and Leto. Three of these have long been known (Ikaria 1–3), and of these the two with inscriptions identify the dedicants as *Pūthaistai* (Ikaria 1, 3). Since there seem to be pillars for five reliefs in the *pronaos* of the Pythion, Emmanuel Voutiras in a paper published in 1982 proposed to identify the missing ones with two further extant reliefs. One of these (Ikaria 4) has a dedication by Hebdomaistai, apparently a group who perform sacrifices on the seventh (i.e. Apolline) day of the month, as the *Pūthaistai* do in the Nicomachus Calendar (see Table 10).

So at least two of these reliefs are linked to the *Pūthaiis*. Most likely this is the main Athenian *Pūthaiis*, and not the local Marathonian manifestation that Georges Daux postulated, and the dedications are made when they return from Delphi to the deme. As Voutiras suggested, some of these (at least Ikaria 1, 4) may have been associated with the enactment led by the ten *hieropoioi* in 326 BC, whereas Ikaria 3 is probably a few decades earlier.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Plate 31, fig. 3 Voutiras (1982); Boethius (1918:Test.13); now in the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

<sup>74</sup> Plate 31, fig. 4 Voutiras (1982), now in the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

<sup>75</sup> Boethius (1918:Test.12); now in Museo Barracco in Rome. See App.#C5.

<sup>76</sup> See Voutiras (1982); now in Detroit.

<sup>77</sup> Plate 31, fig. 5 Voutiras (1982); in British Museum.

<sup>78</sup> Boethius (1918:27–8), Voutiras (1982: 320n.14). Bousquet (1964:666n.4) suggested that these reliefs might have been dedicated by *Pūthaistai* whose destination was the Puthion at Ikaria, but that seems less likely (see Parker (2005:85)).



**Figure 4.** Relief from Ikaria depicting four *Pūthaistai* making a dedication to Apollo at Delphi (IG2<sup>2</sup>.2816), in Museo Barracco in Rome (App.#C5). (The inscription makes it clear that a dedication is to Apollo, but the image makes Leto the focal figure.)

To sum up, the *Pūthaïs* is embedded both in the ritual calendar of Athens and in the demes. It may be observed that all the evidence for this is from the late fifth and fourth centuries, and there is nothing equivalent for the revived *Pūthaïs* of the late Hellenistic period. This degree of embeddedness is not found in any other city, with the possible exception of Kos.

#### 18.4 Special groups

During the final years of the third century BC and the first part of the second, while Athens as a whole was sending virtually no delegations to Delphi, the Marathonian Tetrapolis sent at least five (see [Table 11](#)), one of them, if Georges Daux's suggestion is right, identified as a '*Pūthaïs*'.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Daux (1936:532–40).

Table 11. *Independent delegations to Delphi sent by the Marathonian Tetrapolis*

FD2.18	Delphic decree in honour of Kudippos of Oinoe (late third century BC).
FD2.19	Archonship of Kallieros: 204 BC?
FD2.20	Archonship of Praxias (178 BC), in honour of the <i>presbeutai</i> Diophantos, Kallisthenes, Lusitheos, who renew the relationship.
FD2.21 (= App.#E2)	Decree honour of <i>theōroi</i> of the <i>Pūthais</i> <sup>80</sup> including Herodotus of Probalinthos (others lost): mid-second century BC.
FD2.22	In honour of Phuleus of Oinoe, N of Trikoruthos, and Artem[os] of X: mid-second century BC.

In addition, there were delegations from the Tetrapolis in the Hellenistic *Pūthaïdes*,<sup>81</sup> and smaller Athenian delegations to Delphi in the first century BC–first century AD contained several Marathonian officials. That the Tetrapolis has a special interest in *theōriā* to Delphi is no surprise. Philochorus reports the existence of independent *theōriai* to Delos and Delphi, and Demosthenes attests that there had been a sacred trireme at Marathon, which Philip seized.<sup>82</sup>

The Tetrapolis, comprising the four cities of Marathon, Oinoe, Trikoruthos and Probalinthos, had deep roots in Athenian myth and history, being one of the ‘twelve cities of Cecrops’, but it was not an independent political unit in the Cleisthenic organisation of Attica.<sup>83</sup> The *theōriai* to Delos and Delphi must have been one of the main forms of ‘pan-Tetrapolitan’ religious and political expression.<sup>84</sup> The case is not unique: we have a parallel for sentimental religious identity expressed through *theōriā* outlasting the loss of political identity in the case of Isthmos/Astypalaia on the island of Kos; and there may also be other cases where *theōriā* to an external sanctuary is correlated with the coming together of a group of cities at home. What is unusual about the theoric tradition of the Tetrapolis is that at times it is more durable than that of Athens as a whole.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> See on App.#D16.

<sup>81</sup> The Tetrapolis sent *theōroi* in *Pūth* 1, *Pūth* 2 and *Pūth* 4 (FD 2.7–8, FD 2.2+10), in *Pūth* 3 there is a *Pūthaistēs* from there (FD 2.13).

<sup>82</sup> Philochorus *FGrH*328F75; Demosthenes 4.34.

<sup>83</sup> Lewis (1963:31); Parker (1996: 331–2). Parker (1996: 266) suggests that the prominence of the Tetrapolis in the second century BC was a symptom of the contemporary decline of the demes. For the religion of the Tetrapolis, see now Ismard (2010:239–49).

<sup>84</sup> Another form of expression for it is the fourth-century calendar, for which see Lambert (2000).

<sup>85</sup> Religious practice survives political identity: §13.3, pp.221–2; coming together of a group of cities: §11.2, p.176.



The Tetrapolis was not the only group within Attica which sent its own sacred delegations. The Aiantis tribe, as Plutarch (probably drawing on the Atthidographer Kleidemos) records, used to make publicly funded sacrifices at the cave of the Sphragitid Nymphs on Mt Kithairon in commemoration of the battle of Plataea. The Sphragitid Nymphs were among the deities to whom Delphi told Aristides to sacrifice before the Battle, and the Aiantis tribe were chosen because all the losses in the Battle came from them.<sup>86</sup> Here, then, the Aiantis were acting on behalf of the city, something there is no sign of in the documents relating to the Tetrapolitan delegations. There is, however, a suggestive link with the Tetrapolis: of the six demes known to have been in the tribe, three belong to the Tetrapolis (Marathon, Oinoe and Trikorynthos), and two more come from the same region (Rhamnous and Aphidna); only one (Phaleron) is located elsewhere in Attica.<sup>87</sup> The possibility thus arises that these traditions are connected in some way, and notice that just as the delegation to the Sphragitid Nymphs were designed to commemorate a military victory, the Tetrapolitan delegations to Delphi also had military dimension, mediating between Marathon itself, site of the *poluandria* of the heroised war-dead, and Delphi, where the Athenians erected monuments to the battle.<sup>88</sup>

Other subsections of the Athenian state may sometimes have acted independently or semi-independently as well. A fourth century decree from Akharnai preserves a record of a Delphic oracle which said 'it is better and preferable for the deme (*dēmos*) of Akharnai and the people (*dēmos*) of Athens if they build the altars of Ares and Athene Areia so the matter of the gods is pious for the Akharnians and the Athenians'. Either Akharnai and Athens had consulted the oracle together or, more likely in view of the order, Akharnai consulted on their own.<sup>89</sup> Another group who made an independent consultation was the *genos* of the Gephuraioi, who, as we saw, acted on behalf of another *genos*, the Bouzugai, who were responsible for central Athenian cults.<sup>90</sup> Several other *genē* are attested as taking part in the Hellenistic *Pūthais*: the Erusikhthonidai, the Purrhakidai (both of these associated with Delos), the Eupatridai, the Euneidai and the Kerukes.<sup>91</sup> Independent missions by these are not attested, but they would not be surprising.

<sup>86</sup> Schachter (1981–94:2.55–6, 185–6), Parker (1996:103); Kleidemos *FGrH*323F22 = Plut. *QC*1.10, 628f, Aristides 19.6.2 Teodorsson (1989:1.163). On the reliability of Kleidemos, McInerney (1994); Habicht (1961:29) puts him in the context of pseudo-documents from the fourth century. On the Sphragitid nymphs, see Larson (2001:19–20).

<sup>87</sup> Trail (1975:12–13).

<sup>88</sup> *Poluandria*: Whitley (1994); Alcock (2002:77–8); Delphi: Paus. 10.10.1–2, 10.11.5; Stähler (1991).

<sup>89</sup> *SEG* 21.519; *PW* R289; Robert (1938:293–5); an independent tradition for Akharnai seems to be suggested also by Pin. *Nem.*2, for Timodemus of Akharnai, with no mention of Athens; Parker (1996:327) suggests that the family of the Timodemidai might have been linked to the Salaminioi.

<sup>90</sup> For the Gephuraioi see §6.5, pp.108–9. <sup>91</sup> See §10.5.



This section should not end without mentioning a unique female group, the Athenian *Thuiades*, whose *oreibasia*, according to Pausanias, took them from Athens to Parnassos, where they held *orgia* of Dionysos, and dances at various places including Panopeus in Phokis (thus bringing life to the epithet *kallikhoros* that Homer applies to it). As well-educated Athenian women, the *Thuiades* were no doubt mindful that Aigle, the wife of The-seus, was the daughter of Panopeus, eponymous hero of that city.<sup>92</sup>

## 18.5 Athens as a theoric centre

Athens was known for its glorious festival culture, and one of the reasons this was developed was to attract visitors from other cities.<sup>93</sup> In Chapter 2, I drew attention to three aspects of this, which can already be traced to the fifth century BC: first, the Athenian Empire took shape on the back of the structure of a religious league based on Delos; second, Athens developed its festival culture as a frame for the administration of its Empire in the second half of the fifth century, possibly backing this up with the claim that it was the *metropolis* of the Ionians; third, Eleusis was remodelled as a Panhellenic centre, with festival-announcement attested already in the early fifth century and the invitation to send *aparkhai* added in the 420s.<sup>94</sup>

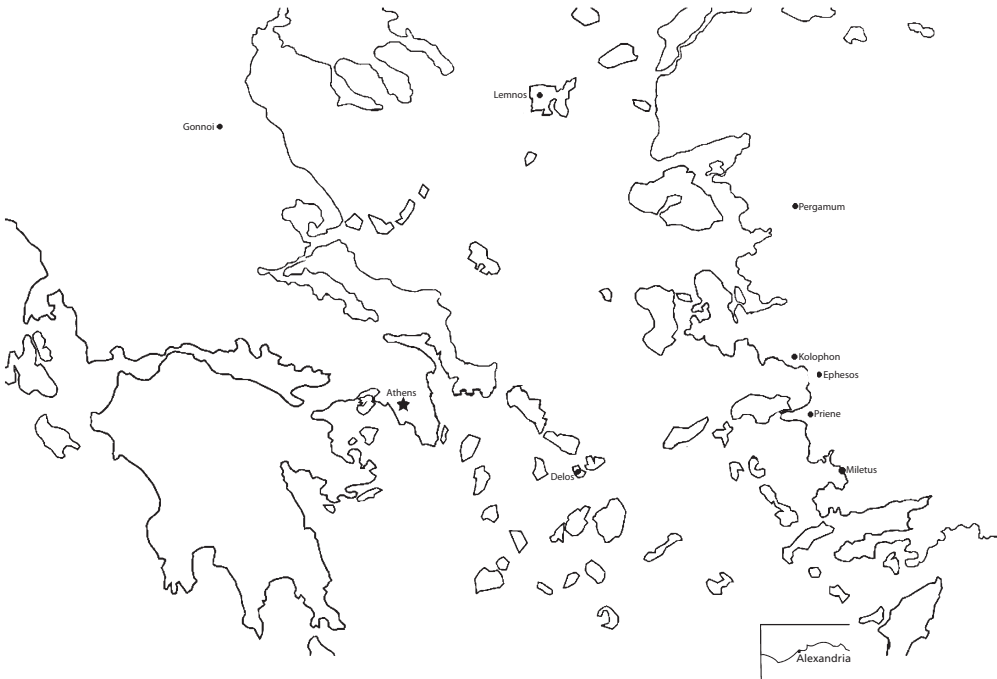
The epigraphic evidence for foreign *theōroi* visiting Athenian festivals is patchy, because the Athenians seem never to have recorded visits of *theōroi* in any systematic way (see Table 12 with Map 21). Nor is there any evidence that Athens advertised its festivals abroad early on, with the exception of the Greater Mysteries, for which there was probably announcement already in the fifth century.<sup>95</sup> The first and only sign of a more systematic announcement covering several festivals is an Athenian decree from the last part of the third century BC, which survives because it is cited in a decree passed by the Thessalian city of Gonnoi. This awarded *proxeniā* and ‘any benefit they wish’ to those in the ‘appointed cities’ (ll.26–7) who act as *theārodokoi* for Athenian *spondophoroi* announcing the Eleusinia, the Panathenaia and the Musteria (the Greater Dionysia is conspicuous by its absence). The city of Gonnoi was duly named a *theārodokos*. Athens’ decision to raise the game on the *epangelia* of its festivals presumably reflects

<sup>92</sup> Paus. 10.4.3; Parker (2005:83); K. Preisendanz *RE* 6.1 (1937) s. ‘Thyiaden’, 688; Henrichs (1978:137). For *καλλιχόρος* see Hom. *Od.* 11.581. Aigle: (Ps.?) Hesiod fr.298 (= Plut. *Thes.* 20); see West (1985:68); McInerney (1999:295–6). Krauskopf (2011:117–18) argues that the *Thuiades* are represented on fifth-century Athenian vases.

<sup>93</sup> Isocr. *Paneg.* 46; cf. also Thuc. 2.38, Ps.Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 3.8 The fullest modern study of the subject is Smarczyk (1990:154–298; 525–611).

<sup>94</sup> Delos: §3.3, p.42; Athenian festival culture: §3.3, §15.2; Eleusis: §3.3, §7.2.

<sup>95</sup> See §5.3, p.92.



Map 21. Evidence for *theōroi* visiting Athenian festivals, and for invitations to festivals issued by Athens

the weakening of Macedonian control in this period, as Bruno Helly suggested.<sup>96</sup> It is not clear how widespread this policy was ('in the appointed cities' does not sound like the whole of Greece). Half a century later we know from Polybius that Athens was still announcing its festivals abroad.<sup>97</sup>

*Theōroi* visiting Athens for the most part behaved like those in any other part of the Greek world. The delegations were made up of between one and three men; nothing as elaborate as a *khōros* is mentioned.<sup>98</sup> One distinctive feature is that their *epidēmiai* in Athens were sometimes prolonged: it would be easier to write off the decree from the young Pergamene *theōros* who stays to study philosophy as a special case, but even the Milesian delegates of IG2<sup>2</sup>.992 (see Table 12 below) probably came for the Panathenaia in midsummer (if not before) and stayed for the Mysteries in the autumn. And why not?

Whereas the higher volume from the second century BC may reflect the revival of Athens' fortunes under Roman influence in this period,<sup>99</sup> the

<sup>96</sup> I.Gonnoi 109 (App.#D13); Helly (1973:126) suggests 230/29 BC.

<sup>97</sup> Polyb. 28.19. See §15.4.

<sup>98</sup> I wonder whether a line attributed to the girls of Bottiaia, PMG868, might be from a song performed at the Panathenaia accompanying a delegation from Bottiaia (for which, see Flensted-Jensen (1995)). I shall argue for this song in a separate article (Rutherford (forthcoming f). The Keian song to Demeter Eleusinia (SLG460; see Rutherford (1995a)) could perhaps have been performed in the context of a Keian *theōriā* to Eleusis.

<sup>99</sup> See §3.4, p.223.

Table 12. Evidence for theōriai visiting Athenian festivals

435–28 BC	Kolophon?	IG1 <sup>3</sup> .43 seems to mention <i>theōriā</i> and <i>theōroi</i> ; festival unknown, but probably the Panathenaia.
331–28 BC	Priene	Decree to send a <i>theōriā</i> to the Panathenaia ( <i>I. Priene</i> 5 = PEP (Priene) 42). They are also to make an announcement to the <i>dēmos</i> about the good services of Diphilos, the <i>stratēgos eis Samon</i> . <sup>100</sup>
Late third century BC	Gonnoi	The record of Athenian <i>spondophoroi</i> at Gonnoi announcing three festivals ( <i>I. Gonnoi</i> 109 = App.#D13)
224/3–222/1 BC	Ephesos	Athenian decree for Ephesian <i>presbeutai</i> : <i>Agora</i> 16.225 (= <i>SEG</i> 25.109), for whom a <i>theōrodokos</i> is voted. The <i>presbeutai</i> are said to have proclaimed at the <i>gumnikos agōn</i> that Ephesos crowns Athens, and Athens praises Ephesos and King Ptolemy (Euergetes I). Robert (1938:62–9) thought that the reference to the <i>theōrodokos</i> indicated that the <i>presbeutai</i> had informed Athens that Ephesos wanted to send <i>theōroi</i> to an Athenian festival, most likely the Ptolemaia. Merritt (1944:251) cautiously agreed and connected with it <i>Agora</i> 16.238 (below). <sup>101</sup>
Probably end of third century BC, certainly before 197/6	Ephesos	Athenian decree for Ephesian <i>theōroi</i> : <i>Agora</i> 16.238. Following Robert's interpretation of <i>Agora</i> 16.225 (see above), Merritt (1944:249–54) linked this to the Athenian Ptolemaia, but the Panathenaia is also a possibility.
Early second century BC	Pergamum	A Pergamene <i>theōros</i> attending the Panathenaia, also taking the opportunity to improve his education studying philosophy, in the reign of Attalus I; an honorary decree ( <i>IG</i> 2 <sup>2</sup> .886), proposed after he had returned, dates from 194/3. <sup>102</sup>

(cont.)

<sup>100</sup> See §15.2, p.255. Parker (1996:221n. 14) points to evidence for similar delegations around the same time from Kolophon and Tenos.

<sup>101</sup> For the Athenian Ptolemaia, see H. Volkmann s.v. Ptolemaia, *RE* 23.2, 1585 (1959); Ferguson (1908:338–45).

<sup>102</sup> See §19.3, p.334.

Table 12. (Cont.)

Early second century BC	Miletus	Milesian <i>theōroi</i> at Eleusis, apparently headed by Euandrides son of Euandrides (IG2 <sup>2</sup> .992 with Habicht (1991)). They dedicated a cow to the goddesses. Nevertheless, the primary occasion of the visit is likely to be the Panathenaia. <sup>103</sup>
	Miletus	SEG 42.1072 = Günther (1992). The festival is presumably the Panathenaia. The leader is Hermophantos son of Likhas, who was a <i>theōros</i> in IG2 <sup>2</sup> .992, which is therefore earlier; members of the <i>theōriai</i> are to be crowned, an honour formally declared at the Dionysia, and receive citizenship.
169 BC	Alexandria	According to Polybius 28.19 Athenian <i>theōriai</i> were in Alexandria announcing the Panathenaia and Musteria. <sup>104</sup>
160–50 BC	Delos	Euboulos, son of Demetrios of Marathon, represents the <i>dēmos</i> of Athenians in Delos at the Panathenaia, together with his son (ID1498); unusual, because the <i>theōros</i> is himself from Attica.
Second century BC	Priene	Athens honours Priene for having sent a <i>theōriā</i> to the Panathenaia (I.Priene 45= PEP (Priene) 1)
Mid second century BC	Kolophon	Menippos of Kolophon in Athens, taking the opportunity to improve his education, probably as <i>theōros</i> , festival unknown. <sup>105</sup>
130 BC	Cappadocia?	A decree of the Athenian Artists (IG2 <sup>2</sup> .1330, 50) anticipates appointing a <i>theōrodokos</i> in case Ariarathes V of Cappadocia sends a <i>presbeia</i> . The use of the term <i>presbeia</i> is puzzling, but it could be that a religious delegation of some sort is meant: see on <i>Agora</i> 16.225 above. <sup>106</sup>
Second century BC	Lemnos	A decree by the Athenian cleruchs in Hephais-tia in honour of Epicles of Acarnania (IG2 <sup>2</sup> .1223) states it will be proclaimed in Athens by the <i>stratēgoi</i> and ‘the <i>theōroi</i> who are sent from time to time.’

<sup>103</sup> Habicht (1991a:329). <sup>104</sup> Polyb. 28.19. See §4.4.1.

<sup>105</sup> IClaros 63. Habicht (1997:289–90).

<sup>106</sup> Aneziri (2003:44–5 and A3a). One of the *presbeis* who went to Cappadocia was Menelaos, the tragic poet, who was a *theōros* for the Athenian Dionysiac Artists at Delphi in 128/7; see Ferguson (1907:401); historical context in Habicht (1992:282), Mattingly (1997: 139); Ferguson (1907:401).

absence of evidence from the third century stands out, particularly when we consider that elsewhere in the Greek world, festival culture experienced great activity and renewal in this period. Notice also that most of the *theōriai* mentioned are from cities of Asia Minor, and of these only Pergamum is not Ionian.

Athens' aspiration to become a Panhellenic festival centre seems to have come closest to being realised in the Hadrianic period, when, with imperial backing, it hosted not just the *sunhedrion* of the Panhellenion, which was based at the Olympieion in the city, but also three other 'sacred' games, so that there must have been a major meeting every year. However, for these, as for most festivals in this period, there is little evidence for participation by civic delegates.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>107</sup> See §16.3.

## 19.1 Introduction

From the fourth century BC, if not earlier, the word *theōriā* is used for the activity of contemplation which defines the life of the philosopher.<sup>1</sup> The idea, if not the word, may have been already known to Thales and Pythagoras in the sixth century BC,<sup>2</sup> but the earliest reliable attestations come from the mid- to late fifth century BC, apropos of Anaxagoras, who is said to have regarded *theōriā* of the sun, moon and heavens as the central purpose of human life,<sup>3</sup> and we find it also in a fragment of Euripides, where a singer utters a *makarismos* of the man who understands *historiā* and beholds the ageless order of immortal nature. It also seems to be implied in Herodotus' account of Solon's trip to Egypt and Lydia, where *theōriā* and philosophy appear side by side.<sup>4</sup>

However, for the classic formulation of philosophical *theōriā* we have to wait until the fourth century BC, when Plato presents it as one of the defining features of the philosophical intellect, 'a grand contemplation of the whole of time and the whole of existence' (*Rep.* 6, 486a: μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ θεωρία παντὸς μὲν χρόνου, πάσης δὲ οὐσίας), which leads the philosopher to disdain everyday life (see further below). Aristotle also gives *theōriā* a central role in his ethics and metaphysics: he sees it as the contemplation through the intellectual faculty (*nous*) of first principles and causes, and as such it is both the highest form of intellectual activity and also the pinnacle of human happiness. Notice that Plato and Aristotle regard its scope as much broader and more abstract than the astronomical *theōriā* of Anaxagoras, though that form lives on as well.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The most important recent work on this subject has been done by Andrea Nightingale (2004, 2005, 2001). I date my own interest in it to a tutorial we had on the subject at Oxford in 1983. An earlier study of the area is H. Rausch (1982).

<sup>2</sup> Thales: Pl. *Th.* 174a; Pythagoras: below.

<sup>3</sup> Anaxagoras: DK59A1 (2.6.15) (= D.L. 2.6.10), A29 (2.13.11) (= Clem.Al. *Strom.* 2.130), A30 (2.13.20) (= Arist. *EE* 1.5.9 [1216a11]).

<sup>4</sup> E. fr.910Kannicht; Hdt. 1.30.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Ps. Platonic *Epinomis* (usually ascribed to Philip of Opous) 986c–d; see Nightingale (2004:180–6).

Contemplation-*theōriā* continues to be of great importance in later philosophy. The Stoics contrasted the *theōrētikos bios* ('life of contemplation') with two other forms of life, the *praktikos* and the *logikos*.<sup>6</sup> Later Greeks tend to project the theoretic life onto foreign groups: Philo found an intense version of it in a group of Jewish ascetics, one branch of which lived near Lake Mareotis in Egypt;<sup>7</sup> and the Egyptianising Stoic philosopher Chaere-mon said that Egyptian priests renounced ordinary human activities and devoted their whole life to 'contemplation and viewing of divine things' (τῆ τῶν θεῶν θεωρίαι καὶ θεάσει).<sup>8</sup> In the Neoplatonism of the Roman Empire, philosophical *theōriā* assumes an even more central role: thus, for Plotinus (mid-third century AD) the world itself exists as a sort of by-product of the contemplation by nature of soul, which in turn contemplates intellect, which in turn contemplates the One. This process of 'contemplative derivation' is thus at the centre of his explanation of the universe.<sup>9</sup>

## 19.2 Religious *theōriā* as a model for philosophy

There are a number of apparent analogies between philosophical *theōriā* and *theōriā* in its religious sense, some of them observed by the philosophers themselves.

- i. Religious *theōriā*, like contemplation, is not carried out with a practical purpose, or in order to gain from it, but is an end in itself. That point was made in Aristotle's *Protreptikos*, at least in so far as this work is conventionally reconstructed from the writings of the Neoplatonist philosopher Iamblichus, which compares contemplation with watching both the Olympics and the Dionysia festival.<sup>10</sup> We find it also in the famous 'Parable of the Three Lives', which Heraclides of Pontus, cited by Cicero, attributed to Pythagoras, but which is usually thought to have been invented in the fourth century BC, perhaps by Heraclides himself. Pythagoras was represented as trying to persuade Leon, tyrant of

<sup>6</sup> D.L. 7.130; Cf. E. Lefèvre (2007), who cites Seneca *De Otio* for Stoic *theōriā*.

<sup>7</sup> *De Vita Contemplativa*; in c.90 the life of *theōriā* is linked to being a citizen of the *kosmos*. See Taylor and Davies (1998), who compare Philo *Q.Exod.* 2.42–3 on Jews and the contemplative life.

<sup>8</sup> Chaere-mon fr.10 van der Horst = Porphyry *De abst.* 4.6, 16; cf. id. fr.11 = Jerome *Adversus Iovinianum* 2.13; it has been suggested that Philo's account of the Therapeutai imitates Chaere-mon, or that both draw on a common source: see van der Horst (1984:56).

<sup>9</sup> O'Meara (1993:74–6); Armstrong (1967:253); Deck (1967).

<sup>10</sup> Nightingale (2004:18); B44 in Düring (1961); see the helpful summary of Chroust (1965).

Phlius, that there are basically three forms of life that men can lead, just as three classes of people are present at the Olympics: athletes who are motivated by glory, traders whose motivation is material gain, and spectators who have no ulterior motive beyond watching; and it is the third that is a paradigm for the life of philosophical speculation.<sup>11</sup>

- ii. Contemplation-*theōriā* is often presented as a religious activity. In the *Republic*, Plato describes the sights seen by the philosopher as *theiai* ... *theōriai* ('divine spectacles').<sup>12</sup> For Aristotle, the object of contemplation is god, and gods may themselves contemplate. In the *Metaphysics*, he seems to identify this activity with theology.<sup>13</sup> This suggests that the term appealed to philosophers precisely because it was already associated with the divine, and perceived as related to *theos*.<sup>14</sup> Karl Kerényi suggested that what appealed to the philosophers was precisely what he saw as the traditional idea that viewing is an activity specially associated with the gods (comparing the 'divine audience' of Homer's *Iliad*).<sup>15</sup> Here he was following Aristotle, for whom engaging in contemplation is a way of likening ourselves to the gods.<sup>16</sup>

If reason is divine, then, in comparison with man, the life according to it is divine in comparison with human life. But we must not follow those who advise us, being men, to think of human things, and being mortal, of mortal things, but must, so far as we can, make ourselves immortal, and strain every

<sup>11</sup> Burkert (1960); Heraclides fr.88Wehrli (*Peri Tes Apnous*). The same idea in Ps. Longinus 35.2, with Russell (1964:165–6); cf. Amphion's defence of the theoretical life in E. *Antiope* (TGF5.1, 182b–) discussed by Snell (1967). The idea is adapted in Arr. *Epict.* 2.14.23–4: life is a *panēguris* attended by cattle, by men who come to buy and sell, and by only a few who come for the sake of seeing. Arrian seems to have absorbed the more general idea of the 'life of cattle', found frequently in earlier philosophy: Arist.; *NE*1.5, 1095b, 20 (explicit association between the *apolaustikos bios* and the life of *boskēmata*; also Pl. *Rep.*9.586a). Lebedev (1985) argues that it is already implied in the fragments of Heraclitus of Ephesos.

<sup>12</sup> 7.517d.

<sup>13</sup> Object is god: Arist. *EE*8.3, 1249b, 17–21; gods contemplate: *NE*10.8, 1178b22–3; theology: *Met.* 1.982b9–10, 983a6–11 with Nightingale (2004:235–40).

<sup>14</sup> See §9.1, p.145.

<sup>15</sup> For Kerényi's thesis that viewing is divine, see passages cited in §9.1; for cultivation of this idea in Greek philosophy, see Kerényi (1942:117–19); Hulme (1962:151): 'Philosophy, to denote the peak reached by the philosophical approach, borrowed a word from the religious sphere where it denoted something well-known and concrete. The word was *theōriā*, the name by which both these peaks of Greek religious life were known'. This idea is now developed in Naiden (2013:322–3).

<sup>16</sup> *NE*10.7, 1177b, 31–78a, 1: εἰ δὲ θεῖον ὁ νοῦς πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὁ κατὰ τοῦτον βίος θεῖος πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. οὐ χρὴ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς παραινούντας ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὄντα οὐδὲ θνητὰ τὸν θνητόν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται ἀθανατίζειν καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν κατὰ τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῷ ὄγκῳ μικρόν ἐστι, δυνάμει καὶ τιμότητι πολὺ μᾶλλον πάντων ὑπερέχει.



nerve to live in accordance with the best thing in us; for even if it is small in bulk, much more does it in power and worth surpass everything. (Trans. W. D. Ross)

As Aristotle implies, this amounts to a radical reversal of the principle of ordinary Greek morality: ‘Do not strive to become a god!’ as we see it, for example, in Greek poetry (e.g. Pindar, *Isth.*5.16). In Plato’s quasi-Orphic myth in the central speech of the *Phaedrus*, *theōriā* is presented as the activity not just of the gods, but of human souls before birth, and by implication of at least some of them after death. The gods make periodic journeys in their winged chariots from their home to the edge of the cosmos where they stand and contemplate the world of ideal forms beyond, and the ‘souls’ (i.e. the souls of men before incarnation in mortal bodies), follow the gods, organised in troupes each led by a divinity, so that they make up mini-delegations, and struggle to share the vision (*theōrousi*, *theōrousa*: 247c, d). It is their violent jostling against each other and the resulting loss of their wings that lead to their fall from heaven (248b–c; cf. 246d). There are unmistakable hints of the notion of *theōriā* to the Olympic Games here, complete with chariot-racing, feasting (247a, c–e) and the notion of periodicity, but Plato has also worked in references to the Eleusinian Mysteries (cf. 250b). Having fallen to earth, the soul is incarnated as a human being, and the type of human being depends on how much it has seen: the one who has seen the most passes into the body of a philosopher, and so on. Later on earth, the soul sometimes dimly recognises traces of the eternal forms that it observed in the outer rim, recognising them via the visual sense, which is the clearest (250d). This process of recollection is perceived as an erotic awakening (253c–), and culminates in the ascent of two lovers together back to the celestial sphere (256d).<sup>17</sup>

- iii. Another point of comparison is the journey. Plato imagines that philosophy involves an intellectual development or a train of argument, either of which can be represented in metaphorical terms as the journey to a sanctuary or oracle. The pattern of a journey followed by an enlightenment, usually followed by a return journey back to reality, occurs in different formats in the *Republic*, the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*. In the *Republic*, we find it in the ‘Allegory of the Cave’ and the following exegesis, in particular in the account of the philosopher returning from

<sup>17</sup> See Nightingale (2005); id. (2004:160–4); Rutherford (1995b:290); for the imagery, Lebeck (1972); Riedweg (1987).

*theiai* ... *theōriai* to the world of men (7.517d). The clearest account of a philosophical ascent to a vision of truth and beauty is the one narrated by Diotima in the *Symposium*, though there the metaphor seems to be from the *muēsis* and *epopteia* of the Eleusinian Mysteries rather than religious *theōriā*.<sup>18</sup>

If we combine this with the preceding point, it follows that death could be seen as the first stage of a process that leads to quasi-identification with divinity via contemplation of ultimate reality. In the *Phaedo*, the mortal world is presented as one of a number of hollows in the surface of a ball-like sphere, contrasted with the true surface of the earth, which is much higher up, and which Plato describes as a 'sight for blessed viewers' (111a), where contact with the gods is far more direct, because they themselves inhabit the temples and their oracles are unmediated; after death, this is where people who have lived a holy life go, while those who have lived truly pure lives end up in a still better place (114c).<sup>19</sup> This nexus of ideas may also be echoed in the opening frame the *Phaedo*, where Plato emphasises that Socrates' execution was delayed while the Athenian *theōriā* was away at Delos. He may have been hinting that the religious *theōriā* to Apollo's island is a model not just for contemplation-*theōriā* that the philosopher practises in jail, but also for a journey of enlightenment to the divine realm that the Apollonian Socrates teaches the soul takes after death, and which he is about to embark on himself. (The opening frames of some other dialogues may also have symbolic significance).<sup>20</sup> Religious *theōriā* and death are associated in other sources as

<sup>18</sup> 209e–210a: ... μυθηΐης· τὰ δὲ τελέα καὶ ἐποπτικά... contrast 210d: ... θεωρῶν πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς... See Nightingale (2005:173–4). Much later, the Pythagorean mathematician Theon of Smyrna (AD 100) compared philosophy to initiation at Eleusis, with five stages (*De utilit. Math.*, p.15 (Herscher)): purification (1), bestowal of the rite (2), mystical vision – *epopteia* (3); 'laying on of crowns', at the end of the *epopteia*, which is supposed to enable one to communicate the rite to others (4), and happiness resulting from communion with god (5). See further Mylonas (1961), 238–9.

<sup>19</sup> This is perhaps clearest in the Myth of Er in the *Republic*: the souls go on a trip after their judgement: the good souls go through a hole up and to the right; the bad ones go through a hole down and to the left. The trip takes a long time, but when they return it is as if they arrive back at a *panēguris* (614e–615a), and for the initiated there is a sort of *prohedriā*.

<sup>20</sup> In the opening frame of the *Republic* (327a) the trip made by Socrates and his friends down to the Piraeus to see the festival of the Thracians seems to provide a sort of intimation of the metaphysical ascent and descent described later on in the dialogue; something similar could be said for Socrates' journey outside the city in the opening of the *Phaedrus*, which parallels the soul chariots' journey to the periphery of the universe in the central myth. Lost philosophical works which may have dramatised a religious journey include Dikaiarkhos of Messene's *On the Descent into the Cave of Trophonius* (fr.21 Wehrli, Mirhardy fr.81), and the *Python* of Timon of Phlius was a dialogue with the philosopher Pyrrho, who was on the way to Delphi, set at the Amphiareion: fr.77–81 Diels (1901); Clayman (2009:47–53).

well: Erusikhthon is supposed to have died during a *theōriā* to Delos, for example, and Plutarch describes how *theopropoi* sent by Cimon to Ammon to make a secret consultation were told by the god to leave, since Cimon was already with him; on returning, they discovered that he was already dead when the consultation took place.<sup>21</sup>

Other parallels between religious *theōriā* and philosophy have been suggested as well. André-Jean Festugière stressed that religious *theōriā* was directed toward objects perceived as beautiful, just like the philosophers' contemplation.<sup>22</sup> Maria Sassi prefers to think of the educative function of Greek civic festivals.<sup>23</sup> Another factor to bear in mind is that the athletic *agōnes* were occasions when absolute judgements were made about who was the best; reference is made to this by the Academic philosopher Crantor, who, wanting to discuss the ranking of various good things (health etc.), used the symbol of a theatre whose audience was made up by the Panhellenes who ranked them.<sup>24</sup>

Although philosophers are keen to make these comparisons, they are also aware of the differences between philosophy and religious observation. Plato, for example, explicitly distinguishes the philosopher from the 'lovers of sights and sounds (*philotheāmones*, *philēkooi*)'; philosophers are, by contrast, 'lovers of the sight of truth' (*tous tēs alētheias... philotheāmonas*).<sup>25</sup> In the *Protreptikos* the point of comparison is simply motivation, and Aristotle makes no claim that the things viewed by festival or oracular *theōroi* have anything in common with philosophical *theōriā*. In fact, he seems to draw a distinction between them by using an *a fortiori* argument: 'how much more reasonable is it that we contemplate nature and reality without receiving payment, if we watch the Dionysia for free, or even pay to do it'. The implication is that the objects of the philosopher's intellectual gaze are worth much more.

<sup>21</sup> Erusikhthon: Paus. 1.31; Cimon: Plut. *Cimon* 17.6–7; according to Ps.Plato *Axiochus* 371a–372a the grandfather of the *magos* Gobryes, having been sent to Delos, found bronze tablets brought by the Hyperborean Maidens which explained the secrets of the afterlife.

<sup>22</sup> Festugière (1967:59): 'tel que nous pouvons l'atteindre par les actes de culte qui le traduisent, le sentiment religieux est, pour un grand part, contemplation de beauté: de la beauté des dieux, visible dans les effigies qui les évoquent à nos yeux; de la beauté des danses et des chants qui s'efforcent de plaire aux dieux en leur offrant un spectacle conforme à leur nature et qui, en même temps, manifestent les sentiments qu' éveille en nous la présence du divin. Cette beauté inspire de la joie. Elle arrache aux misères de la vie quotidienne. Elle assimile, un instant, à cet état calme et doux que l'on attribue aux dieux. Elle content la désir d'évasion.'

<sup>23</sup> Sassi (1991:20).

<sup>24</sup> Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Ethicists* (11), 57–8; F7a in Mette (1984). For the *theōroi* as judges, see §12.6, p.210.

<sup>25</sup> *Rep.*5, 475d.

A more developed distinction between common-Greek festivals and the activity of the philosopher can be found in the writings of the Roman Stoic philosopher Epictetus of Hierapolis in his discussion of divine providence.<sup>26</sup> He begins by contrasting the capacities of men and animals, the former of whom possess the faculty of understanding (*parakolouthēsis*). It follows that the purpose of man is to be a spectator (*theātēs*) of god and his works and an *exēgetēs* of them (together, the words *theātēs* and *exēgetēs* suggest the context of a sanctuary where *exēgetai* explain the sights to visitors).<sup>27</sup> Human life begins where animal life ends, and the ends of human life are *theōriā*, understanding and an existence in harmony with nature. ‘Take heed lest you die without ever having been spectators of such things.’<sup>28</sup> He contrasts this with the popular view that the thing most worth seeing before one dies is Olympia and the ‘work of Pheidias’, i.e. his famous chryselephantine statue of Zeus.<sup>29</sup>

But you travel to Olympia to behold the work of Pheidias, and each of you regards it as a misfortune to die without seeing such sights; yet when there is no need to travel at all, but where Zeus is already, and is present in his works, will you not yearn to behold these works and know them? Will you decline, therefore, to perceive either who you are, or for what you have been born, or what that purpose is for which you have received sight? (Trans. Oldfather)

The proper object of human ‘viewing’ and understanding is man himself, his purpose in life, and the purpose of the faculty of sight with which he has been endowed. Epictetus then develops a different point: people are resistant to recognising the divine purpose in their own lives because unpleasant things happen in life. To this objection he offers two answers. The first is that unpleasant things happen at Olympia too, but you overlook these for the sake of the spectacle (the text is worth quoting because it amounts to perhaps the most direct ancient critique of the experience of visiting a major sanctuary):<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Arr. Epict. 1.6. <sup>27</sup> On the *exēgetēs* as guide, C. P. Jones (2001a).

<sup>28</sup> 1.6.21–2.

<sup>29</sup> 1.6.23–5: Ἄλλ’ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν μὲν ἀποδημεῖτε, ἵν’ [ἐ]ἴδῃτε τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Φειδίου, καὶ ἀτύχημα ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οἶεται τὸ ἀνιστόρητος τούτων ἀποθανεῖν· ὅπου δ’ οὐδ’ ἀποδημῆσαι χρεῖα ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἔστέ ἤδη καὶ πάρεστε τοῖς ἔργοις, ταῦτα δὲ θεάσασθαι καὶ κατανοῆσαι οὐκ ἐπιθυμῆσετε; οὐκ αἰσθήσεσθε τοίνυν, οὔτε τίνες ἐστέ οὐτ’ ἐπὶ τί γεγόνατε οὔτε [ἐπὶ] τί τοῦτο ἐστίν, ἐφ’ οὗ τὴν θέαν παρείληφθε; Pheidias is the subject of Dio of Prusa’s *Olympikos*, where Dio questions the relationship between a statue of a god and the god himself, and between sight and inward contemplation: see 25–6 and 59.

<sup>30</sup> ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δ’ οὐ γίνεταί; οὐ καυματίζεσθε; οὐ στενοχωρεῖσθε; οὐ κακῶς λούεσθε; οὐ καταβρέχεσθε, ὅταν βρέχη; θορύβου δὲ καὶ βοῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χαλεπῶν οὐκ ἀπολαύετε; ἀλλ’ οἶμαι ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀντιτιθέντες πρὸς τὸ ἀξιόλογον τῆς θέας φέρετε καὶ ἀνέχεσθε. For the στενοχωρία of Olympia, see Luc. *Herodotus* or *Aition* 8.

Do they not happen at Olympia? Do you not swelter? Are you not cramped and crowded? Do you not bathe with discomfort? Are you not drenched whenever it rains? Do you not have your fill of tumult and shouting and other annoyances? But I fancy that you hear and endure all this by balancing it off against the memorable character of the spectacle. (Trans. Oldfather)

The second point is that providence has also given human beings not only understanding but also an arsenal of virtues with which to face adversity, including magnanimity, courage and endurance. So, like a visitor to Olympia who watches the athletic competition without complaining about the discomfort of the sanctuary, men should rise above the ephemeral obstacles that life throws at them and direct the focus of their contemplative faculty towards god, and his creation, including themselves.

The final comment on the relationship between religious *theōriā* and *theōriā* in the philosophical sense of contemplation belongs to Neoplatonism. We saw earlier that for Plato, religious *theōriā* serves as a useful symbol for philosophical investigation, though the two activities are for him quite distinct, as they are for Epictetus. The distinction is, however, all but eliminated by Porphyry's argument in *On Abstinence*, that the appropriate way of honouring the supreme deity is not animal sacrifice but silent thought, citing Apollonius of Tyana as an authority.<sup>31</sup> Porphyry's version of this argument included the idea that for the supreme deity the ideal sacrifice comes about via *theōriā*.<sup>32</sup>

One must unite with the deity, become like him, and offer our own education as a sacred sacrifice to him, for it is simultaneously our hymn to him and our salvation. This sacrifice is brought about in stillness of the soul, and through contemplation (*theōriā*) of the deity. For his offshoots – the intelligible gods – one must add the hymnody of speech. For sacrifice (*thūsiā*) is the offering (*aparkhē*) to each deity of a part of what he has given, of that through which he nourishes our essence and maintains it in being. As the farmer makes offerings of his harvest and fruits, so we make an offering of the good thoughts that we have about them, thanking them for

<sup>31</sup> Porph. *De abst.* 2. 34. An extract from Apollonius' *Peri thūsiōn* is cited by Eusebius *Prep. Ev.* 4.10.7; see Bouffartigue and Patillon (1979:30–2). For Porphyry and contemplation, see also Struck (2002).

<sup>32</sup> δεῖ ἄρα συναφθέντας καὶ ὁμοιωθέντας αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀναγωγὴν θυσίαν ἱερὰν προσάγειν τῷ θεῷ, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ ὕμνον οὔσαν καὶ ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν. ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ ἄρα τῆς ψυχῆς, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ θεωρία ἢ θυσία αὕτη τελεῖται. τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐκγόνοις, νοητοῖς δὲ θεοῖς ἥδη καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου ὕμνωιδίαν προσθετέον. ἀπαρχὴ γὰρ ἐκάστωι ὧν δέδωκεν ἡ θυσία, καὶ δι' ὧν ἡμῶν τρέφει καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶναι συνέχει τὴν οὐσίαν. ὥς οὖν γεωργὸς δραγμάτων ἀπάρχεται καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρῶν, οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἀπαρξώμεθα αὐτοῖς ἐννοιῶν τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν καλῶν, εὐχαριστοῦντες ὧν ἡμῖν δεδώκασιν τὴν θεωρίαν καὶ ὅτι ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν θεᾶς ἀληθινῶς τρέφουσι, συνόντες καὶ φαινόμενοι καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ σωτηρίᾳ ἐπιλάμποντες.

the things they have given us for contemplation, and because they truly nourish us through contemplation of them, being with us, manifesting themselves and shining forth for our salvation.

The supreme deity's gift to men is to allow them to contemplate, and to provide objects for contemplation, and the appropriate way for men to reward him is precisely to contemplate, described here as a form of hymn.<sup>33</sup> We saw in earlier chapters how the conventional idiom of Greek religion frequently links *theōriā* ('sacred delegation') and *thūsiā* ('sacrifice') as means of honouring a deity. Here, the same words are redeployed as components of a new concept of religious activity: the supreme form of *thūsiā* is simple *theōriā*.<sup>34</sup>

The rejection of public spectacle in favour of a more spiritual experience is also a common theme in Christian writers. This comes out clearly from the *De Spectaculis* by the Africo-Roman writer Tertullian (late second century AD), in which he rails against all popular forms of spectacle, including the *stadion*, the theatre and gladiatorial competitions, contrasting these with the spectacle of Christian life, and, ultimately, that of Christ's Second Coming, and that of the Judgement Day.

Such sights, such exultation, – what praetor, consul, quaestor, priest, will ever give you of his bounty? And yet all these, in some sort, are ours, pictured through faith in the imagination of the spirit.<sup>35</sup>

### 19.3 Philosophers as *theōroi*

Another thing that philosophers and *sophoi* share with *theōroi* is travel, including travel to sanctuaries and festivals. Philosophers are occasionally honoured by sanctuary authorities for their presence, particularly in the Roman period.<sup>36</sup> The Seven Wise Men are said to have dedicated their sayings at Delphi, an acknowledged centre of wisdom. One of the Seven, the

<sup>33</sup> Compare the third century AD oracle from Didyma that recommends honouring Apollo by song rather than sacrifice: Fontenrose (1988:B1), cited at the start of §14.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Plot. *Ennead* 5.8.1: contemplation of intelligible reality is conceived on the model of contemplating a statue, where one really admires the form, which was given to it by the art of the sculptor, not the material.

<sup>35</sup> *De Spectaculis* 29–30, trans. T. R. Glover (Loeb edition, 1931). We find this as early as Paul's criticism of the Isthmian Games in *Ep. Corinth.* 1.9.23–5. Gregory of Nyssa criticised pilgrimage in his *Second Epistle*, 'To Kensor, On those who make pilgrimages to Jerusalem', though for different reasons: see Silvas (2007:115–22) and the general discussion of Bitton-Ashkelony (2005:51–7).

<sup>36</sup> Chaniotis (1988a:123n.257).

Spartan Chilon, supposedly died at Olympia, as did the philosopher Thales (while watching the *agōn*), while for Pherecydes of Syros the end came when he hurled himself down from Mt Corycus on a visit to Delphi.<sup>37</sup> Pythagoras is said to have visited sanctuaries, as is the Pythagorean philosopher Parmeniskos of Metapontum,<sup>38</sup> and Empedocles attended an Olympiad, where he was remembered because the sacrifice he prepared for the *theōroi* was vegetarian.<sup>39</sup>

Philosophers would be members of the cultural elite, and as such we would expect they or their family members would have played an active part in festival culture. While I know of no case where a philosopher acts as a *theōros* in the narrow sense of representing his city at a sanctuary, one philosopher is known to have been a *theārodokos*: this is the Epicurean philosopher and mathematician, Philonidas of Laodikeia ad Mare in Syria, who, along with his brother, served as a *theārodokos* for Delphi in the early second century BC, and probably for Eleusis as well.<sup>40</sup> Kevin Clinton thinks that the attitude that the Eleusinian authorities took towards the family strongly suggested that all of them would have been initiates. All of this is consistent with the attitude of Epicurus himself, who favoured outward observance of religious practices, and is supposed to have said that the wise man would take more delight than others in *theōriai* (which seems here to mean ‘festivals’) and that the Epicurean sage was *philotheōros* and delighted in Dionysiac performances and spectacles more than anyone.<sup>41</sup>

In the early second century BC, a young man of Pergamum came to Athens as an official *theōros* and stayed on to study philosophy in the School of the Academic Evander. Some have even identified him with the future philosopher Hegesinos, but it could equally well have been a member of the royal family. Whoever he was, he seems to have fought alongside the Athenians when Philip V attacked the city and he was later commended by

<sup>37</sup> Seven and Delphi: Pl. *Prt.* 342e–343b; Chilon: D.L. 1.72; Grau I Guijarro (2009:36–73); Thales: D.L. 7.85.; Pherecydes: D.L. 1.118.

<sup>38</sup> Pythagoras: Porph. *VPyth.*17; Parmeniskos: Semos of Delos cited in Ath. 14.2, 614ab. = *FGrH*396F10; see §9.1, p.143.

<sup>39</sup> D.L. 8.53 = Favorinus *FHG*III:577, fr.3.

<sup>40</sup> DTL 4.78–80 (an addition); in *SGDI* 2.2677 his brother Dikaiarkhos is honoured for having assisted Delphic *theōroi* en route to King Antiochus III in 189/8 BC; Fraser (1972:1,416 with 2, 601n.320); in *IG*<sup>2</sup>.1236 (= Clinton no.221), he and his brother and father are thanked for among other things helping those sent to announce the Eleusinian Mysteries. For another Epicurean philosopher who followed conventional religion, see Raubitschek (1949) on Phaidros (= Clinton no.291).

<sup>41</sup> D.L. 10.120; the *Diaporiai*, cited in Plut. *Non posse suav.*1095c; fr.20 Us., Arrighetti (1973:12.2). Cf. also Philodemus *On Piety* 726 = Tmema 1, 26 (Obbink (1996:156–7)), with *P.Oxy.*215 col.1.131 and col. 2.3, on which see Obbink (1984).



Athens for diplomatic services he performed on behalf of Athens when he went home.<sup>42</sup> One might say that his official duties regarding the Pergamene *theōriā* are the frame for philosophical *theōriā*.<sup>43</sup> At the very least, this example seems to show that these two activities were regarded as compatible, with the role of *theōros* being understood broadly as ‘contemplator’. When the speaker in Isocrates’ *Trapeziticus* represented himself as having come to Athens *kata theōriān*, he may have meant something similar.<sup>44</sup> Another example is a prominent young citizen of Kolophon, Polemaios son of Pantagnotos, who was honoured in a long decree from around 130–110 BC for, among other things, serving as one of two *theōroi* to Smyrna, where, having performed the required sacrifices, he remained, ‘associating with the best teachers’.<sup>45</sup> Around the same time, another citizen of Kolophon, Menippos son of Eumedes, was commended for having in the early stages of his career gone to Athens, described as *mētropolis*, where he spent time consorting with ‘the best instructors’, and it has reasonably been suggested that his primary role in Athens was specified as that of a *theōros* in the missing opening lines.<sup>46</sup> Young men had been travelling to Athens and other cities to get an education since long before the second century BC, and it seems quite likely that the idea of combining it with being a civic *theōros* was not new either.

In the early second century AD, M. Annios Puthodoros, the grandson of the Middle Platonist philosopher Ammonius, was priest of Delian Apollo in some enactments of the *dōdekēis* to Delos. His grandfather, who had arrived in Athens from Egypt, was sufficiently interested in Delphi that his pupil Plutarch represented him as one of the interlocutors in *On the E at Delphi*, so perhaps he had taken part in sacred delegations from Athens to Delphi in the first century.<sup>47</sup>

This brings us back to the case of the Herodotean Solon and Anacharsis, whose journeys seem to stand in a reciprocal relationship to one another,

<sup>42</sup> IG2<sup>2</sup>.886, dated by the archonship of Phanarkhides to 193/2 BC, for which see Stamires (1957:31–2n.4); in unpublished work, J. D. Morgan has argued that the archonship of Phanarkhides was in fact a year earlier, in 194/3 BC. On the decree, Tod (1957:137n.31); *IClaros* 27. Historical context: Habicht (1990b:564); Mattingly (1997:134): the date. For the identification with Hegesinos, see the critique of Haake (2007:99–104, esp. 100n.365).

<sup>43</sup> Tod (1957); disputed by Haake (2007:103n.379).

<sup>44</sup> Isoc. 17.4; Polemaios: App.#E3.

<sup>45</sup> *IClaros* ad loc.; Haake (2007:223–5); according to Haake (2007:204), in the preceding lines of the decree it said that Polemaios had been a *theōros* on Rhodes.

<sup>46</sup> SEG 39.1244, 1–4; notice that the first preserved words (ἐπιτέλεσας δὲ ταύτας) could well refer to the performance of sacrifices.

<sup>47</sup> See §18.2, p.312.



one from Greece to the barbarians and the other from the barbarians to Greece. Solon left Athens 'on the pretext of *theōriā*', though his real motive was to avoid being forced to change any of his laws.<sup>48</sup> Later, when Croesus and Solon meet, Croesus says that word has reached him of Solon's wisdom and wandering, 'how you have travelled over much land philosophising for the sake of *theōriē*' (ὥς φιλοσοφῶν γῆν πολλήν θεωρίης εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας). According to a slightly different version found in Aristotle, Solon went off to Egypt (Lydia is not mentioned).<sup>49</sup> Plutarch has yet another version, with voyages both before and after his political career: as a young man, his motivation was either trade (probably drawing on Hermippus) or *polupeiriā* and *historiā* (apparently equivalent to *theōriā*), and as an old man it was to avoid civil strife; the journey for the sake of *theōriā* has been shifted to before the political career, which allows for the possibility that the experience of foreign cultures that Solon picked up on his foreign travels was a stimulus to him in formulating constitutional reforms at Athens.<sup>50</sup> To be realistic, these traditions are less revealing about Solon than about how the story of Solon the wise man had evolved in the previous century, and it may be that there is some influence from the *Odyssey*, as Elizabeth Irwin has argued.<sup>51</sup>

The counterpart to Herodotus' account of Solon's journey is his much briefer mention of the journey of Anacharsis to Greece and other places: 'surveying (*theōrēsās*) much land and receiving much wisdom in it, he brought it to the haunts of the Scythians'. On his return journey, Anacharsis witnesses the rites of the Mother of the Gods at Cyzicus, and when he celebrates these in private in Scythia after his return, he is killed by Saulios the local king. Here, as in the case of Solon, *theōriā* is linked to travelling over land, to wisdom, and to learning about the customs of other peoples. Unlike Solon's, the objects of Anacharsis' *theōriā* are said to include religious rites, and, unlike Solon, Anacharsis comes to a bad end when he returns.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Hdt. 1.29. See §9.2. For the theme of the departure of the law-giver, Szegedy-Maszk (1978:207–8). For *theōriā* as a pretext, see E. *El*.782, where Orestes and Pylades claim to be travelling from Thessaly to Olympia to offer sacrifice, via Argos; at E. *Ion* 656 Xouthos imagines bringing Ion to Athens as τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονὸς ... θεατὴν δῆθεν.

<sup>49</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 11.1. Cf. Rhodes (1981:169–70).

<sup>50</sup> Plut. *Solon* 2.1 and 25.5; Plutarch cites Hermippus, fr.7Wehrli = *FGrH*1026F14, for which see Bollansée (1999b:189–97) with bibliography at 194n.124.

<sup>51</sup> Solon's travels like those of Odysseus: Irwin (2005:147ff.; 149n.99). Stehle (2006:104–5, with n.72). The relationship between Herodotus' account of Solon's encounter with Croesus and its Athenian context are explored by Irwin (forthcoming).

<sup>52</sup> *Hist.* 4.76 ... γῆν πολλήν θεωρήσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλὴν ἐκομίζετο ἐς ἥθεα τὰ Σκυθίων ... Hdt. 4.76: Cf. Dio Chr. 32.45; D.L. 1.104. On Anacharsis, Kindstrand (1981:27–8, 39–40). Cf. also Abaris the *theōros*: Σ Ar. *Knights* 729a; see §7.2.

It looks as if Herodotus' description of Solon's *theōriā* owes something to the 'contemplation' sense of *theōriā*, which may already have been established in the second quarter of the fifth century.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, there is no trace in it of *theōriā* in the sense of 'religious delegation'. For one thing, Solon and Anacharsis are not representing their cities (though there is something of the official visit about Solon's encounter with Croesus in Herodotus),<sup>54</sup> and for another Solon's function is not religious (though Anacharsis' is partly religious). A more profound difference may be that whereas official sanctuary delegates are invariably Greeks taking part in quintessentially Greek rituals, the *theōriā* of Solon and Anacharsis takes each of them away from his own national environment: it is contrastive, whereas traditional *theōriā* is consolidatory, although both have a relation to Hellenism.

#### 19.4 *Theōroi* in a utopia: the 'other *theōroi*' of Plato *Laws* 12

Herodotus' account of the extraterritorial explorations of Solon and Anacharsis seems to have been known to Plato, whose blueprint for the city of Magnesia as set out in the *Laws* includes a special category of explorer-*theōroi*. In general, contact with other states is restricted (12, 949e–950c): no one is allowed to go abroad if he is under 40 or in a private capacity (950d); public travel is limited to heralds, embassies and two types of *theōroi*, and there are strict rules controlling visitors as well.

Plato allows conventional festival *theōriā* (θυσίαι καὶ θεωρίαι in his language) to common-Greek sanctuaries,<sup>55</sup> which are to be led only by members of the exclusive group of *euthunoi* (947a), and made up of the greatest number available, the most noble and the best, who will gain for the city a reputation that corresponds to its reputation in war, and who will teach the young when they return that Magnesia has the best laws (950e–951a).<sup>56</sup>

Another reason to encourage contact abroad is that some useful information can be gained in that way (951a–c). Plato envisages a special class of magistrate, 'other *theōroi*', as he calls them, who leave Magnesia of their own free will to survey the doings of the rest of mankind (951a: *ta tōn allōn*

<sup>53</sup> See §19.1.

<sup>54</sup> Other thematic links between Solon's *theōriā* and official *theōriā* are explored by Ker (2000).

<sup>55</sup> The passage is cited in §12.4, n.64.

<sup>56</sup> This is the 'epideictic' function that I discussed in §10.6.2.

*anthrōpōn prāgmata theōrēsai*). This activity of exploration is vital for the survival of the city (951c):

ἀνευ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς θεωρίας καὶ ζητήσεως οὐ μένει ποτὲ τελέως πόλις, οὐδ' ἂν κακῶς αὐτὴν θεωρῶσιν.

For without this *theōriā* and enquiry, a city never remains perfect, nor again if they conduct it badly.

There are rules about who can be sent out. First, they must be between the ages of 50 and 60. Second, when they finally return home after spending as many of the ten years abroad as they like, they have to make a report to a special council of those who supervise the laws, and are rewarded or punished depending on whether they have come back the same, better or worse than when they left. If they have come back worse, they are to be put to death, unless they accept lifetime solitary confinement.

Plato's views on the relation between his *theōroi* and *theōriā* in the traditional senses is made clear a little further on, in a short catalogue of types of potential visitors to Magnesia and the way they should be treated, where he distinguishes the following types:<sup>57</sup>

- Traders, who come every summer like migratory birds; they are to be confined to the markets and harbours, with as little contact with the city as possible.
- 'A *theōros* in the true sense, with the eyes and with respect to the displays of the Muses that have to do with the ears.'<sup>58</sup> These artistic tourists are lodged near temples. Composed in the complex syntax characteristic of Plato's late style, this clause must refer to any visitor who comes to watch poetic performances in Magnesia, which would include official delegates sent by other cities, though Plato does not imply that they take part in Magnesian festivals.
- Those who come on public business.
- *Theōroi* in Plato's new sense, who come to inspect other cities. He stresses the reciprocity of the process: 'If ever any *theōros* comes from a different country, a counterpart (*antistrophos*) to the *theōroi* from us...'<sup>59</sup> These have to meet strict conditions, similar to those applying to the Magnesian *theōroi*, and they have to come for the right reasons.

<sup>57</sup> Laws 952d–3e.

<sup>58</sup> 953a ὁμμασιν ὄντως θεωρὸς ὅσα τε μουσῶν ὥσιν ἔχεται θεωρήματα. The passage recalls Plato's critique of the 'lovers of sights and sounds' in *Rep.*475d, 476b.

<sup>59</sup> Laws 953c: ἂν δ' οὖν ποτὲ τις ἔλθῃ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν θεωρῶν ἀντίστροφος ἐξ ἄλλης χώρας...

What do these inspector *theōroi* do? Plato says that they may meet divinely inspired men, who may spring up even in badly governed cities; contact with these can confirm good laws, and amend bad ones. Discussing their return, he says that they should report whether they have discovered anyone able to declare an oracle (*phēmē*) about legislation, education or nurture, or have brought any personal observations. Finally, when talking about such *theōroi* coming from other cities, he says that their motivation must be to view some *kalon* superior in beauty to that in other states, or to show something similar to other cities.<sup>60</sup> As Andrea Nightingale points out, the reference to the divinely inspired men and the oracle suggests that Plato is thinking here of conventional oracular delegates.<sup>61</sup> In addition, there also seem to be echoes of the Herodotean Solon and Anacharsis: Solon, who leaves Athens when already somewhat advanced in years, for the sake of *theōriā*, a project which involves *inter alia* visiting Croesus of Lydia, and discussing fundamental issues with him (a man who might be able to declare a *phēmē*?); and Anacharsis, who makes the reciprocal journey from the distant North to Greece and, on his return, when he tries to import a foreign cult, is put to death, a fate which anticipates Plato's law that one of the punishments for inspector-*theōroi* who return worse than when they set out should be death.

<sup>60</sup> Divine men: 951b–c; oracle: 952b; καλόν:853c.

<sup>61</sup> Nightingale (2004:66n.91).

## 20.1 Literary sources as evidence: Plutarch on Nikias

In the course of this book, I have many times touched on references to *theōriā* and *theōroi* in Greek literature. There are a great many of these, ranging over lyric poetry, drama, philosophy, historical writing, biography and the Greek novel.<sup>1</sup> Literary references are valuable because they tell us not just about the narrow political or religious organisation of *theōriā* (as inscriptions do), but about its broader cultural associations. At the same time, we must remember that writers are not reporters, and for any particular description of a *theōriā* in a literary work, a contribution may have been made by the genre of the work, the literary context, the writer's own world, or his imagination.

To illustrate this point, consider perhaps the most cited account of a *theōriā*, Plutarch's description of Nikias' *theōriā* to Delos:<sup>2</sup>

His acts of self-promotion (*philotimemata*) concerning Delos are recorded as having been splendid and worthy of the gods. The choruses which the cities sent to sing to the gods used to sail in at random, and were ordered to sing immediately when the crowd was meeting the ship, as they were disembarking in a hasty and disorganised

<sup>1</sup> Lyric poetry is discussed in §14.3, pp.240–1 and §2.2, p.28 (Stesichorus, *Rhadine*); biography, comedy and the Greek novel are discussed in this chapter. For tragedy, Rutherford (1998b); history: e.g. for Attidography, see §18.1, p.307.

<sup>2</sup> *Nik.* 4.4–6: μνημονεύεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ Δῆλον ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ θεοπρεπῆ φιλοτιμήματα. τῶν γὰρ χορῶν, οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἔπεμπον ἄσομένους τῷ θεῷ, προσπλέοντων μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν, εὐθὺς δ' ὄχλου πρὸς τὴν ναῦν ἀπαντῶντος ἄδειν κελευομένων κατ' οὐδένα κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀσυντάκτως ἀποβαινόντων ἅμα καὶ στεφανουμένων καὶ μεταμφιεννυμένων, ἐκεῖνος ὅτε τὴν θεωρίαν ἦγεν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Ῥήνειαν ἀπέβη, τὸν χορὸν ἔχων καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν, ζεύγμα δὲ πεπονημένον Ἀθήνησι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐκπρεπῶς χρυσώσσει καὶ βαφαῖς καὶ στεφάνοις καὶ αὐλαῖς κομίζων, διὰ νυκτὸς ἐγεφύρωσε τὸν μεταξὺ Ῥηνείας καὶ Δήλου πόρον, οὐκ ὄντα μέγαν· εἴθ' ἅμ' ἡμέρα τὴν τε πομπὴν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἄγων κεκοσμημένον πολυτελῶς καὶ ἄδοντα διὰ τῆς γεφύρας ἀπεβίβαζε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις τὸν τε φοίνικα τὸν χαλκοῦν ἔστησεν ἀνάθημα τῷ θεῷ, καὶ χωρίον μυρίων δραχμῶν πριάμενος καθιέρωσεν, οὗ τὰς προσόδους ἔδει Δηλίου καταθύοντας ἐστιᾶσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ Νικίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αἰτούμενους· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ στήλῃ <συν>ενέγραψεν. ἦν ὥσπερ φύλακα τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐν Δήλῳ κατέλιπεν. ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀποκλασθεὶς ἐνέπεσε τῷ Ναξίῳ ἀνδριάντι τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀνέτρεψε.

manner, at the very point when they were putting on crowns and changing their clothes. He, on the other hand, when he arranged the *theōriā*, himself disembarked at Rheneia, with the chorus and the victims and the rest of the equipment. He brought with him a bridge made at Athens to fit the size, splendidly decorated with gildings, dye, garlands and tapestries, and used it to span the channel between Rheneia and Delos which is not great. Then at daybreak he led across the bridge the procession for the god and the chorus, richly adorned and singing, and disembarked at Delos. After the sacrifice, the *agōn* and the feasting, he set up a bronze palm tree as a dedication to the god, and consecrated a plot of land which he had bought for 10,000 drachmas, the revenues of which the Delians were to use on sacrificial banquets, praying for many blessings for Nikias from the gods. He actually had this written on a stele which he left at Delos as a guard for his gift. The palm tree was broken by the wind and fell on the great statue of the Naxians and knocked it over.

We have the following elements: a). the crossing of the channel and the procession; b). the sacrifice, the unspecified *agōn* (a choral competition? horse-racing, which the Athenians introduce at this time on Delos?<sup>3</sup>), and the feasting; c). the dedication of the bronze palm tree, which subsequently falls onto the Naxian statue of Apollo; and d). the purchase of land, the revenues of which (as a stele attests) had to be spent on providing feasts for the Delians, during which they were to invoke blessings on Nikias. This text is usually regarded as reliable, presumably based on a source or sources closer to the time. It makes sense that Nikias, *stratēgos* several times in the decade before the Sicilian expedition, should have led a *theōriā* to Delos; the inventories of the Delian Amphiktionny actually record offerings by him, presumably made on this occasion;<sup>4</sup> the base of an offering with the name Nikias could come from the famous palm tree;<sup>5</sup> and later Amphiktionic inventories may contain references to his Delian estate.<sup>6</sup> The only detail there has been any doubt about is the palm tree knocking over the Naxian statue of Apollo, since this, if it is the same as the statue known as the ‘Colossos of the Naxians’, was some distance away from the palm tree; but the fifth-century topography is not known well enough for us to be sure.<sup>7</sup>

However, to appreciate the passage fully, we need to consider its context in the *Life*. Nikias was a decent, though flawed, politician who came to a bad end at Syracuse, not long after the probable date of the *theōriā*. In his account of the plight of the Athenians during their retreat, Plutarch describes the

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. 3.104, 6; Kent (1948:255–6), who thinks that the Delian estate of Nikias was the hippodrome.

<sup>4</sup> *ID* 104, 113. Hamilton (2000:33–4).

<sup>5</sup> *ID* 41; cf. Bruneau and Ducat (2005:200n.37); see also Bruneau (1995:55–9).

<sup>6</sup> Kent (1948:255–6).

<sup>7</sup> Laidlaw (1933:73); Bruneau (1995:55–9), with references there.

extraordinary sight (*theāma*) of Nikias, afflicted with illness, but persevering for the sake of his men.<sup>8</sup> As in a Greek tragedy, the *peripeteia* is preceded by a scene of celebration, in this case the *theōriā* to Delos, which contains some ominous signs:<sup>9</sup> the palm tree later falling down and destroying the statue of Apollo;<sup>10</sup> and Nikias' written instructions that the Delians in future say prayers on his behalf, which approaches the sort of appropriation of the institution for personal use that Alcibiades displayed at the Olympics in 416 BC; the act of walking over the bridge of boats too could have been considered hybristic. So, while we cannot prove that any particular detail in his account is false, there is reason to think that Plutarch has constructed the narrative to emphasise aspects that focus on Nikias (to be expected in a biography of him), and show him to have been self-aggrandising and self-interested. We should remember that the fragmentary inscription for the 'First Pentaeteris' in 426/5 BC lists five *arkhitheōroi*,<sup>11</sup> so it is possible that in a real Athenian *theōriā* to Delos in this period the role of one individual magistrate would not have been as dominating as Plutarch suggests.

## 20.2 *Theōriā as carnival: Greek comedy*

If we except Greek choral lyric (which I discussed in Chapter 14), the genre of Greek poetry most concerned with *theōriā* is probably comedy.<sup>12</sup> There are a few references to it in Sicilian comedy and mime, which confirms the impression we get from elsewhere that colonies in Sicily and Magna Graecia had a major interest in Panhellenic sanctuaries in the sixth century BC.<sup>13</sup> Epicharmus of Kos (late sixth century) wrote a comedy called *Theāroi* and in one of the surviving fragments, unfortunately imperfectly transmitted, a visitor to Delphi marvels at the precious items dedicated there:<sup>14</sup>

Lyres, tripods, chariots, bronze tables, *kheironiba*, libation vessels, bronze basins, mixing bowls, and spits. On the spit-supports... (Trans. Olson)

The other fragment seems to refer to an animal sacrifice. Nothing is known about the plot, but in the context of Delphi it seems likely that it focused on

<sup>8</sup> 26.4–5; cf. 28.1. <sup>9</sup> Titchener (2008:279).

<sup>10</sup> Amandry (1954:307–8) brings together various references to these dedications. Note that later on in the *Life* (13.3) a palm tree dedicated by Athens at Delphi is said to have been the medium for a negative omen about the Sicilian Expedition.

<sup>11</sup> See App.#B5. <sup>12</sup> Rutherford (1998a:135–7). <sup>13</sup> See §3.2, p.38.

<sup>14</sup> PCG1.48–9, fr.68 and 69 = Ath. 8.362b, 9.408d; κιθάραι, τρίποδες, ἄρματα, τράπεζαι χάλκισαι, / χειρόνιβα, λοιβάσια, λέβητες χάλκιοι, / κρατῆρες, ὀδελοί· τοῖς γὰρ μὲν ὑπωδελοῖς / †καιλωτε† βαλλίζοντες †σιόσσον χροῖμα εἶη.† Athenaeus says the context is Delphi.

consultation of the oracle. The *Theōroi* may well have been the chorus.<sup>15</sup> Equally intriguing is the mime entitled something like *Tai Thamenai ta Isthmia* ('Women Viewing the Isthmian Games') by Sophron of Syracuse, the eponymous chorus of which were presumably Syracusans who had made the journey to Corinth.<sup>16</sup>

Comedies about *theōroi* were performed at Athens also, and these may have been influenced by the Sicilian ones (unless it was the other way round). The Aeschylean satyr-drama with the alternative titles *Theōroi* or *Isthmiastai* was concerned with the adventures of satyrs who were visiting the Isthmos, and had apparently decided to compete in the games.<sup>17</sup> The few surviving fragments, mostly from *P.Oxy.2162* (published in 1941), have so far not allowed a convincing reconstruction of the plot. In one scene, which has caught the imagination of art historians,<sup>18</sup> the satyrs describe their own, apparently realistic, images (masks?), express admiration for them, and talk about nailing them to the pediment of the temple. Is it this act of contemplation that prompted the first of the ancient titles for the play 'Theōroi'? Subsequently it becomes clear that the satyrs are in dispute with Dionysus, who expects them to join his chorus, and not to pretend to be athletes. For Hugh Lloyd-Jones, in his edition of the fragments of Aeschylus, it seemed 'that the satyrs have been brought by Dionysus to the Isthmus as members of a sacred embassy to the Isthmian Games. Once arrived, they have decided to compete in the games themselves, and have slipped off to practise for them instead of dancing'. The idea of the satyrs coming on as a Dionysiac *theōriā* is very appealing, but we would need more fragments to know for sure.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Wilson (2007b:363); Rusten (2001) argues that Sicilian comedy lacked a chorus. The same title is found in the *Theōroi* by the third-century poet Euphron, which seems to refer to extispicy before setting out on a *theōriā* (πρὶν θεωρῆσαι): *PCG*5.288, fr.7.

<sup>16</sup> *PCG*1.200. See discussion in Hordern (2004:145–6), who makes the interesting suggestion that the *Isthmia* here might be the one in Syracuse mentioned by Σ Pin. *Ol.*13.111 (1.386, 14–21 Drachmann).

<sup>17</sup> *TrGF*3.78a. The most recent survey is Sommerstein (2008:82–99).

<sup>18</sup> Stieber (1994); cf. O'Sullivan (2000); Zeitlin (1994) begins her discussion of 'hyperviewing' (defined as (p.145): 'moments ... of ecphrastic discourse, which in their absorptive gaze that is focused on a visual scene or tableau, join word and image in pictorial language') in Euripides with this text.

<sup>19</sup> Lloyd-Jones (1957:545). Relevant may be Hesychius: θεωρίδες· αἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον βάκχαι ('*Theōrides*: the bacchants surrounding Dionysus'). Another comedy featuring satyrs who come to compete in a festival is the source for an isolated fragment in which they show off their skills, and then ask: ἄρ' ἄκαρπος ἡ θεωρία... (*TGF*4.1130), which might, as Carden (1974:146) suggests, mean 'is the 'contemplation [i.e. study] fruitless' (contra the interpretation proposed in Rutherford (1998a:136n.13). The *Athla*, by the fifth-century tragedian Achaëus of Eretria, may have been a satyr-drama along the same lines: *TGF*1.20F3–5. On satyr drama and athletics, see now Pritchard (2012).



Other Athenian comedies were structured round the consultation of oracles (as Epicharmus' *Theōroi* may have been): the *mise-en-scène* of Aristophanes' *Amphiaraus* was a pilgrimage to the Amphiareion at Oropus in North Attica, probably consultation of the oracle there.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the *Trophonios* of Cratinus may have described a visit to the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia in Boeotia.<sup>21</sup> If the title of Aeschylus' satyr play recalls the title of Epicharmus' comedy, Sophron's *Women Viewing the Isthmian Games* is perhaps the model for the Aristophanic *Skenas Katalambanousai* ('Women Trying to Find A Place for Their Tents'), which was probably about some goings-on at a non-local festival.<sup>22</sup> One of the better-preserved fragments implies a spectacle, perhaps that of a common-Greek festival:<sup>23</sup>

... my nice, earthenware, seven-*kotulai* bottle which I brought so that I could have a fellow spectator.

The theme of wine and women's festivals recalls the *Thesmophoriazousae*.

*Theōriā* is also a theme in Aristophanes' *Peace* (421 BC), the plot of which concerns the restoration of the personified peace to Athens and Greece by Trugaioi, who retrieves her from the distant cave in which War has imprisoned her. Peace is represented as a statue, a dramatic strategy for which Aristophanes was ridiculed by other comedians,<sup>24</sup> and with her are two attendants, who presumably stand on either side of her, like *paredroi*, called *Opōrā* ('Harvest Time') and *Theōriā*.<sup>25</sup> In the course of the play, Trugaioi sets up a cult of Peace in Athens, symbolically restores *Theōriā* to the Athenian *boulē*, and eventually marries *Opōrā*. The scene of restoration is full of sexual innuendo. It starts with a dialogue between Trugaioi and a slave:<sup>26</sup>

Trygaeus: Come on, then, let's hurry up and give *Theōriā* here back to the Council.

Slave: What, this girl here? What do you say? is this the *Theōriā* we used to bang to Brauron after a few drinks?

<sup>20</sup> PCG3.2.16–40; Vicaire (1979:42); Faraone (1992).

<sup>21</sup> PCG4.233–45; Quaglia (2000); Menander also has a comedy called *Trophonios*: PCG6.351–6.

<sup>22</sup> PCG3.2.487–503. The phrase εἰς Ἴσθμια σκηνὴν ... καταλαμβάνω is found in the context of *theōriā* at Ar. *Peace* 879. For people staying in tents at sanctuaries, see §12.3, p.200n.44.

<sup>23</sup> PCG3.2.487: λήκυθον / τὴν ἐπτακότυλον, τὴν χύτρεαν, τὴν καλὴν, / ἣν ἐφερόμεν ἴν' ἐχοίμι συνθεατρίαν. Another fragment, PCG3.2.494, refers to a prostitute.

<sup>24</sup> Eupolis, PCG5.328, fr.62 (*Autolycus*); Plato, PCG7.469, fr.86 (*Metoikoi*).

<sup>25</sup> Lines 523–4.

<sup>26</sup> Lines 871–880. Τρ. ἴθι νυν, ἀποδῶμεν τήνδε τὴν Θεωρίαν / ἀνύσαντε τῇ βουλῇ. Οἱ. τί; ταυτηνί; τί φῆς; / αὕτη Θεωρία 'στίν, ἦν ἡμεῖς ποτε / ἐπαίομεν Βραυρωνάδ' ὑποπεπωκότες; / Τρ. σάφ' ἴσθι, καλήφθι γε μόλις. Οἱ. ὦ δέσποτα, / ὅσῃν ἔχει τὴν πρωκτοπεντετηρίδα. / Τρ. εἶέν· τίς ἐσθ' ὕμῶν δίκαιος; τίς ποτε; / τίς διαφυλάξει τήνδε τῇ βουλῇ λαβών; / οὔτος, τί περιγράφεις; Οἱ. τὸ δεῖν, εἰς Ἴσθμια / σκηνὴν ἑμαυτοῦ τῷ πέει καταλαμβάνω.

Trygaeus: Absoutely, and it was difficult to catch her.

Slave: Oh master, look at the size of her pentaeteric bum!

Trygaeus: OK, who among you is just? who? Who will take this girl and look after her for the Council? Hey, you, what's that circle you're drawing?

Slave: Well – er – actually – I'm making a space for my tent for the Isthmian Games with my prick.

Aristophanes has the slave mention Brauron here because of its well-known association with girls, though there was indeed a quadrennial festival there.<sup>27</sup> Instead of '... *Theōriā*, which we used to send to Brauron', he says '... which we used to bang to Brauron', clearly an obscene joke based on the expected expression.<sup>28</sup> The Athenian state is not otherwise known to have sent official *theōriai* to sanctuaries inside Attica, though Herodotus' account of the Athenian *theōris*-ship intercepted on the way to Sounion provides a possible parallel.<sup>29</sup> In any case, people might have talked of 'sending a *theōriā* to Brauron' either in the sense of conducting a spectacular procession there from Athens, or sending the equipment and personnel required to stage the festival there.

There follows the formal presentation of *Theōriā* to the *boulē*. Trygaeus asks her to disrobe in front of them and invites them to imagine having sex with her. This scene plays on the idea of *theōriā* as 'spectacle', and it also suggests the symbolic moment at the wedding feast when a husband looks upon his naked wife for the first time (presents, called *theōretra*, were given on this occasion).<sup>30</sup> Then he relates the benefits of *theōriā* in terms of athletic competition – on the first day, a bawdy wrestling competition, and on the second a sexually athletic equestrian event. Finally, he appeals to the *prutaneis* to receive her:<sup>31</sup>

Now, Prytaneis, receive *Theōriā*. [He gives *Theōriā* to the chairman of the Prytaneis] Look how eagerly the chairman took her from me. [To the chairman] You wouldn't

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.7. <sup>28</sup> Olson (1998:238).

<sup>29</sup> See §4.3.4, p.63. Delmouso (1988) is probably wrong to suggest that Brauron was the starting point for the *theōriā* to Delos: see Bruneau (1991:377–9). For the (remote) possibility that the name '[Theōr]iā' should be restored on an altar base from Brauron, see Fuchs and Vikelas (1985); A. Smith (forthcoming a:n.1); §2.3, p.32.

<sup>30</sup> Lines 886–91. Eustathius on Hom. *Il.* 3.315; Harpocration, 31.13ff. On the *Anakalupteria*, see Brückner (1914); Schibli (1990:63–5); Oakley and Sinos (1993:25–6); A. Smith (forthcoming b:93–4).

<sup>31</sup> Lines 905–8. ἀλλ' ὦ πρυτάνεις, δέχεσθε τὴν θεωρίαν/ θέας' ὡς προθύμως ὁ πρυτάνις παρεδέξατο. / ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν, εἰ τι πρότ'κα προσαγαγεῖν ἔδει / ἀλλ' εὔρον ἂν σ' ὑπέχοντα τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν.

have done that if you'd had to introduce some business for no reward; no; I'd have found you extending your... armistice. (Trans. Sommerstein)

Not only do the words 'receive *Theōriā*' suggest the term *theōrodokos*, but the idea of *theōriā* being presented to the *boulē* recalls real Athenian practice, which stipulated that Athenian *theōroi* returning from abroad should report to the *boulē*, and for all we know visiting *theōroi* did the same. The final line plays on the association between *ekekheiriā* (armistice) and the free passage of *theōroi* and other participants to extraterritorial sanctuaries in peacetime, but it unexpectedly reverses it for comic effect: in lusting for *Theōriā*, the *prutanis* rejects *ekekheiriā* (keeping his hands to himself).<sup>32</sup>

Needless to say, this is comic fantasy and not a documentary study. *Theōriā* probably stands for festivals in general, ones in Athens itself, ones in Attica like Brauron, and also extraterritorial ones like the Isthmian Games, which were particularly disrupted by the war (cf. the clause about visiting sanctuaries in the contemporaneous Peace of Nikias). But the choice of details is determined by potential for comedy: Brauron, athletic competitions, the *ekekheiriā*. Given that Aristophanes imagined *Theōriā* as having been rescued from imprisonment in a distant place, it makes comic sense to represent her as being returned to the Council like an Athenian *theōriā* returning from abroad, but it would have been more logical to have her setting off from Athens into the newly pacified Panhellenic religious network.

The sexualization of *Theōriā* is not shared with *Opōrā*, who seems to be the monogamous wife, as opposed to glamorous, sexually available Ms Spectacle.<sup>33</sup> Other literary texts tell us that festivals were places where young men and women from different places might in fall love, or even have sex,<sup>34</sup> and it could be argued that such liaisons are a good analogy for the unrestricted contact between cities and their populations facilitated by the operation of Panhellenic festival culture in peacetime.<sup>35</sup> But to represent *Theōriā* as a prostitute seems at odds with the impression we get from other sources that the behaviour of *theōroi* at common-Greek sanctuaries was for the most part dignified, pious and regulated by sacred laws. Again, this is Aristophanes' comedic imagination at work, fusing ideas together into a carnivalesque image.

<sup>32</sup> *Theōrodokos*: §5.2.1; reporting to *boulē*: §11.8.

<sup>33</sup> Henderson (1991:66): 'Theoria is to be the common sex-partner of the city'; so Cassio (1985:48).

<sup>34</sup> See §20.4, p.349.

<sup>35</sup> Henderson (1991:64) notes that the progress of the play represents a movement from imagery based on excrement and perverted sex to imagery based on normal sex, symbolising the movement from war to peace.

### 20.3 *Theōriā* and authentic Greek tradition: Achilles in Philostratus' *Heroicus*

The remaining literary works I shall discuss in this chapter are, like Plutarch's *Life of Nikias*, prose works from the Roman Empire. The high concentration of relevant texts in this period undoubtedly indicates that Imperial writers were interested in the subject, but we should also remember that similar accounts in Hellenistic literature may well have been lost.<sup>36</sup>

The *Heroicus* of Philostratus (early third century AD) is a dialogue between a wine-grower and a Phoenician trader, which takes place near the *hērōon* of Protesilaos at Elaious at the southern end of the Thracian Chersonese.<sup>37</sup> The main characters are a local wine-grower and a visiting Phoenician, who has an interest in Homer. The former reports to the latter what his informant, none other than the hero Protesilaos, had told him from first-hand experience, in many cases revising the Homeric version. One of the topics covered is the tomb of Achilles, the so-called Achilleion, identified in Greco-Roman times with a hill situated on the West coast of the Troad, probably to be identified with the mound at Besik-Sivritepe, a little inland which seems to have been artificially enlarged in the Hellenistic period, as if to produce a tourist attraction.<sup>38</sup> According to the *Heroicus* a sacred delegation went every year from Thessaly to the Achilleion, a common enterprise shared between a number of Thessalian cities.<sup>39</sup> Originally the ship, equipped with black sails, carried fourteen *theōroi*, who took with them wood, fire, libations and water, as well as two bulls (one white, one black), and wore garlands of *amaranthos*. They arrived by night, sang a hymn to Achilles, which began by invoking Thetis, and approached the hill, where they took part in races and communal invocations of Achilles. After that, they put garlands on top of the hill and dug trenches on it.<sup>40</sup> Then they sacrificed the black bull (possibly burning it whole as a holocaust?), and went back to the shore, where they sacrificed the white bull. Come the dawn, they took the dead victim on the ship, and consumed it there – eating on the land was apparently something to be avoided. The ritual was

<sup>36</sup> For *theoria* in Attidography of the fourth century BC, see §18.1; for traces in philosophy, see §19.2.

<sup>37</sup> On the *Heroicus*, the best guide is now Aitken and Maclean (2001).

<sup>38</sup> Korfmann (1988); Rose (1999:61–3); id. (2000:65–6). Cook (1973:177ff. and plate 18b) gives a good idea of this confusion.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Philost. *Her.* 55.8.23.

<sup>40</sup> So the Athenian ephebes who visited the *poluandrion* at Marathon as part of their ritual duties in 123/2 BC (IG2<sup>2</sup>1006, 26–7, 69–70; cf. Pélékides (1962:253)): ἐστεφάνωσαν τε καὶ ἐνήγισαν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον τελευτήσασιν ὑπ[έ]ρ τῆς Ἐλευθερίας ('They crowned it and performed *enagismos* for those who died in war for the sake of Freedom').

thus double, comprising a chthonic offering or *enagisma* to Achilles as hero, and an Olympian sacrifice or *thūsiā*, to Achilles as a god.<sup>41</sup>

Having started in heroic times, the practice was brought to an end by the tyrants who ruled Thessaly after the Aiakidai. It was restarted when a divinely sent plague ensued, though the revived tradition omitted the white bull. This diminished offering then continued until it came to an end again after the Persian War, apparently because there was a perceived conflict between the Greek sympathies of the Aiakidai and the medising Thessalians. After an intermission during the fifth and fourth centuries it resumed under Alexander the Great, who conquered Thessaly and devoted Phthia to Achilles. In this period, the Thessalians held a major celebration at the tomb of Achilles. Other sources tell us that Alexander himself honoured Achilles in the Troad at the outset of his campaign,<sup>42</sup> and it is possible that Philostratus is thinking of that here. After Alexander, the Thessalians continued the tradition, though the offering was now merely a black lamb, and the practice became haphazard: not all the cities contributed; they performed the rite by day rather than by night, and sometimes it did not arrive at all. Here the survey ends, with no reference to the Roman period. Protesilaos claims that the neglect of his ritual angered Achilles to the point where he threatened to harm Thessaly, specifying that the destruction would come from the sea. The wine-grower thinks that this threat may have materialised in a recent calamity connected with the trade in purple-dye extracted from sea-shells. A little more information about the recent past is provided in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, which described how Apollonius receives a vision from Achilles, who is angry about the interruption of the rituals and visited the Amphiktionic council, where he instructs the Thessalians to re-establish it. The chronological relationship between the works is not known for sure, but it may well be that the *Heroicus* develops themes that were first worked out in the *Life of Apollonius*.<sup>43</sup>

No *theōriā* to the Achilleion from Thessaly or anywhere else is attested in epigraphical or (other) historical sources – the closest approximation to it are *theōriai* sent by the Thessalian Federation to Samothrace and Lesbos in the Hellenistic period.<sup>44</sup> The Thessalian *theōriā* has some features that look real, but others seem contrived, for example the chthonic tone of the ritual,

<sup>41</sup> On the practice and terminology of 'chthonic' sacrifice, see now Ekroth (2002); Scullion (1994).

<sup>42</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1.12      <sup>43</sup> Philost. VA.4.16, 4.23; so Solmsen (1940).

<sup>44</sup> Mytilene: IG, suppl. 12, no. 3; Labarre (1996: no. 14, p. 273); Samothrace: Pounder and Dimitrova (2003); possibly also Claros: Picard (1922a: 346). Parker (2011) on the Thessalian Olympia, which seems to have been frequented by Aetolians, Koans and Magnesians.

which seems inconsistent with the normally festive mood of *theōriai*.<sup>45</sup> Above all, the black sails, which, like the fourteen participants, seem to allude to the myth of Theseus and the Athenian tribute to Minos.<sup>46</sup> Secondly, while real *theōriā* usually involves open cooperation between two political authorities, the destination of the Thessalian *theōriā* is a remote location, and it is clandestine.<sup>47</sup> The consent of the local authorities is neither sought nor obtained, and the Thessalians take everything with them, so that 'they would need nothing from the city [of Troy]'. Philostratus himself compares the Delian fire-carrying *theōriā* to Lemnos,<sup>48</sup> which shares with it the offshore anchorage of the ship (so as to keep clear of a chthonic zone). Another ritual in which cooperation between visitors and hosts is absent is described by Pausanias: a party of men from Tithorea in Phokis attempted to make off with earth from the tomb of Amphion and Zethus at Thebes, without the Thebans stopping them.<sup>49</sup>

On the face of it, the Thessalian *theōriā* looks fictional. The fourteen participants sound like an echo of the Athenian Dis Hepta, and the secret, chthonic quality seems likely to be a literary embellishment, even if the rest of it is real. Philostratus himself implies it was not happening at the time when the dialogue was supposed to be taking place, and one could perhaps argue that he has invented it so that Achilles, whose wrath is his defining feature, has something to be wrathful at.

What was Philostratus' purpose in including such an extensive account of this *theōriā*? In the *Life of Apollonius*, he was probably concerned to give Apollonius cultural authority on Greek history and on Greek religion, with the message that mainland Greeks should honour their past more. As for the more detailed treatment in the *Heroicus*, we should perhaps think of Caracalla's visit to the Achilleion in AD 213,<sup>50</sup> when, according to the historian Dio, he performed *enagismata* and organised contests, and according to Herodian he made offerings of crowns and flowers, assumed the identity of Alexander, and imitated Achilles to the point that when a freedman of his happened to die while they were in the Troad, he cremated the body. Philostratus probably wrote the *Heroicus* a few years after Caracalla's death in AD

<sup>45</sup> The chthonic Thessalian *theōriā* could be based on Aeschylus' description of Charon's boat at *Septem* 857 as a μελάγκροκος θεωρίς ('a *theōris*-ship with a black sail').

<sup>46</sup> Plut. *Thes.* 17. <sup>47</sup> *Polis* authorities: §12.1. <sup>48</sup> See §7.5.

<sup>49</sup> Tithorea: Paus. 9.17.4–5. For this, Schachter (1981–94:1, 28–9). At Ps.Dem. 41.66, the problematic expression ἀποπέμπειν Ἀμφιόνεσσι has sometimes been taken as referring to the same cult at Thebes.

<sup>50</sup> Herodian 4.8; Dio 77.16.7. On Caracalla's itinerary, see Halfmann (1986).

217,<sup>51</sup> and it seems likely that he presupposes on the part of the reader the knowledge that the honour Achilles has been demanding has in fact been recently paid, only not by the Thessalians, but by an Alexander-imitating Caracalla. In that case, Philostratus would be implicitly placing Caracalla's pilgrimage in a continuous tradition that goes right back to the Trojan War, and in which it forms one of the high points, as had Alexander's visit 550 years before.

## 20.4 Theōriā and rendezvous. The Greek novel

Greek writers often use visits to festivals as a plot device for setting up a meeting between two people. A particularly clear case is the story of Acontius and Cydippe, narrated by Callimachus in the *Aitia*, but ascribed by him to Xenomedes of Keos (fifth century BC). Acontius, who was from Ioulis on Keos, and the Naxian Cydippe first saw each other at a festival on Delos, where he tricked her into reading an oath inscribed on an apple which committed her to marry him. Eventually, after attempts to arrange a marriage between Cydippe and other men brought her close to death, the Delphic oracle endorsed the union with Acontius, and they duly got married.<sup>52</sup>

Significant meetings happened in the course of other forms of pilgrimage as well. Euripides' Phaedra saw Hippolytus for the first time at Eleusis, and Alexander the Great's parents were officially said to have first met while being initiated at Samothrace. In the heightened atmosphere of festivals, things might even proceed as far as sex, as was the case with Charisios and Pamphile, the leading characters in Menander's *Epitrepontes*, at the nocturnal festival of Artemis Taurobolos at Halai Araphenides, where they had both presumably gone from Athens.<sup>53</sup> A related *topos* is the idea that women taking part in a festival are liable to be abducted, as the women of Brauron were abducted by the Pelasgians of Lemnos in Herodotus' account.<sup>54</sup>

Much later, the plot device of first contact between lovers at a grand festival is taken over by the Greek novelists. A simple example is the opening of Xenophon of Ephesos' *Anthia and Habrocomes*, where the hero and heroine see each other for the first time at the local festival of Artemis at

<sup>51</sup> C. P. Jones (2001b:142–3) argued for between AD 217 and the 230s. See also Aitken and Maclean (2001:xliv).

<sup>52</sup> Call. fr.67–75. Xenomedes of Keos: Huxley (1965).

<sup>53</sup> E. *Hipp.*25; Plut. *Alex.*2.2; Men. *Epitr.*451; cf. Furley (2009:174–6), who lists mythological instances of the 'rape at night-time festival' motif.

<sup>54</sup> Hdt. 6.138; 4.145.



Ephesos.<sup>55</sup> More complex is Callisthenes' botched attempt to meet his beloved on a *theōriā* in Achilles Tatius' *Cleitophon and Leucippe*. The plot concerns two branches of the same family, one based in Byzantium and the other in Tyre. Hippias lives in Tyre with his daughter Calligone, who is betrothed to her half-brother Cleitophon; Hippias' half-brother Sostratus lives in Byzantium with his daughter Leucippe. When Byzantium goes to war with Thrace, Leucippe goes off to Tyre for safety along with her mother Pantheia, and Cleitophon falls in love with her. Callisthenes is a young Byzantian, also in love with Leucippe, though he has never seen her. Discovering that she has gone to Tyre, he gets himself appointed a member of a *theōriā* to the cult of Herakles there.<sup>56</sup> But things do not go according to plan: at the sacrifice, Callisthenes mistakes Calligone for Leucippe, and at a later point, when a *panēguris* is taking place, he abducts her from the beach (like the Pelasgians and the Brauronian women). Later in the novel, we learn that when he recognised his mistake he made the best of it by marrying her.<sup>57</sup> With Calligone off the scene, there is nothing to prevent Cleitophon getting together with Leucippe, and they elope, and so begins the series of adventures that makes up the bulk of the plot. The climax of the novel takes place in Ephesos, where the hero, on the point of being tortured, is saved by the arrival of *theōriā* from Byzantium to give thanks for victory over the Thracians; the *theōriā*, which is led by Sostratos, has the effect of suspending the punishment (cf. the beginning of Plato's *Phaedo*),<sup>58</sup> and initiates the denouement. Callisthenes, who has in the meantime distinguished himself in the war against the Thracians, leads a simultaneous delegation from Byzantium partly to thank Herakles in Tyre, reprising his earlier role, but also to ask Calligone's father for her hand in marriage.<sup>59</sup> Thus, the plot of the novel is framed by *theōriai* from Byzantium, one providing the starting point for the action, and the other (or rather two others) wrapping it up. The first instance seems to be designed to create the expectation in the reader that Callisthenes and Leucippe will 'do an Acontius and Cydippe', and fall in love at the Tyrian festival, whereas in fact it serves the different purpose of removing Calligone from Tyre, so that Leucippe can begin a romance with another man.

The action of Heliodorus' *Aithiopika* (fourth century AD)<sup>60</sup> also has major festivals at the beginning and the end of the action. The frame for the finale is an international victory festival in Ethiopia, attended by

<sup>55</sup> Xen. *Eph.* 1.2–3.    <sup>56</sup> Ach. Tat. 2.15. Sostratos was also a member, according to Ach. Tat. 7.14. On the cult, Ferjaoui (1993:42–5).

<sup>57</sup> Ach. Tat. 8.17.    <sup>58</sup> Ach. Tat. 7.12.3; Pl. *Phd.* 58b.    <sup>59</sup> Ach. Tat. 8.18.

<sup>60</sup> For the date, see Bowersock (1994:149–60).



ambassadors from among other places China, Arabia and Persia (Book 10; the vocabulary of *theōriā* is not used for this), while the first meeting of the lovers took place at a festival at Delphi (Books 2–4), where Charicleia, really an Ethiopian princess, was working as an attendant of Artemis, to all intents and purposes the daughter of the priest of Apollo, and Theagenes is visiting as leader of a lavish *theōriā* from Ainis in Thessaly.

However, the first *theōriā* mentioned in the novel is one that has apparently been invented by one of the characters. In the First Book (1.22), Theagenes and Charicleia, having arrived in Egypt after their first set of adventures, are confronted by the Egyptian Thyamis. Thyamis wants to marry Charicleia, and she chooses the tactful course of accepting his offer, and concealing her true feelings for Theagenes. To this end, she makes up a story that they were siblings from Ephesos, each the holder of a yearlong priesthood, he of Apollo and she of Artemis, who had been leading a large *theōriā* to Delos to celebrate the laying down of their offices, but were diverted by a storm and shipwrecked in Egypt. The fake story incorporates elements of the truth by a process of doubling: instead of one of them having a priesthood (as in the true story) both do, and instead of one of them leading a *theōriā* (as in the true story), both do. Whether Ephesian priests ever laid down their offices at Delos is unknown, but one should bear in mind that the idea that they do serves a purpose within the plot, since it gives Charicleia a pretext to ask for a delay in the marriage until she has officially laid down her priesthood in a shrine of Apollo.<sup>61</sup>

The *theōriā* that sets up the meeting between the hero and heroine is by contrast presented as true. It was sent to honour the Delphic hero Neoptolemus by the Ainianes, a Thessalian people who lived in the region of Malian Gulf with their capital at Hypata. They had a double claim to authentic Greek identity, first through their descent from Hellen, the son of Deukalion (Heliiodorus may have been thinking of the fact that this is the area to which the term ‘Hellas’ applies in Homer),<sup>62</sup> and secondly because of the link with Achilles, whom the *Iliad* already associates with the nearby River Spercheius. The Ainianian *theōriā* is represented as a regular pentaeteric event, commemorating their connection with the Aiakidai, and Theagenes is himself a descendant of Aiakos through Polydora the daughter of Peleus, a genealogy which, as Heliiodorus says, is already implied in Homer.<sup>63</sup> However, the enactment of the *theōriā* described in the novel is to be the last, because the Delphians ban them from future visits after the Thessalians abduct Charicleia.

<sup>61</sup> *Aith.* 1.23; Bruneau (1988:573–5) is also sceptical. <sup>62</sup> Cf. Hall (2002:151–2, 169).

<sup>63</sup> *Aith.* 2.34; Hom. *Il.* 16.173–8; notice, however, that in Homer the Enienes are part of a different contingent (*Il.* 2.749).

The sweeping ekphrasis of the *theōriā*, narrated by Kalasiris to Knemon much later in Egypt, is the most elaborate account of a *theōriā* in any literary source; the procession of the girls in the ‘local festival’ described by Xenophon of Ephesos is an obvious intertext.<sup>64</sup> I have already discussed the make-up of Heliodorus’ Thessalian delegation,<sup>65</sup> which is if anything less elaborate than the Athenian *Pūthaidēs* of the late Hellenistic period. The only details that look out of place are the arrival of Charicleia in carriage ‘from the temple of Artemis’, and the ritual of lighting the torch that follows, where Charicles announces that it is the custom for the altar at Delphi to be lit by the *arkhitheōros*, having taken the flame from the attendant. There is no trace of this in any other source; was Heliodorus thinking of cases where *theōroi* bring back sacred fire?<sup>66</sup>

The big question is whether there really was a *theōriā* from Hypata to Delphi at this or any other period. On the one hand, the region occupied by the Ainianes, if not their name, was already associated with Achilles in the *Iliad*; in Plutarch’s *Greek Questions*, the Ainianes at one point lived in the area of Molossia and Kassiopeia, to which they still send a regular sacred delegation, and migrated from there to Kirrha, where they killed the local king.<sup>67</sup> Molossia became the adopted homeland of Neoptolemus after his abortive return from Troy, and whether or not the Ainianes had really lived there at some point, it seems likely that the tradition of their sojourn in the West is related in some way to a perceived Ainianian interest in Neoptolemus, just as the abortive visit to Kirrha could provide an aetiology for their interest in nearby Delphi.

On the other hand, Heliodorus may well have invented much of this, creatively cannibalising earlier literary sources, in which he was well-versed. One intertext might indeed be the delegation to Kassiopeia in Plutarch; another could be Pindar’s account of the Aeginatan *theōriā* to Neoptolemus at Delphi in *Paeon* 6.<sup>68</sup> If the city of Hypata was on the literary map, they might owe something to Apuleius, who presents it as a haven for Thessalian witches; is Heliodorus’ portrayal of Hypata as the noble city of the true Hellenes perhaps a mischievous correction of earlier writers of

<sup>64</sup> See Whitmarsh (2011:117). <sup>65</sup> See §10.6.1. <sup>66</sup> *Aith.* 3.4–5; see §7.5.

<sup>67</sup> *Qu.Gr.* 26, 297b–c; 13, 294a; discussed in Halliday (1928) s.v.; Woodbury (1979); Sakellariou (1990). Cf. also the Ainianian inscription mentioned in Ps.Arist. *De Mir.Aus.* c.133 (843b15–844a5), on which see Huxley (1967). Xen. *Anab.* 6.1.7 had described a dance in arms called the *karpaia*, performed by the Ainianes and Magnesians, and Maximus of Tyre mentions a similar dance at *Or.* 22.4 (270.1ff. Hobein).

<sup>68</sup> Plutarch: see preceding note; Pindar: see §14.4.2.

fiction, who saw it as a centre of low-life magic?<sup>69</sup> Yet another source could be the Thessalians in Philostratus' *Heroicus*, who anticipate Heliodorus' Ainianes in sending a *theōriā* in honour of an Aiakid hero, performing a *thūsia* and an *enagismos*, and singing a hymn.<sup>70</sup>

Another factor may well be that in Heliodorus' own day, Hypata was an important city that had close ties to Delphi. In his excellent study of Roman Delphi, Robert Weir has shown that, though the Ainianians lost their independent voice in the Amphiktion when Augustus reorganised it, citizens of Hypata were prominent at Delphi from the late first to the early third centuries AD, both as Amphiktions and as *agōnothetai*; in fact, of fourteen *agōnothetai* known, seven were from Hypata. And in AD 319, the college of Delphic *dāmiourgoi* seems to have held their meetings at Hypata. There is no sign of such a prominent role for Hypata in the Hellenistic records, and it seems likely that the nexus between it and Delphi was something that developed in the Roman period. This being the case, it is even possible that the citizens of Roman Hypata really did organise elaborate *theōriai* to Delphi; Heliodorus' statement that the Delphians banned Ainis from continuing the tradition would surely not preclude its being resumed at a later point.<sup>71</sup>

Whether or not there is any reality behind the Ainianian *theōriā*, it is clear that Heliodorus has exploited the subject for literary potential. Consider, for example, the exchange between the narrator Kalasiris and Knemon at the start of Book 3, where Knemon complains that Kalasiris has not related all the details, and asks him to describe the events in vivid detail, to which Kalasiris replies, 'Since you want to be an incidental spectator (ἐκ παρόδου θεωρὸς), you are manifestly an Athenian' and agrees to go on with the narration. Knemon's listening to Kalasiris account of the *theōriā* puts him in a similar position to the *theōroi* who originally watched it.<sup>72</sup>

More importantly, the Ainianian *theōriā* is the frame for the scene in which Theagenes and Charicleia catch sight of each other, and fall in love.

<sup>69</sup> *Aith.* 2.34. Whitmarsh (1998:102) argues that the Ainianians were so obscure that 'Heliodorus' only motive in making Theagenes an Ainianian can have been to generate an ironic disparity between their obscurity ... and the extraordinary claims made for them by Theagenes.'

<sup>70</sup> Philost. *Her.* 55.3 = 72, 20–73.4 DeLannoy; Heliod. *Aith.* 2.35. Both hymns start with an invocation of Thetis, and in both the first line is identical to the last. Bowie (1989:228–9) points out that the stichic pentameters of the Ainianian poem recall the dedicatory epigram from Ainis attributed to Herakles, preserved in Ps. Arist. *De Mir.Aus.* c.133, 843b15–844a5 (see n. 67 above).

<sup>71</sup> Weir (2004:58–63); for the *dāmiourgoi*, id.523. The Ainianian *theōriā* is also studied by Rougemont (1992), Pouilloux (1983), Woodbury (1979) and Suárez de la Torre (1997).

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Pin. fr.52o (see §4.1). For theatrical imagery in Heliodorus (though not this word), see Walden (1895).

This comes right after the strange ritual of the lighting of the torch, which surely symbolises erotic ignition:<sup>73</sup>

... Theagenes made to take the fire, and in that instant it was revealed to us, Knemon, that the soul is something divine and partakes in the nature of heaven. For at the moment when they set eyes on one another, the young pair fell in love, as if the soul recognised its kin at the very first encounter, and sped to meet that which was worthily its own. For a brief second, full of emotion, they stood motionless; they slowly, so slowly, she handed him the torch and he took it from her, and all the while they gazed hard into one another's eyes, as if calling to mind a previous acquaintance or meeting ...

The idea of the soul recognising its kin recalls the lovers' mutual recognition in Plato's *Phaedrus*, where the souls remember their earlier existence as members of a troop of cosmic charioteers who ride to the revolving edge of the universe and stand there, jostling to catch a glimpse of the reality that lies beyond, before breaking their wings and falling to earth. This allusion at this point in the *Aithiopika* is all the more effective because this ill-fated cosmic pilgrimage that the lovers recall at the moment of falling in love is itself a sort of prototypical *theōriā*.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *Aith.*3.5.4–5 ... τὸ πῦρ δὲ Θεαγένης ἐλάμβανεν· ὅτε, φίλε Κνήμων, καὶ ὅτι θεῖον ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ συγγενὲς ἄνωθεν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιστούμεθα· ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ ἀλλήλους ἐώρων οἱ νέοι καὶ ἥρων, ὥσπερ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκ πρώτης ἐντεύξεως τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπιγνούσης καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν οἰκεῖον προσδραμούσης. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀθρόον τι καὶ ἐπτοημένον ἔστησαν καὶ τὴν δαῖδα ὀλκότερον ἢ μὲν ἐνεχείριζεν ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέχετο, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀτενεῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ κατ' ἀλλήλων πῆξαντες ὥσπερ εἴ που γνωρίζοντες ἢ ἰδόντες πρότερον ταῖς μνήμαις ἀναπεμπάζοντες·

<sup>74</sup> The motif of having lovers meet in the context of sacred delegations lives on right into twelfth century AD, when Eustathius Macrembolites used the idea of the formal announcement of a pagan festival as the frame both for the initial meeting of the hero and heroine of his *Hysmine and Hysminias* and for their eventual reunion after the inevitable separation. For the novel, see Jeffreys (2012:159–76); for the theme of pilgrimage, Roilos (2005:189–91).

The end of *theōriā*

*Theōriā* is thus alive and well as a literary motif right into the fourth century AD, and its adaptations in Philostratus and Heliodorus suggest that for these authors it encapsulates a traditional sense of Hellenicity. Outside of literary texts, references to *theōroi* are rare after the mid-second century AD. The last delegates explicitly designated as such are oracle delegates to Claros, and of these the very last ones are members of a delegation from Parion in AD 159/60.<sup>1</sup> The office of *theārodokos*, so important in the interstate religious network in the earlier period, had not, to all appearances, outlasted the mid-first century BC.<sup>2</sup> In inscriptions from this period, *theōriā* invariably means ‘spectacle’, and the word *theōros* is occasionally attested in festival contexts in the sense of an office held by aristocratic women who witness the games.<sup>3</sup>

Interstate festival culture itself thrives as never before in the Roman Empire. As early as the second century BC, Roman generals had seen the potential for organising victory festivals in Greece and Anatolia. Augustus established major new festivals at Actium, Italy, Anatolia and elsewhere, following the model pioneered by the great Hellenistic powers.<sup>4</sup> Between the first and third centuries AD, new festivals sprang up all over the Empire, particularly in Anatolia.<sup>5</sup> Some of these were marketed as filial versions of the traditional Greek festivals,<sup>6</sup> but they often bore the names of emperors, or were stamped with imperial authority in some other way.<sup>7</sup> Others had a new appearance such as the Demostheneia at Oinoanda in Lycia, a musical festival established in the reign of Hadrian and named after a local citizen C. Iulius Demosthenes, who endowed it.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See App.#G3.2 and in general §4.4.3.      <sup>2</sup> *FD* 1.318 (49/8–48/7 BC)      <sup>3</sup> See §9.1, p.146.

<sup>4</sup> See §3.5; for the Romaia Sebasta at Pergamum and other festivals in Anatolia, see Mitchell (1990:219).

<sup>5</sup> A convenient survey can be found in Mitchell (1993:217–25); useful also are Robert (1982a), Mitchell (1990).

<sup>6</sup> For Pythia festivals in the Roman Empire, see Weir (2004:176–211); for Olympia festivals, Spawforth (2007:387–90). More generally, Robert (1982a:38) who talked about an ‘agonistic explosion’ in the period; Newby (2005:245–55); van Nijf (1999). I discuss the survival of athletic competitions in Late Antiquity and their impact on literature in Rutherford (2012b:101–2).

<sup>7</sup> Van Nijf (1999:189) describes imperial festival culture as ‘suffused with references to Rome’.

<sup>8</sup> The source for this is a decree published by Wörrle (1988); see also Mitchell (1990) and now Chaniotis (2011:171–2).

The older sanctuaries continued to flourish alongside the new foundations into the third century AD and beyond. For Olympia, this was demonstrated dramatically in the 1990s by the discovery of a list of victors in the *pankration*, including some from the mid- to late fourth century.<sup>9</sup> Delphi was still holding its contest in the third century,<sup>10</sup> and it received visits from emperors as late as the fourth.<sup>11</sup> The usual view is that the pagan sanctuaries ceased to function in the late fourth century, falling victim to a series of edicts from the emperor Theodosius I and others between AD 385 and AD 400.<sup>12</sup> Even this seems not to have ended them completely, and at Antioch the local Olympics were apparently still being celebrated in AD 507.<sup>13</sup>

What was the role of state delegations in all of this? Of the traditional venues, Olympia is known to have been visited by a Rhodian *arkhitheōros* at the end of the first century AD, and in the mid-second century AD Athens was still sending the *dōdekēis* to Delos.<sup>14</sup> The last reliable evidence for a civic consultation of the Delphi oracle is a decree honouring a Spartan *theopropos* in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>15</sup> Rhodes made a public dedication at Didyma in the early third century AD, accompanied by a poem which refers to the oracular power of the sanctuary.<sup>16</sup> At Claros, civic consultation of the oracle

<sup>9</sup> SEG 48.553, Ebert (1997a). See further Christensen (2007:141). Notice also the third-century inscription, (Siewert (2000:31–7)) (=SEG 42.370), which refers to the *panēguris* and used the phrase ἐν θεατοῦ σγῆμα [τι] (line 9). For the last phase of Olympia, see also König (2005:29–30).

<sup>10</sup> *Agōnothetai* are attested till the early third century AD (Weir (2004:69–70)); athletes are known up to the mid-third century (Weir (2004:126–7)).

<sup>11</sup> For the involvement of emperors at Delphi, Weir (2004:140–75). The latest evidence seems to be a decree in honour of the Emperors Valens and Valentinianus, which dates from the period AD364–75: see Vatin (1962:238) with Meritt (1947:61).

<sup>12</sup> For the edicts, which are collected in *Cod.Theod.*16.10.9–13 and date from AD385–393, see Salzman (2007:120–1). That chronology seems to be roughly confirmed by a remark by the eleventh-century Byzantine historian George Cedrenos (Bekker (1838–9:1.573)) that the formal contest was ‘quenched’ about AD390. On Cedrenos’ credibility see Roueché (2007:60–1).

<sup>13</sup> Downey (1961:505–6); Millon and Schouler (1988:64).

<sup>14</sup> See §18.2. In the fourth century, the rhetor Himerius (38.10Col) can still imagine an Athenian chorus visiting Delos and hymning the excellences of a Roman administrator.

<sup>15</sup> FD 1.215, M. Aurelios Euameros; see PW:1.286 and 291n.11. The Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry (third century AD) cites a hexameter oracle purporting to have been given to the citizens of Nikaia in Bithynia to the effect that although the prophetic powers of Delphi were no more, they should keep on sending the customary offerings to Apollo (PW:1.287–8, 2. no. 475, from Porph. ap. Eus. *P.E.5*, 16 = Porph. 322FSmith (Fontenrose (1978:D41), id. (1988 R48[?])), but that is surely too paradoxical to be real. See further Vatin (1962:235–8) on a supposed consultation by Julian.

<sup>16</sup> Didyma 83, which suggests it might be from the time of Julian. Another public consultation of Didyma that could be third century AD is that by the *stephanēphoroi* of Cyzicus, Fontenrose (1988:A9); for the tradition that Diocletian consulted Didyma about a Christian persecution, see Fontenrose (1988:R33 = Didyma 306). For Didyma in Late Antiquity, Fontenrose (1988:22–5).

is attested at least as late as the 240s.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, the new festivals were attracting civic delegations as well. ‘Joint-sacrificers’ from Sparta are known to have attended the Aktia-festival at Nicopolis and the Italica Romaea Sebasta Isolympia at Naples in the second century AD, and Ptolemais-Barca sent an ‘ambassador’ to the Capitolia in Rome in AD 154.<sup>18</sup> Civic delegates of a different sort attended meetings of Hadrian’s Panhellenion in Athens, which was a common council but also had a religious dimension.<sup>19</sup>

The richest evidence as usual comes from Asia Minor. The decree establishing the above-mentioned Demostheneia in Oinoanda anticipates ‘sacrifices sent by other cities’ for the purpose of *sunthūsiā*, for which the cities are to be formally thanked.<sup>20</sup> But above all, it is in the great cities that delegations are attested, particularly on significant occasions such as the endowment of a major festival or the dedication of an imperial temple with the award of the status of *neokoros* that went with it. Thus, Ephesos is believed to have received delegations from at least thirteen cities on the occasion of the dedication of a temple to the Augusti under Domitian (around AD 88 and 91),<sup>21</sup> and a series of statue-bases from the same city from AD 211 have long been interpreted as commemorating delegations sent from Carthage, Kos, Knidos and Nicaea Cilbianorum (in Lydia) on the occasion of its being awarded its third neokorate;<sup>22</sup> Louis Robert suggested that the delegation from Carthage was reciprocating one sent by Ephesos about a decade earlier to witness the foundation of the Carthaginian Pythia. Tertullian describes how cities congratulated Carthage on the establishment of that festival, presumably by sending delegations.<sup>23</sup> In the mid-third century, Aphrodisias celebrated a grant (*dōreā*) of sacred status to one of its *agōnes* with a joint sacrifice, in which delegates from cities in the region participated.<sup>24</sup> ‘Joint sacrifice’ was actually part of the iconographical

<sup>17</sup> See Ferrary (2005:740, 742); Busine (2005:43–4) seems to underestimate how long it lasted.

<sup>18</sup> See §13.3, p.220. <sup>19</sup> See §16.3.

<sup>20</sup> SEG 38.1462, 85–7. Cf. Wörle (1988:198–200).

<sup>21</sup> *I.Ephesos* 232–42 (Aizanoi, Aphrodisias, Keterapa, Klazomenai Philadelphia Stratonikeia, Silandos, Teos, Kymeme, Tmolos), 1498 (Hyrkaneis), 2048 (Sunaos). See Dräger (1993:143–7); Burrell (2004:61). For a delegation coinciding with the ‘second neokorate’ of a city (Ephesos?), see Robert (1969:277–8).

<sup>22</sup> *I.Ephesos* 2053–6; Robert (1978:468n.41), id. *BE* 1978:no. 424. For the ‘thrice *neokoros*’ status of Ephesos, see Burrell (2004:70–8). The material has been recently discussed by Fernoux (2011:285–9).

<sup>23</sup> Robert (previous note); id. (1982b:232–5). Tertullian *Scorpiace* 6: adhuc Carthaginem singulae civitates gratulando donatam Pythico agone; with Barnes (1969:125–8); Rives (1995:65); other evidence cited by Wörle (1988).

<sup>24</sup> Roueché (1993:182–7). The cities included Keretapa, Hierapolis, Kibyra, Apollonia Salbakes, Heracleia Salbakes, and Tabai. For imperial *dōreā*, see Mitchell (1990:191), Robert (1982a: 38–9), id. (1982b:232–3).



programme in the theatre at Hierapolis in Phrygia in AD 206–8, no doubt celebrating the endowment of some local festival.<sup>25</sup> The slogan *Sunthūsia Oikoumenēs* ('Joint Sacrifice of the World') which appeared on coins issued by Anazarbos in Cilicia between AD 198/99 and AD 235/6, is thought to have coincided with the establishment of another new festival, the Severeia Olympia Epinicia.<sup>26</sup>

Indirect light on the festival delegates in the Roman period may be shed by a type of coin-inscription widely attested in the third century AD which proclaims *homonoia* between two cities, one of them the issuer of the coin. Peter Weiss suggested that a common context for these is a festival in the city that issues them, the other city being one that sent a delegation there for the purpose of *sunthūsiā*, usually on the occasion of its establishment or endowment. The city of Side in Pamphylia, for example, where a major Pythia festival had been established by Gordian III in AD 243 (the *Agōn Apollōneios Gordianos Antōneinios*),<sup>27</sup> issued coins proclaiming *homonoia* with Perge around the same time, which could correspond to the presence of *sunthūtai* from Perge at the first enactment of the festival;<sup>28</sup> about a decade later, Sidetic coins proclaim *homonoia* with Aspendos, Attaleia, Sagalassos, Alexandria in Egypt and even Delphi (involved apparently because this is a Pythian festival),<sup>29</sup> and these could indicate that delegates from these places were present at the fourth or fifth enactments. Similarly, Caesarea in Cappadocia was visited by delegates from Smyrna in AD 208 to attend the newly established Severeia Philadelphia Koina, one of a number of festivals authorised by Severus in honour of his sons Caracalla and Geta.<sup>30</sup> Weiss cites other examples of this type from Bithynia and Phrygia.<sup>31</sup> Cities publicised such relations on their coins because the attendance of delegates from other cities was highly prestigious. This would be a sort of numismatic equivalent to the Hellenistic practice of displaying responses from other cities officially recognising the festival.<sup>32</sup> Recognition from cities was still considered prestigious, even though the critical source of authority was now the emperor.

The sending of civic delegations to festivals was thus standard practice, even if it was not in most cases systematically recorded. If we compare the

<sup>25</sup> Ritti (1985:67); see Weiss (1991:362–4); Newby (2005:249–50).

<sup>26</sup> See Ziegler (1985:44–6). Another coin issue from Tarsos which mentions the truce (ἐκεχειρία) is linked by Ziegler to an Olympia festival there.

<sup>27</sup> Weiss (1981); Nollé (1993–2001:1.87).

<sup>28</sup> Franke and Nollé (1997:191–3). <sup>29</sup> Franke and Nollé (1997:193–6).

<sup>30</sup> Franke and Nollé (1997:92–5); Burrell (2004:249).

<sup>31</sup> Philadelphia and Laodikeia: Franke and Nollé (1997:175–6).

<sup>32</sup> See Weiss (1998); the *homonoia*-coins can be consulted in Franke and Nollé (1997).



Roman evidence with earlier periods, three changes stand out. The first is that the focus for so much of it is Imperial cult or on new festivals set up or endowed by Imperial authorities. The traditional festivals of Classical Greece must have paled into insignificance besides them. Equally, with few exceptions, most notably the network attached to Hadrian's Panhellenion, new festivals were no longer promoted by the organisers as commemorations of Greek identity. The third change is terminological: the term *theōros* is rarely attested after the first century BC, and in its place we find reference to 'joint sacrifice'.<sup>33</sup> As I suggested earlier, 'joint sacrificer' may have been preferred because it stressed the strongly religious nature of imperial cult, whereas *theōros* by this stage sounded too much like a passive 'spectator'.<sup>34</sup>

We can be certain, then, that although the terminology may change, the practice of sending state-delegations to festivals continued into the mid-third century at least, albeit reshaped to suit the conditions of the empire. The practice is particularly well attested in Asia Minor, but similar things were probably going on elsewhere at the same time. It remains to ask whether at any point the cities stopped sending delegations to festivals and sanctuaries, and if they did, why. All that can be said by way of answer is that there is no evidence at all, direct or indirect, for civic delegations from the second half of the third century AD onwards, and indeed that no new festivals are attested as having been founded after the 270s.<sup>35</sup> The absence of positive evidence does not prove that the practice stopped, and it would not be astonishing if civic delegates were visiting festivals as long as pagan festival culture itself lasted, i.e. till the Antiochene Olympics of AD 507 at least. On the other hand, it is a good guess that the politico-religious ideology that had supported it was seriously compromised after the legalisation of Christianity in AD 313, which, while it did not lead to the immediate disappearance of paganism, certainly decreased the pressure for conspicuous displays of pagan orthodoxy.<sup>36</sup> Equally, although imperial cult continued in the fourth century, emperors themselves were beginning to reject pagan ritual, particularly the 'superstition' of animal sacrifice;<sup>37</sup> 'joint sacrifice' was bound to lose its appeal when the legitimacy of sacrifice itself was no longer beyond question.

\* \* \*

<sup>33</sup> C. P. Jones (1998:184). <sup>34</sup> See §4.4.3, p.69.

<sup>35</sup> According to Mitchell (1993:1, 224) the last foundations are by Aurelian (AD270–5) and Tacitus (AD275–6).

<sup>36</sup> See Mitchell (1990:191).

<sup>37</sup> Imperial cult continued *sine superstitione*: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 11.5265, Salzman (2007:112); Price (1984: 227).

In retrospect, then, the vitality of the practice of sending civic delegations in the transformed religious environment of the Roman Empire can be seen as the final stage in the millennium-long evolution of *theōria*. Its most recognisable form, if not necessarily the earliest, was surely to be found in the theoric networks of the Archaic Period, where cities participated on an equal footing in common and neutral space, balancing their polis identity against their Hellenic one. The basic model had been repackaged several times in the intervening centuries to serve the needs of new political structures, among them the Athenian Empire and the Hellenistic kingdoms and leagues. Thus, in the early third century BC, *theōroi* are found visiting Alexandria to honour a deceased king, something unthinkable two centuries before. Meanwhile, the Panhellenic sentiment which had been at the focal point of the traditional networks began to be appropriated by ruling powers which appointed themselves its protectors. From there, it was only a few short steps to the emperor-focused festival culture of the Roman Anatolia.

The common denominator running through all these incarnations is a set of expectations about how the Greek polis uses religion as a framework to interact with the outside world. The basic pattern endured for centuries: religious spaces and occasions were exploited by cities for demonstrations of communal ritual, or, if it suited their purpose, for conspicuous assertions of their individual power. Though these activities were outwardly religious, they provided a framework for regional and supra-regional networks and alliances which could serve implicitly or explicitly political purposes. It was in the interests of cities to reach out and participate, and for this purpose they needed the services of religious delegates – *theōroi* – who would act on their behalf. Plato, talking of his imaginary city of Magnesia in his *Laws*, warned that ‘without *theōriā*’ it could not remain perfect.<sup>38</sup> Here the reference is to the activity of his own specialised *theōros*-inspectors sent out on missions of extraterritorial reconnaissance, but the same words could be used to sum up the critical importance of delegate-*theōroi* in the real world. *Theōroi* and *theōriā* were, after all, nothing less than the agents and the activity through which the polis, using religion as a framework, was able to observe the wider world of Greek city-state culture, and to engage with it.

<sup>38</sup> *Laws* 12.951c; see §19.4, p.337.

I present here a selection of inscriptions and other documents (sometimes excerpts) which illuminate the practice of *theōriā*. I arrange them in roughly chronological order, grouping them in seven categories: A: Sixth–early fifth century BC; B: Classical; C: Fourth century BC; D: Third century BC; E: Late Hellenistic (200–50 BC); F: Early Roman Empire; G: Second–third centuries AD. Within these groups, the documents are assigned a number, A1, A2 and so on; in the case of several closely related documents, I group them as subdivisions of the same number, e.g. B9.1, B9.2 ...

The principles that guide the selection are the following: first, I have chosen texts that illustrate key aspects of the subject; second, I have tended to exclude texts that are included in a recent and easily available collection, such as RO; third, I aim to provide a cross-section of the sources, include a sample of all the major types: sacred laws, dedications, honorary decrees and so on.

For each text, I provide citation details and the most important pieces of bibliography, followed by text, translation and a brief commentary. I should stress that it is not my aim to provide critical editions of the texts. For commentary, I have generally referred the reader to my discussion elsewhere in the book. I have not attempted to provide a paper-trail of all publication details; it is a simple matter to track these down using *SEG* and other databases.

## A: Sixth–early fifth century BC

### A1: *Nomima* 1.14. Regulation from Eleutherna. Late sixth century BC

Stone-block, the original width is unknown. Boustrophedon. Cretan dialect.

*ICret* 2.12.11; Koerner (1993: 112\*). See §11.6, p.191.

- 1    [–]ς πέρανδε πλέοι ἢ θιαρὸς ἢ [–]ς  
      [–]ος διαλαίη ἐκς ἐνιοφτιτο[–]ς

[-ἐκτ]οπιος. αἴ τις τοῖνυ ποινικα[σῳᾱι-]  
 [--τ]οῖνυ μὴ δικάζοντας τὸς ζ[----]  
 5 [--] ἄπᾶτος ἦμεν. αἴ δὲ καρπόσᾱιτο [--]  
 [---].[-].Ἡ[-].[-]Ο[-]ΝΤΟ.ΚΣ[-]

### Translation

[- -] should sail beyond, either a *thiaros* or [- -]  
 [- -] wander? after five years of absence? [- -]  
 [- a]broad. If someone[] to the secre[tary -]  
 [- -]who do not judge this [- -]  
 5 [- -]should be free of penalty. But if he were to profit[- -]  
 [-----]

### Commentary

A law. Lines 3–5 seem to be about legal procedure,<sup>1</sup> presumably concerned with the subject described in lines 1–3. The least obscure part is line 1: a *thiaros* (an attested Doric form for *theōros*)<sup>2</sup> or someone else is envisaged as ‘sailing beyond’. Everything else is conjecture. The interpretation of διαλαίη as ‘wander’ goes back to Guarducci in *ICret*. As for the following letters in line 2, Guarducci suggested that ἐνιοφῳιτο (cf. also *ICret* 2.12.15, 2) might be the same as ἐνιαύτιος ‘yearly’, so with ἐκς ‘from a yearly (something)’.<sup>3</sup> The editors of *Nomima* think rather of a compound with the numeral ἐκς, meaning something to do with the sixth year (ἐκσενιοφῳιτο[]). Beattie (1975:29) saw here a form of the word ξένιος, which might be a Cretan official, the ‘magistrate of the foreigners’ (ξένιος κοσμός, sometimes referred to as ὁ ξένιος: *IC* 4.70XI, 16–17, *IC* 4.79, 15; Davies (2005:310). In line 4, *Nomima* suggested ἐκτ]όπιος, which suits the idea that the people in line 1 are going abroad.

On *Nomima*’s interpretation, line 2 refers to the consequences of a five-year *theōriā* or other absence – one thinks of Solon! However, this is hardly certain, and there must be other possibilities. Could this be a regulation to assist a θιαρός in his journey, as in the treaty between Praisos and Stalis (*IC* 3.6.7b, 13–15; see §11.2)?

<sup>1</sup> For the term ποινικα[σῳᾱς = secretary, see Jeffrey and Morpurgo Davies (1970).

<sup>2</sup> Bile (1988:90).

<sup>3</sup> Guarducci wondered whether the same formula could be found in *ICret* 2.12.12.2: μὴ ἐκς ἐνιοφῳιτο.

**A2: Minon:no. 4. Law from Olympia concerning a *theōros*. 525/500 BC**

A bronze plaque. Elean dialect.

*I.Olympia*7; *LGS* II.61; Buck (1955:no. 64). *Nomima* I.109; Koerner (1987:464–5); Koerner (1993:nos. 41–3). See §12.7.

{κα} *vacat*  
 κα θεαρὸς εἴῃ αἱ δὲ βενέοι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι, βοί κα θῶάδοι καὶ κοθάρσι τελείαι, καὶ  
 τὸν θεαρὸν ἐν τ-  
 ἀϋτᾷ αἱ δὲ τις παρ τὸ γράφος δικάδοι, ἀτελέες κ' εἴῃ ἃ δίκαι, ἃ δὲ κα φράτρα  
 ἃ δαμοσία τελείαι εἴ-  
 ἔ δικάδοσα τῶν δὲ κα γραφέν ὃ τι δοκέοι καλλιτέρω ἔχεν πο' τὸν θεόν,  
 ἔξαγρέον καλ' ἐ-  
 νποιὸν σὺν βῶλᾳ πεντακατίων ἄφλανέως καὶ δάμοι πλεθύνοντι δινάκοι  
 <δινά>κοι δε κα <ἐ>ν τρίτ-  
 5 ον, αἷ τι ἐνποιοῖ αἷτ' ἔξαγρέοι.

*Translation*

- a) ... a *theāros* would be (liable *vel sim.*). But if he were to have sex in the sanctuary, let him be fined with a cow and complete purification, and the *theāros* the same.
- b) But if anyone judges against the written text, the judgement should be void, but the public decision (*wrātrā*), giving judgement (?), will be final.
- c) One may make any change in the regulations which seems desirable in the sight of the god, withdrawing or adding with the approval of the full council of the Five Hundred and the people in full assembly. One may make changes three times, adding or withdrawing.

*Commentary*

This difficult text seems to be the end of a sequence of laws. Section a). is the end of a law concerning athletes and *theōroi* (lines 1–2); section b). is a provision against changing the law (lines 2–3) and section c). is provision for amending any of the laws (lines 3–4).

The subject of section a). is likely to be an athlete, as in #A3. The presence of the word βενέοι in a law is surprising, considering that it is elsewhere obscene: see Bain (1991:58).

**A3: Minon:no. 5. Fragment of an Olympic Rule Book. 525–500 BC**

A bronze plaque. What survives are two adjoining fragments broken vertically, one with the left part, the other with the central section. The right-hand

section of the text has not survived. Twenty-two holes for nails are visible, in some cases with the remains of the nails in place. Elean dialect.

*Ed. pr.*: Ebert and Siewert (1999); it had appeared earlier in Ebert's collected works as (1997b:200–36); *SEG* 48.541; L. Dubois, *BE* 2000:no. 349; republished in Siewert (2006:49–51). See §12.6, p.210.

ὁ δὲ παλαιστὰ οὔτε κα δάκυλον ἕνα φαγανο[---οὔτε-----, κολ]  
 ἄδοι παῖδιν κα ὁ διαιτατῆρ πλάν κατὰ κεφαλάν [-----τοῖ μ]-  
 ιαντῆρες ἐνοισέονται καί τούτοι ὑπασχῆσέον[ται-----]  
 ν τ' Ὀλύμπια κᾶρχεν ἀξιόνικον ἐν καί τούτοι μ[---οὔτ' ἄνδρα Φαλείδιν κα]-  
 5 ἰ τᾶς συμμαχίας οὔτε γυναῖκα· αἱ μὲν φειδῆς νᾶπο[ιν---(οὔ κα) -----ἄν-]  
 δρα Φαλείδιν καί τᾶς συμμαχίας, οὔτε κοβέλδς ΟΡΥ[-----]  
 κα δαρχνάς ἀποτίνοι, αἵτ' ἀπελοβαῖτο ἐ ΔΕΤ[-----]  
 ς κ' ἐδορ[ε]έοι· σὺν δ' ἄλοτρίοις χρῆμάτοις οὔ κα θεα[ρός-----πο]-  
 λέμοι. *vacat*

### Translation

- 1 The wrestler should neither break a single finger [---nor commit some other transgression-----]  
 the referee can [pu]nish by striking, except on the head  
 [-----The]  
 'polluters' will pay (?) and will promise him [-----The athlete will be allowed to compete at]  
 the Olympic Games and to be the first (?) to deserve victory there in this event as well [-----The referee must not favour either a man of the Eleans or]  
 5 of the alliance or a woman. If ... he knowingly (leaves someone) unpunished  
 [.. the referee must pay a fine. He (the athlete?) should not cheat]  
 a man of the Eleans or of the alliance, nor fraudulently ... [commit some other transgression-----]  
 he should pay ... drachmas, whether he injured or [committed some other transgression---- The *theāros*?]  
 should lend(?), and with the money of others the *theā[ros]* should not (pay?)-----] in war

This important but highly obscure document is part of the late sixth-century rule-book for the Olympic Games. It is one of a sequence of regulations (Minon (2007:39–40) mentions another unpublished one). Among the remarkable details it reveals is that athletes who broke the rules were called 'polluters' (l.3) and that Elis has an 'alliance'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Also in Minon (2007:no.10,2). For the alliance, Taita (2007:74–81), Minon (2007:2.481); Siewert (1994) linked this to a hypothetical Olympic Amphiktion, which is doubted by Roy (1997:296) and Minon (2007:2.482–3).

The regulations are as follows:

- a) With respect to the contest (1–4), the wrestler must not break fingers (commentators have pointed to the *pankratiastēs* Sostratos of Sicyon, mentioned by Paus.6.4.2, who was famous for doing just that), the referee can strike but not on the head; the offending athlete can be reinstated, apparently in the very same bout (see Minon:1.43).
- b) The referee (from the mid-fifth century called the ἔλληνοδίκας (Minon 2.533)) must be impartial, not favouring Eleans or members of the ‘alliance’ and not overlooking transgressions (4–5). Commentators have pointed to the attested case (Paus.6.3.7), when two out of three ἔλληνοδίκαι decided in favour of an Elean in the *stadion*, and a non-Elean who was favoured by the other judge got the Olympic Council to fine them.
- c) The athlete must not bribe or injure (the referee?), and if he does, he gets fined (5–8). The reference to the θεαρός comes in that section. The point of the reference to war at the end is obscure: is it perhaps saying that war is not an excuse not to pay?

The θεαρός is probably the subject of the clause beginning in line 8; Ebert and Siewert (1999:408–10 = Ebert (1997b:229–32)) saw it as the subject of the previous clause as well, in which case the two clauses would hang together (although as Minon (2007:1.47) points out, if the subject is the same, it is odd that it is repeated in the second clause); the previous clause might be requiring the θεαρός to lend money (ἐδῶρέοι would be from ἐκ-δωρέω) to the athlete (Ebert and Siewert (1999:408–9 = Ebert (1997b:229–30), in which case the following clause might be a qualification requiring the θεαρός to pay with his own money, i.e. not to borrow from anyone else (Ebert and Siewert (1999:410), which makes sense if we assume that the athlete is regarded as the responsibility of his own city. Contrast the view of Dubois, *BE* 2000:no. 349 that he is being forbidden from paying with non-Elean coinage.

#### A4: Minon:no. 19. Punishment of Timokrates by the Elean authorities. Around 475 BC

Bronze plaque. Elean dialect: *Nomima* I.36.

*I.Olympia* 13 (Dittenberger); *SGDI* no. 1159 (F. Blass)

*Nomima* I.152–4 places it at the start of fifth century BC; Taita (2007:117n.19) and id. (2004–5:89n.13) in the mid fifth century.

Τιμοκράτει Μάλῆκος θεαρο/[-----ἐν τί]  
αρόν δεσ<μ>ῶ τὰ δίκαια [τ]ῆνα κ'ἄπρο[τίνουι-----]

- τὰ δίκαια κῦ{ι}παδουκιοῖο[ις] δυοίοις τ[αλάντῳ τετιμῶμε]-  
 νοίοις καὶ τῶν σκευᾶν τῷπαδου[κιοίοις-----, τ]-  
 5 ἅ τριάκοντα μνᾶν τετ[ί]μῶντ[αι-----δικ]-  
 αῖδς· κάπῳ τῷ βῶμῳ ἀποφε-[λε'-στῷ-----ὑπὸ τῷ-  
 ν προξένῳ καὶ τῷ ἱερᾶο[ς-----ξ]-  
 δόξε καὶ τῷ δάμοι τρι[α-----]  
 Τιμοκράτει πολῆσ[-----]  
 10 ς θεαρῆ ἄνδρε δύο [------]  
 κοντα ἔσμοῦ τὰ δίκαια[-----τ]  
 ἅ σκεύεα τετιμῶστων π[-----]  
 τᾶρετᾶι καὶ τοῖοιρ <καὶ τ-----]

### Translation (tentative!)

#### (1–7: Sanctions against Timokrates)

Against Timokrates son of Malex for imprisonment of a(?) *theāros* [who has come to the sa]nctuary, this is the penalty: he should pay [---] the fine and two draught animals, [valu]ed at two t[alents], and of the equipment for two anim[als---]are valued at thirty *mnai*[---ju]stly(?). [May he be ke]pt away from the altar[---by th]e *proxenoi* and the pries[t---]

#### (7–13: Realisation of assets)

It] was also decided by the *damos* [---- that] for Timokrates[----]two men who are *theāroi* [should] sell [---] penal[ties] for imprisonment [----] equipment should be valued [---]for the quality of the two of them and [---]

### Commentary

The best guess of interpreters is that Timokrates has been punished for imprisoning some person or persons.<sup>5</sup> θεαρῶ/[is usually read as θεαρὸν[or θεαρῶν[and will refer to his victim or victims, in which case the imprisonment would presumably be a violation of the convention of the inviolability of *theōroi*. His punishment seems to be a fine consisting of the animals and the equipment, and also exclusion from the altar at the hands of *proxenoi* and priest.<sup>6</sup> The role of the two *theāroi* mentioned in line 10 is, according to Minon, to sell the animals and equipment to raise money for the fine,<sup>7</sup> as

<sup>5</sup> In line 2 δεσ<μ>δ restored by Blass etc. on the basis of line 11: the bronze has ΔΕΣΑΛΟ.

<sup>6</sup> ἱερᾶο[ς Dittenberger: the bronze has ΙΑFAO[; the editors of *Nomima* restore ἱα(ρομ)ᾰ(ῶ), the 'ieromaor' being a cult title known from Olympia (Minon (2007:6.2, 9.4–5, 14.6)), attested also in Hesychius; cf. also Taita (2007:117n.20). But this is palaeographically much harder, and Minon rightly ignores it.

<sup>7</sup> Minon restores πολῆσ[αι or πολῆσ[έν in line 9, taking θεαρῶ ἄνδρε δύο as the subject.



they seem to help pay the fine in #A2 and #A3. In that case, these two *theāroi* are presumably from the same city as Timokrates, who may himself have been an athlete.<sup>8</sup>

### A5: Minon (2007:no. 8). Law from Olympia relating to proclamation of *ekekheiriā*? Around 500 BC

Bronze plaque. The original width of the document is uncertain. Elean dialect

Ed. pr. Siewert (2002a); SEG 52.477; republished as Siewert (2006:47–8)

[-----]E!-----[-----]ΚΑ-[-----]  
 [-----]Ν καὶ ΤΟΝ[-----] [----]ΔΟ[---] Ν ἐξ ἱαρῶ [-----]  
 [-----]ἀφλ]ανέος δια[ι]ρῆσαι· κ]αῖ τις ἄλος παργένοιτ[ο-----]  
 [-----]πέρ δὲ τοῦ ΑΡΑΝ· ὅσοι μὲν ἐπ' ἐπιτάδε Ἄκρα[-----]  
 5 [--τοὶ δ' ἐν]ερθα Ἐπιδάμνῳ καὶ Λίβυες καὶ Κρεῖτες κ' ἐπ[-----]  
 [-----]τρίτα μόλοι· αἱ δὲ τις σταθμείοι ἐν τ' ἱαρῶι, ΕΝ[-----]  
 [-----]τὸν ἀγαλμάτῳ, ὁ νομεύς πέντε δραχμάς [κ' ἀποτίνοι---]  
 [----τὸν] ξενεδῶνα, δραχμάν κ' ἀποτίνοι. *vacat*

#### Translation

[  
 [ outside the sanctuary[  
 [ ]to divide [com]pletely, and if another arrive[s]  
 [ ]... Of those who (live) beyond Akra[  
 5 [those be]low Epidamnos and the Libyans and Cretans... [  
 [ ]third time comes. If someone camps in the sanctuary ... [  
 [of t]he statues, the shepherd [pays] five drachmas [  
 [ the] hostelry, he pays a drachma.

#### Commentary

The geographical references in ll.4–5 suggest the announcement of the truce and festival, but the subject seems to be people coming to the sanctuary (3, 6). ‘Ἄκρα[’ could be Akra[gas or Akra[i in Sicily. Siewert (2002a:69–70) and Minon ad loc. both mention the parallel of the DTL, which has separate itineraries for Crete–Libya and for north-west Greece–Magna Graecia–Sicily (see §5.2.1). But here the implication seems to be that visitors to Olympia are for some reason categorised in accordance with their geographical provenance (cf. Siewert (2002a:70)).

<sup>8</sup> Notice the dedication by Timokrates, victor in the pentathlon, apparently from Eretria, assigned to 550–530BC (SEG 31.806).

Lines 6–8 are regulations connected with accommodation and animals. ‘αἱ δέ τις σταθμείοι ἐν τ’ ἱερῶι’ may have had an apodosis along the lines of ‘he will be punished in such and such a way’. Line 7 seems to have something to do with regulating the behaviour of animals (for transport, sacrifice or competition), which we have to imagine were brought with the visitors.<sup>9</sup> The reference to the hostelry in line 8 is by far the earliest one in our sources: see §2.3, p.31.

## B: Classical

### B1: CEG 1.151. Verse epitaph for a *theōros*(?) from Delphi. Early fifth century BC

Stone block. Found in the Marmara. Script is Ionian; ‘litteratura Naxia’ according to Hansen.

Bousquet (1959:180); SEG 18.251

[×–] ἀνη θεδρός, ἡὸν Πυθ[οῖ ~ –]  
[×– ~ ] παιδὶ μνημα ΧΑ[×– ~ –]

#### Translation

... -- *theōros* whom at Pyth[o]  
... ] for a child a memorial ... [

#### Commentary

Usually thought to be in iambics. Bousquet suggested completing lines 1–2 Πυθ[οῖ νόσος / ὀλέσε (‘...whom at Pyth[o] disease / ruined ...’)

### B2: Minon, no. 16. Olympia honours people who receive the *theāria* in Euboea and Sparta, 500–475 BC

Inscribed on a bronze disk. See plate 1. Elean dialect.

Siewert (2002b); Taita (2001); Siewert (2006:43–5). See §5.3.

I am grateful to Peter Rhodes for letting me see a draft of the text and commentary on this text being prepared for the forthcoming volume of Greek Historical Inscriptions of the fifth century BC.

τοὶ Ἀλείοι Ἀθανάδαν καὶ Φρίνωνα ἔθεαν κ’ αὐτὸ κ’ ἀπογένειαν Φαλείῳ· κ’ ἐν  
φυλᾶν  
ἐνίμεν, ὅποῖαν λέν, καὶ τᾶρ ἐπιφοικίας τᾶρ ἐν Σπάρται κ’ <ἐ>ν Εὐβοίαι κοιν-

<sup>9</sup> For regulations about animals in sanctuaries, see Dillon (1997b:121).

ἀνέν καὶ τὰν θε<α>ρίαν δέκεσσι TAP<EOI. IΣKPOEITITAMISON Ἄθ-  
ανάδαν καὶ Κικύσια. ὁ δὲ πῖναξ ἄγαλμα τῷ Διός. vacat

### Translation

The Eleans appoint Athanadas and Wrinon, them and their offspring, Eleans, and they should enter any phyle they want, and they should share in the *epiwoikia* in Sparta and in Euboea, and receive the *theāriā* - - - - Athanadas [shall receive land in the region of?] Kikision also(?). The tablet is a dedication to Zeus.

### Commentary

See the discussion on §5.3, pp.88–90.

## B3: CID1.7. Convention between Andros and Delphi.

### Fifth century BC

Columns A and B are on two adjacent sides of a stele; the position of Aa is uncertain, but it probably comes from the bottom of column A. The dialect is Andrian, except for the name Archiadas and the words θεαρέω and ἀρχιθέαρος, which are anything but Ionic.<sup>10</sup> The script, however, is Delphian, so it should probably be seen as an Andrian decree inscribed by a Delphian engraver.

The precise date is uncertain: Daux (1949a:65) thought of 425 BC, Rougemont (1977a:22) of 450–25 BC. Jeffrey (1990:298), however, preferred the first quarter of the century. See further §12.3.

Bibliography: *ed.pr.* Daux (1949a); Buck (1955:190, no. 7); Sokolowski *LSS* 38; Rougemont (1977a); Rougemont (1977b), Rutherford (2005c)

A	B
[-----]E[----]⊠[.]	[-----] οντ
[-----]ΛΑΧ⊠[.]ΑΝ[.]	[-----] Ἀρχιάδαν
-- ---⊠---ΛΛ⊠---L	[κα]θάπερ οἱ προγ-
[.]ντὼν αἱ τ[ρ]ῆς οἰκίαι [.]	εὔξ. βῶλῃ δὲ τὼν
5 [.]ΟΕ[.]Α[.]ΙΕ[.] πρὸς τὸς [ἀ]-	πλεόντων ἐς Δελ-
[ρχ]εθεάρως. Τόσδε σῖτ[ο]-	φῶ[ς] ηλεέσθω πέν-
[ν μ]ῆ τιθέναι μὲδὲ φρ[υκ]-	το ἄνδρας καὶ ὄρκω-
τὸς· ἀρχεθεάρως τρεῖς, μ-	σάτω· σῖτον δὲ μῆφ-
άντιν, ἄρχοντα, κέρυκα	ερόντω ταύτης ὄν-
10 αὐλῆτήν, κυβερνήτην, κ[ε]-	εκα τῆς ἀρχῆς· οἱ δ-
λευστήν, π[ρ]οῖρέτην. Δε[ρ]-	ἐ κύριοι ἔστων ζε-

<sup>10</sup> Alternatively, Daux (1949a:66) suggests that the Andrian dialect might have borrowed (back) the form θεαρ-, comparing *IG*12.5.837, 9 from Tenos (second century BC).

	μα δὲ φερέτω κῆρυ[ξ], αὐλῆ- τῆς, κελευστής, ἕκαστος τῶν δημοσίων ἱερῶν. σῖ-	μιῶσαι τὸν ἄκοσμ- έοντα μεχρὶ πέν-
15	τον παρεχόντων τῷ πρό- τει· μᾶζαν, κρέα, οἶνον ὁ- πόσ[ον] βόλονται καὶ τᾶ[λ]- λα ἀρμόδια. τὰς δὲ δύο ἡμ- έρας καὶ [ἔ]κτος τῷ σίτῳ τ-	τε δραχ(μέ)δον ἐκάσ- τῃς ἡμέρῃς. ὃν δ' ἂν [ζ]ημιόδοσι ἀπογ(ρ)- απάντων ἐν βολῇ <i>vacat</i>
20	ιθέτω ἕκαστος καὶ παῖς κ- αὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁβολὸν ἀ<ι>γινᾶσθαι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης· οἱ δ- ὲ ἀρχεῖται καθιερευ- όντων ὑπὲρ ἑμισυ ἐνί. ὑπ-	
25	αρχέτω δὲ τὰ ἐξαιρετά. π[ε]- [λ]ανὸς τέσσαρας, μεταξέ[ν]- [ι]α δύο, ἱερεῖ ἕξ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐ[κ] [ατ]όμβης ἐκάστ[η]ς. ὁ δὲ ἰδι- ώτης φερέτω των δερμάτων	
30	[ων ὧ]ν ἂν θύσῃ τὸ τρίτο μέρ- [ρος, π]λὲν χρῆστῶν καὶ κ- [αθαρσ]ίων, καὶ ὅσοι σὺν τῷ- [ι....]λει θεαρέδουσιν [----] δέμοσιον ΕΠΙ[ ]ΥΤ[ ]	
35	[-----]. [ ]. Ε[ ]-- Aa (bottom of a column) [-----]Ι[-----] [-----]ΝΙ/[-----] [-----]ΤΑΙΚ[-----] [-----]ΣΑΔΕΑΝΑ	
5	[-----]. ΠΙΑ ΕΣΤ- [-----] Ἀνδρίο-	

### Translation

A: the earlier part must have contained a general injunction that most people pay grain]

(4–6: *Fragmentary introductory section*)

--- three houses ---- toward the *arkhitheōroi*.

(6–14: *Privileges for officials*)

(6–11) The three *arkhitheōroi*, the prophet, the archon, the herald, the *aulos*-player, the helmsman, the boatswain, the chief rower should not contribute ‘grain’ (*sitos*) or *phruktoi* (firewood?).

(11–14) Let the herald, the *aulos*-player, the boatswain each take a hide from the public victims.

*Grain**(14–25. Contribution of ‘grain’ and obols)*

As ‘grain,’ let them contribute as much barley, meat and wine as they want and other suitable things on the first day; for the two days let each person, both man and child, deposit (on the altar) an Aeginetan obol for each day in addition to the ‘grain.’ Let the *arkhitheōroi* consecrate one more than half obols.

*(25–7: Reserved parts?)*

The parts reserved constitute: four *pelanoi*, two *metaxenia*, six from each *hekatombē* for the priest.

*27–34 Private sacrifice and public sacrifice (?)*

27–33 Let the private citizen carry a third part of the hides which he sacrifices, except for victims connected with oracles or purificatory sacrifices and whoever goes on a *theōriā* with the [king? one in charge?].

34 --- public *epithuto* ---

Aa:

--- three? *hestiātoría*? for the Andrians

B:

*2–4. Confirmation of Archiadas in some position?*

... Archiadas just as his ancestors.

*4–17. Discipline*

Let the *boulē* choose five men from among those sailing to Delphi and let it make them take an oath. Let them not have to contribute grain on account of this office. Let them have authority to fine any one engaging in disorderly conduct up to five drachmas for each day. Let them report whomever they punish to the *boulē*.

*Commentary*

See the discussion in §12.3. I notice here a few of the more important points.

A 11–14: I follow Rougemont (1977b:39–41) in taking *ιερέων* as ‘victims’; Daux (1949a) read *ιερέων* (‘priests,’ i.e. Andrian priests) which he took as the subject of the genitive absolute *παρεχόντων* (taken by Rougemont as an imperative introducing the next clause). Sokolowski, LSS38, took *ιερέων* (‘priests’) with *δημοσίω]ν* (‘each of the public (Delphian) priests’), with *παρεχόντων* as an imperative. Sokolowski was perhaps thinking of #C1, 26–9 where Delphi makes gifts to Skiathos.

24–5 *ὑπαρχέτω δὲ τὰ ἐξαίρετα*: a very obscure phrase (cf. Rougemont (1977b:46n.25), generally construed with what follows, with *ὑπάρχω* in the sense of ‘constitute’ (cf. Daux (1949a:71)). The alternative would be to take

it as the final clause of the preceding group: ‘let the prerogatives be deposited’. For ἐξαίρετα in the sense of ‘parts reserved’, see EM s. ἱερῶσυνα: τὰ εἰωθότα διδοσθαι ἐξαίρετα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 294c: μερίδα..ἐξαίρετον; also SEG 43.630, A18–20 (τὰ δὲ ἡιάρὰ τὰ δαμόσια ἐξηκαίρετό).

26–7: τέσσαρας.. δύο.. ἔξ Sokolowski understands the numerals as referring to payments in obols.

31–2: κ[αθαροσ]ίων ‘Purificatory sacrifices’ perhaps suggests purification from murder in the context of Delphi, though the general view these days is that Delphi’s role in this matter was confined to myth; see Parker (1983:139); Dyer (1969).

32–3: The identity of the person with whom the Andrians θεαρέδσιν is unfortunately uncertain. Daux suggested τῶ[ι βασι]λεῖ, Sokolowski τῶ[ι ἐν τέ]λει Aa 5–6: τ]ρία ἐστ-/[ιατόρια πασιν τοῖς] Sokolowski, on the basis of CID1.13, 29–30 (#C1)

B. Archiadas is most likely to be the Delphic *proxenos*; for the disciplinary regulations, see §12.7.

#### B4: CID1.4–6. Fragments of sacred laws from Delphi that may relate to *theōriā*. Second half of fifth century BC

Three blocks, all in the Attic script of the second half of the fifth century BC. There are two reasons for connecting them with a *theōriā*: first, the reference to the *dōdekēis* sacrifice in 1.4. and 1.6 (see §12.4, p.204), and second the reference in all three to *proxenoi*, presumably Delphian *proxenoi* representing the Athenians (see §12.2, p.194). G. Colin in FD 2.224 with n.2 originally suggested that they belonged together, though Rougemont in CID1 cautiously gives them different numbers.

##### B4.1: CID1.4

FD2, p.224n. 2; LSS40C

..α ὀκτὸ ὀβολο[-----]  
 .ΡΙΤΕΔΕΜΟΔΕ[-----]  
 δερμά[τ]ῶν δύο [-----]  
 [τ]ρίτη μοῖρα Ἀθη[ναί]ων  
 5 καὶ πόδες παντο[-----]  
 δῶδεκῆδος [.]λ[-----]  
 Ἡὲν προχσενο[-----]  
 .Α \..ΑΝΑΛΛΑ[-----]

## Translation

--- eight oboloi [---] two skins [---] third share belongs to the Athe[nians ? ---]  
and hooves all [---] sacrifice of twelve [--] one the *proxenos/oi* [---]

## Commentary

The text may have started on a previous column. The ‘third share’ suggests the one-third share of the hides that goes to the private sacrificer in *CID*1.7, 30–1 (#B3) Was the distribution one-third each to Delphic priests, local *proxenoi* and Athenians?

## B4.2: CID1.5

FD 2, p.224n.2; LSS40B

Composed of two fragments.

[τ]άδε διδ[οτα]ι [–] | [-----]  
[π]όδες, κε[φα]λαὶ προ[-----]  
[σ]κέλος· δι[έρ]ματος δι[-----]  
[μο]ῖρα π[ροχ]σ[ένων] τ[-----]

## Translation

This is given [---]hooves, heads [of sheep?]/leg; of the hide [s]hare of  
*proxenoi* -- [-

## Commentary

Line 4 is the share of the *proxenoi*; 1–3 will be someone else’s share, perhaps that of the priests, in view of the fact that the hide is usually their share?

## B4.3: CID1.6

FD 2.194; LSS40A

On a cippus, inscribed across a corner

	Ρ Α .	π ρ ο χ σ ε ν ο ν
	Κ Ο Ν Τ .	
	Ν Ι Ο Τ .	Ι Μ Ε Ν
	Ν π λ έ	ο ν
5	δ ὀ δ ε	κ η ῖ δ ὄ ν
	Α Ξ	
	Ι . Ν	

## Translation

---] *proxenos* (or of the *proxenoi*) [---] more[---  
 ---] Of *dōdekēis* sacrifices [---

## Commentary

Line 1, as we have it, is unlikely to have been the beginning of the text, and since there is nothing to the left or above, the preceding part must have been on a different block. Colin suggested that line 1 was the end of a heading: [οἶδε αἱ μοῖ]-ρα[ι] προξένων. Line 5 could also be a heading. In line 3, Colin suggested a new sentence: τὰ μὲν ... τὸ μὲν. .

The layout, over two sides of the block, is striking. A text that is concerned with division of sacrificial victims between parties is itself visually divided.

**B5: IG1<sup>3</sup>.1468. Dedication by Athenian *arkhitheōroi* at Delos. 426/5 BC**

Composed of two fragments from the upper part of a stele, separated by an interval of uncertain length.

Plassart in *ID43*; Coupry (1954:285–7); Chankowski (2008:92)

[οἶδε τῆς πρ]ώτης [πεντε]τήριδος  
 [αἰρεθέντε]ς ἀρχε[θέωρ]οι ἀνέθεσ-  
 [αν τῶι Ἀπ]όλλωνι  
 [---- Πλ]ωθειεύς  
 5 [----]ης ἕξ Οἶο  
 [----]χος Κυδαθ[ηναιε]ύς  
 [----]Μελιτεύ[ς]  
 [----]έων Ἐλε[υσίνιος]  
 [----]ατο[-----]  
 10 *vacat?*

## Translation

--- of the F]irst [Pente]teris the [electe]d *arkhi[theōr]oi* dedicated to Apollo [---] of  
 Plotheia [---] from Oion [---]khos from Kudath[enaia ---]of Melite [---]eon  
 from Eleusis [---

## Commentary

For the *arkhitheōroi*, see §10.2; for the pentaeteris, see §18.1.



**B6: CID1.8. Phaselis and Delphi. Second half of fifth century BC**

Inscribed on one of the short sides of a rectangular base for a dedication.

*Ed. pr.* Homolle (1905); *FD* 4.369; *LSS*39. For the date, see Rhodes and Lewis (1997:130). Discussed in §12.3.

ἄδε Δελοῖς Φασελίτας τὸν  
 πελανὸν διδόμεν· τὸ(δ) δαμόσι-  
 ον ἔπτὰ δραχμὰς δελφίδες δ-  
 ὕ ὀδελός, τὸν δὲ ἴδιον [τέτ]ορε-  
 5 ς ὀδελός. Τιμοδίκῳ κ[αὶ ἰ]στ[ι](α)ί-  
 ῳ θεαρόντων, Ἑρύλῳ ἀρχο[ν]τος

*Translation*

The Phaselites should give the *pelanos* to the Delphians in this way: as public *pelanos* seven Delphic drachmas and two obols, and as private *pelanos* four obols. Timodikos and Histiaios were the *theōroi*, Hermynos was archon.

*Commentary*

Phaselis, was ‘a far more Greek city than Xanthos, and *a fortiori* than any Lykian city other than Xanthos’ (Hornblower (1982a:122)). It was a member of the Delian League, and had treaty covering legal matters with Athens (*IG*1<sup>3</sup>.10), dated to 469–50 BC. For the historical background, see *IACP* no. 942 (Keen and Hansen).

I follow Homolle and Rougemont in interpreting ἄδε as an adverb; the alternative, suggested first by Herzog (1907:210) and supported by Pouiloux in *FD*4.369, is to take it as a verb equivalent to ἔφαδε ‘it pleased’. This would make the document into a Delphic decree, whereas the former interpretation makes it a loose convention. A point against it being a Delphic decree is the selection of the witnesses; why would the Phaselites need to be mentioned?

**B7: SEG 52.48. Excerpts from the Athenian calendar of Nicomachus referring to the *Pūthaïs* and *Pūthaïstai*. Around 400 BC**

Opisthographic *stelai* from the Athenian Agora. For the reconstruction of this complex document, see Lambert (2002a).

Several passage are relevant to *theōriā* (see §18.3). I cite here two that relate to the *Pūthaïs*:

*B7.1: Face A, Group A, Fr. 1 Lambert, 26–31*

Earlier editions include *IG*<sup>2</sup>.1357a, *IG*<sup>2</sup>.844 and *LSCG*17B

This part of the calendar is written beneath a line, which may indicate that (Lambert (2002a:370)): ‘... it relates to an irregular event ...’ and ‘could not readily be accommodated in the regular annual/biennial sequence above the line.’

<div data-bbox="377 583 663 615">[-] ζημαίν[----] κατὰ τήν</div> <div data-bbox="377 619 647 650">[-]Η[.]!Ν[----]Ἀ]ρματος</div> <div data-bbox="377 654 647 675">-----</div> <div data-bbox="315 724 347 750">30</div>	<div data-bbox="843 583 997 615">[-]Ἀπό]λλωνι<sup>ν</sup></div> <div data-bbox="843 619 1114 650">τάδε ἔπρεσθαι τῷ καν[ῶι]</div> <div data-bbox="843 654 1054 682">τρίποδα, ἐπιτοξίδης</div> <div data-bbox="843 686 1043 716">στέμμα, προγόνοιον</div> <div data-bbox="843 720 1100 752">[----]ίσκον, σφαῖρα[ν?]</div> <div data-bbox="843 756 1008 778">-----</div>
--	---

Translation

(from Lambert (2002a:392))

(Col. 1): -- indicate [---]according to [---]of the Harma [--- (Col. 2): ---] for Apo]llo. These things are to follow the bask[et: tripod, *epitoxides*, garland, *progonion*, [---] *iskos*, ball(s?) ...

Commentary

Col. 1 seems to refer to the sign over Mt Harma that initiates the *Pūthaïs*. This had been suggested already by Köhler in *IG*<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> and it was confirmed when Lambert read ζημαίν[in l.26. In l.27 Köhler restored [μαντείαν τήν δι’ Ἀ]ρματος, but Lambert (2002a:370) prefers [χρ]ῆ[σ]ιν (‘oracular response’).

Col. 2 prescribes a procession in honour of Apollo, though it is unclear whether this was also part of the *Pūthaïs*. The προγόνοιον seems to be a suckling lamb, offered to Apollo Puthios also in an Eleusinian calendar (Clinton175, I.10 = *IG*<sup>2</sup>.1363; see Roux (1966) on that). In line 29, Ziehen suggested λημν]ίσκον (ribbon). For the σφαῖρα[ν?], see §11.1.

*B7.2: Face A, Group A, Fr. 6 Lambert, Col. 1*

Earlier *IG*<sup>2</sup>.1357b; *LSCG*17c

This fragment, which has the normal lay out with prices on the left and deities and offerings on the right, could be from either the annual or the biennial sequence.

		-----
		[- - - - -].[- -]
		ἱερέαι Ἀθηναί-
		ας Πολιάδος
	[- 1? -]ΔΔ	ἀπόμετρα
		Ἑρμῇ ἐλ Λυκεῖο
5	[- 2? -]τ[- ? ]	οἷς
	[τττττ?]	ἱερεώσυνα
		[ἐ]βδόμηι ἱσταμένο
		ἐς ἑβδομαῖον
		οἷς λειπο-
10	[τττττ]	γνώμων
		Πυθαῖστ[α]ῖς θυ[- ? -]
	[- - ?]	ων καὶ σ[- -]
		-----

## Translation

(Lambert (2002a:393))

		--- ] for the priestess of Athena Polias, .
	[30, 70 or 120dr.]	<i>apometra</i>
		For Hermes in the Lyceum,
5	[4dr. ?]	a sheep,
	[4dr. 2 ob. ?]	<i>hierosyna</i>
		On the seventh of the month,
		for the seventh day offering:
		a sheep lacking
10	[4dr.]	age teeth;
		for the <i>Pūthaïstai</i> <i>thu</i> [ ... ]
	[Xdr. ?]	----- [ ]

## Commentary

The offering that the *Pūthaïstai* receive part of takes place on the seventh (i.e. Apollo's day: see §18.3, pp.313, 315) of an unknown month; the preceding sacrifices must be on an earlier day of it. The words describing what goes to the *Pūthaïstai* is lost, except that it may well be a genitive, indicating a quantity or money paid in lieu of something (Lambert (2002a:395)).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Sokolowski optimistically restored οὐ[άτ]/ων ('ears'); Lambert (2002a:381) suggested θυσίων.

## C: Fourth century BC

### C1: CID1.13. Skiathos and Delphi. Early fourth century BC

Marble stele in two parts, probably separated by a small lacuna. The enumeration of CID1.13, which I follow here, is a little misleading in so far as it assumes that no line is lost between the bottom line of the upper part and the top line of the lower part.

Bibliography: Amandry (1939); Sokolowski (1948); id. LSS41; Roux (1966: 570–1); Pouilloux in *FD* 4.371 (1976). See §12.3.

	Σ[κία]θίων	19b	[-----]ν τῶι θεῶι
	δά[μωι καὶ] ἀποίκους	20	[ι χρηστήρ]ιον ἐπι
	τάδ[ε] σύνθετα Δελ-		[τάν τράπ]εζαν αἶγ-
	φο[ῖς] καὶ Σκιαθίο-		α κ[αλλι]στεύοντα
5	ις· ἔ[δ]ωκαν προμαν-		κα[ὶ τ]ῆλλα ἱερὰ κα-
	τεῖ[α]ν καὶ ἀτέλει-		τ τὰ [π]άτρια. Δελφό-
	αν πά[ντ]ων νόσφι π-	25	ς δὲ [π]αρέχεν Σκια-
	ελαν[δ]. πελανὸν δ[ε].		θίο[ι]ς ἰστιατόρι-
	τόν μ[έν] δαμόσιον		[ο]ν, ξύλα, ὄσος, ἀλὰ Θ-
10	στατή[ρ]α αἰγιναι-		[εοξε]νίοις δὲ τὰς
	ον, τὸν [δ]ὲ ἴδιον δύ[-		[μοίρ]ας διδόμεν, κ-
	ο ὀδελώ· ἐς τὸ δέρμ-	30	αὶ [πρ]οδικίαν καὶ
	α, τὸ δαμόσιον δύο		ἄσυ[λί]αν ἔμεν Σκι-
	ὀδελ[ώ], τὸ δὲ ἴδιον		αθί[οι]ς. τὰ[δ]ε ἔδοξ-
15	ὀδελόν· αἶ κ' ἐπὶ φρ-		[ε]ν Δ[ε]λφοῖς πάτρι-
	υκτώ παρῆι, τὸ μὲ-		[α] ἔμ[εν] τοῖς Σκιαθ-
	ν δαμόσιον στ[α]τή-	35	[ί]οις· σὺν τετρακα-
	[ρ]α αἰ[γιναι]όν, τό δ[-		[τ]α[ί] ψήφωι καὶ πλ-
19a	[εἰ ἴδιον-----]		[έο]ν
	(One or more lines missing?)		

#### Translation

(Introductory formula)

1–5 For the people and the colonists of the Skiathians: these points are agreed between the Delphians and the Skiathians.

(Awards by Delphi)

5–8 They have given *promanteiā* and exemption from all taxes except the *pelanos*.  
(Taxes)

8–12 As for *pelanos*, they should pay a public one of an Aeginetan *stater*, and a private one of two *obols*.

12–15 On the hide (they are to pay) a public tax of two *obols*, and a private one of one *obol*.

15–18 If he comes for the two roasted beans (?), the public one is an Ae[ginetan] *stater*, [the private one - - -

21–26 And for the god (they should place) on the table [as an oracul]ar victim a goat in excellent condition, and the other sacrifices in accordance with ancestral custom.

(Gift and awards by Delphi)

26–31 The Delphians are to provide the Skiathians with a *hestiātorion*, logs, vinegar, salt and at the *Th[eoxe]nia* they are to give [shar]es,

31–34 and the Skiathians are to have *prodikiā* and *asyliā*.

(Concluding formula)

34–39 The Delphians decided with a vote of four hundred or more that these should be the ancestral customs for the Skiathians.

### Commentary

For discussion of the text, see §12.3. The major problems have been the following:

lines 15–18: ἐπὶ φρυκτῶ, interpreted by Amandry, as a lot oracle, though others have been sceptical: see §6.4, n.66.

line 21: χρηστήριον, restored by Amandry, is tempting in view of other sources about the Delphic oracle (see §6.4, pp.102–3), but hardly certain.

lines 27–8: in §12.3 I follow Amandry's interpretation Θ[εοξε]νίοις δὲ τὰς [μοίρας]. Amandry, 212, also suggested as an alternative θ[ύα. ξε]νίοις δὲ.. where θ[ύα are sacrifices to be burned or incense, while ξένια would be a meal for guests.<sup>12</sup> Bousquet (1942–3:135–6) suggested [κλίν]ας ('couches') instead of [μοίρας].

## C2: ID50. Bilingual dedication by Tyrian *Hieronautai* at Delos.

376/70–361/58 BC

Marble epistyle, Phoenician text (*CIS* I, no. 114) below the Greek

*ed. pr.* Renan (1880). See Bruneau (1970:621), Lipinski (2004:166). See §16.4, p.276.

### Greek

Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος

εἰκόνας οἱ ἐκ Τύρου ἱερонаῦται

Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνέθηκαν

<sup>12</sup> At *LSAM*37, 10 θύα are one of a number of things that the priest has to provide; they are a prerogative of the priest in some Chiote sacred laws: *LSS*77, 9, *LSS*129, 3, *LSCG*120, 3.

## Phoenician

---l]mlk[i] mlk 'bd 'štrt]mlk [šdnm (?)---] l[---.]b[n (?)---] l[

## Translation

## Greek

The *hieronautai* from Tyre dedicate these images of Tyre and Sidon to Apollo

## Phoenician

[In?] the reig[n?] of king Abd'-'A[štrt, k]ing [of the Sidonians ?] ---s[on (?) of] ---

## Commentary

In function, if not in name, this is a Phoenician *theōriā*, acting on behalf of Tyre. Notice that the name of the king occurs only in the Phoenician text; the omission in the Greek makes it look like a civic delegation independent of royal authority.

### C3: SEG 46.122: Athenian decree about Ammon from the Mahdia shipwreck, excerpts. 363/2 BC or after

Fragment of a stele discovered in 1909 in the Mahdia shipwreck (about 80 BC), now in the Bardo Museum, Tunis. It seems to have at last three sections: at the beginning, a copy of the decree setting up a regular *theōriā* to Ammon (lines 1–34), possibly including references to the Piraeus (l.23) and Mounikhia (l.26); then, a catalogue of delegations sent, at least 11 of them (ll.35–72) and finally an inventory (ll.73–91). For the relief at the top, see Meyer (1989:282) and Figure 1.

Bibliography: Petzl (1994:no.1); *ed. pr.* Dain (1936:12–13).

I include here the beginning and part of the second section. For ease of reference, I provisionally number the *theōriai* T1–T11.

- [-----] ἐπ[ρυτάνε]υεν' ἐπὶ Χαριξ[λείδο ἄρχοντος· Νικόστρατος Φι]-  
 [λοστράτο] Παλ[λη]γεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν· Τῇ[-----]ἐπε[-  
 [στάτ]ει· [ἔδο]ξεν τ[ῇ βουλῇ] καὶ τῷ δήμ[ωι·-----]  
 [... ]ος εἶπεν· π[ε]ρ[ὶ ὧν] λ[έγε]ι Κρατῖνος[-----]  
 5 [- -]ΛΗ τῷ δήμ[ωι·-----]  
 [- -]τὰς δ[ωρεῖς]-----  
 [- -]. Ἀμμ[ωνι·-----]  
 (lines 8–34 omitted)  
 35 [-θ]εωρῶν [-----]  
 [νν] ὁ δῆμ[ος] ὁ [Ἀθηναίων·-----]

T1

	[--]ΤΑΣΛΙΑ[-----]	
	[δι]δ[ω]σι τῶι Ἀ[μμωνι------]	
	[νν] ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηνάων[-----]	T2
40	[---]ΙΟΙ[-]ΑΙΚΤ[-----]	
	[διδωσι] τῶι Ἀμμων[ι------]	
	[νν ὁ] δῆ[μ]ο[ς] ὁ Ἀθ[ηναίων------]	T3
	[---]Μ[-]ΝΧ[-----]	
	[διδωσι] τῶι Ἀμμωνι [-]Ο[-----]	
45	[νν] ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηνάων[ν------τῆι]	T4
	[βου]λῆι κ[α]ι τῶι δῆμῳι τῶι Ἀ[θηνάων------]	
	[δι]δωσι [τ]ῶι Ἀμμ[ω]νι ΕΥ[-----]	
	[νν] ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθῆ[ναίων------]	T5
	[---] καὶ κῶτά Π[---]Ι[-----]	
50	[δι]δωσι [τ]ῶι Ἀμ[μ]ωνι[-----]	
	[νν] ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀ[θηνά]ων ΛΙ[-----]	T6
	[---]ΤΗΡΟΝ Ἀθῆ[ναί]οις ΘΑ[-----]	
	[δι]δωσι τῶι Ἀμ[μ]ωνι [-----]	
	[νν] ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀ[θῆ]ναίων ΛΙ[-----]	T7
55	[-]Ω!ΚΑΙΤΕΙΑΘ [------]	
	[-] στάμνοι ΟΜ[-----]	
	[νν] ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀ[θηνά]ων[-----]	T8
	[--]Λ!Λ!ΤΟΙΣΛΛ!![-----]	
	[-] τῶν θεωρῶν [-----]	
60	[δι]δωσι τῶι ΠΑΡΑ[-----]	
	[νν] ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθην[αί]ων [-----]	T9
	[ἄφ]ικνεῖσθαι ἐν Τ[-----]ΟΜΩ[-----]	
	[--]ΙΔΕΙΝ[-]ΟΒΕΛΤΙΟΝ[-----]	
	[---]ΙΝ τῶι ΓΛ[-----]	
65	[νν ὁ δ]ῆμος ὁ Ἀθηνᾱ[ί]ων Λ[-----]	T10
	[---]ΝΚΑΙΣΩ[-----]Ι[-----]	
	[---] κοτύλην	
	[δι]δωσι τεῖ Ἡραι [-----]ΜΕ[-----]	
	[νν] ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθην[αίων------]	T11
70	[-]ΤΑΣΤΑΣΛΙΛ[-----]	
	[-] καὶ Ἀθηνάων	
	[δι]δωσι τεῖ Ἡραι [-----]ΟΙΣ[-----]	

### Partial translation

1ff... tribe/ was in prytany. When Kharik[leides was archon, Nikostratus son of Philostratus of Pal[le]ne was secretary, Ti[--- was *epistates*] t[he council] and peo[ple deci]ded [...]os said: as to what Kratinos [says---] to the peo[ple--- g]ift[s--- to]Amm[on...]

35ff. through? *t]heōroi* [--- (T1)]The [Athenian p]eople---g[i]ve]s to Amm[on--- (T2) The [Athenian] people [--- gives]to Ammon [--- (T3) The] Ath[enian] pe[o]pl[e---gi]ves to Ammon [--- (T4) The Athenian people [--- for the coun]cil and people of A[thens---gi]ves [t]o Ammon--- (T5) The Athe[nian] people---] and in accordance with (?) [gi]ves t[o] Am[mon--- (T6) The A[theni]an people---]---Athe[ni]ans [--- [g]ives to Am[mo]n--- (T7) The A[the]nian people.---*stamnoi*--- (T8) The Athenian people ... through? the *theōroi* ... gives to Para[mmon] ... (T9) The Athe[ni]an people--- [to a]rrive-- (T10) [The] Atheni[an p]eople---cup--- [g]ives to Hera ... (T11) The Athen[ian] people[---] and Athenians [---gi]ves to Hera [Ammonia?---]

### Commentary

The date of the decree is 363/2 BC, but the dedications recorded in the inventory may be earlier or later than that.

This is the only document known in which a city records a sequence of dedications sent by it to a sanctuary that was not under its control. τῶν θ]εωρῶν in l.35 and τῶν θεωρῶν in l.59 surely refer to the *theōroi* who took the dedications to Ammon, and a possible supplement in both cases is ‘διὰ τῶν θεωρῶν’ (by the *theōroi*) or ‘ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρῶν’ (represented by the *theōroi*?): for these formulas, see §13.1, p.213.

The deities are Ammon, along with Para[mmon] (60) and Hera [Ammonia] (68, 72; cf. Petzl (1994:386)), known to have been worshipped together (Petzl (1994:386); Colin (1995)). Dain (1936) had restored Παρά[λωι in l.60, supposing that this, like other decrees in the Mahdia wreck, was linked to the Athenian Paraloi.

There is nothing here about the oracle, either as motivator or the dedications or recipient, though notice Dain’s supplement in l. 58 [κ?]αὶ αὐτοῖς μαντεῖ[ις].

### C4: SEG 21.562. Inventory registering *inter alia* Athenian *theōroi* returning from Ammon. Mid fourth century BC

Marble *stele* from the Acropolis; only a vertical strip from the centre survives.

The text below is that of Woodward (1962), except that I have incorporated Peek’s (1980) supplements to the verses cited in lines 3, 5 and 6–7 (SEG 30.109);<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Peek’s supplements are line 3: (beginning of hexameter) – ~ ~ Εὐθυκρ[ι]το; in line 5: Woodward’s text for the second part of the hexameter was]ς βωμῶ περί τῇδε[ἀνάκειται, implying that the offering was the subject of an intransitive verb, but Peek restored a transitive



the inscription was earlier IG2<sup>2</sup>.1642, where it appears as part of the accounts of the Delian Amphiktionies.

Over twenty dedications are listed (identified by the sign ¶ in the translation), and for many of them the text on the item dedicated is cited.

- [-----]ς ὑπὲρ Ἀθ[ην]α[ίων] ἀπάντων [-----]  
 [-----]νος Ἀθηναῖο[ς] θεωρήσας-----]  
 [-----]Εὐθυκρί[τ]ο τάδε πᾶσι θε[οῖς] ἀνέθηκεν δῶρα παρ[']  
 [ήμετέροις ὡς προγ[ό]νοις θέμις ἦν [-----]  
 5 [κίονας? Ἰθυκλῆ]ς βωμῷ περὶ τῇδ' ἐ[ποίησεν]-----]  
 [-----]ι εἴσατο βωμὸν Ἀθ[ην]αῖ Ἀριστείδης]  
 [Τιμαῖο ὃ πατρός εἰς μν]ήμην τοῖς <δ>ἐ ἰδί[οις] τέλεσιν-----]  
 [-----]τῷ πρ[ο]πυλαίῳ ἐν ἀριστε[ρ]αῖ ἐισιόντι(?)-----]  
 [----]παρὰ Καλ[λ]ίῳ Τηλοκλέος ἐτέρ[α] φιάλη ἐφ' ἣ ἐπιγέγρα[φ]-  
 10 [απται θεωροὶ Ἀθ]ηναίων οἱ τὸ χρυσίον [ἤγαγον τῷ Ἀμμωνι].  
 [-----]Εὐ[π]τόλεμος Προβαλίσιο[ς]-----]  
 [-----]Οἰνοχ[άρ]ης Περγασῆθεν ἐτ[έ]ρα ἐφ' ἣ ἐπιγέγραπ[τ]-  
 [ται. -----]Ἀ]θηναῖος θεωρήσας σ[ταθμόν]..φιάλη ἀργ[ύ]-  
 [ρῶν ἐφ' ἣ ἐπιγέγρα]πται θεωροὶ Ἀθ[η]νήθ[εν] ἐπὶ-----ἄρχο]-  
 15 [ντος οἱ τὸ χρυσίον] ἤγαγον τῷ Ἀμμωνι Τ[-----]  
 [-----]Ἰ]ερώνυμος Ξενοφάντ[ο]-----]  
 [-----]ε]ἰλκον δέκα δραχ[μ]ᾶ[ς]-----]  
 [-----]πρ[ο]σθήλωτο ἐν τοῖς [μετακιονίοις]-----]  
 [-----]ν τάδε καὶ ἐν τῷ τ[ο]ῖ[χ]ω προσθήλωτο(?)---]  
 20 [-----]ἐκ Κ]ηδῶν Δημόδοκος Ε[-----]  
 [-----]χρ]υστὴν φιάλην σταθμόν [-----]  
 [-----]τέσσ[α]ρ[α] χρυσᾶ σταθμόν [-----]  
 [-----]ίο ἀσ]τήμο μναῖ πεντήκον[τα]-----]  
 [-----]ἡμιωβέλια πέντε Ἀθην[-----]  
 25 [-----]οἰνοχόη ἣ ἄγει σταθμό[ν]-----]  
 [- Οἰνοχάρης Σω]ιναύτο, Χαιρεκράτης Σω[τέ]λος-----]  
 [-----]ν πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ δεξι[ᾷ]ς παρεξίοντι φιάλη]  
 [ἐφ' ἣ ἐπιγέγραπ]ται Χαιρεκράτης Σωτέ[λος] ἀνέθηκεν Ἀμμω]-  
 [νι· πρὸς τῇ παρα]στάδι δεξιᾶς παρα[βαίνοντι(?)]-----]  
 30 [---ἔσθησ' ἐπὶ κί]ονι τόγδε Ἰερώνυμος [Ξενοφάντο(?)]-----]  
 [-----]ρας... Ι.ΟΞ. της [-----]  
 [-----]πρ[ο]πυλαίω[ι(?)]] στρόφ[ιγγες(?)]-----]  
 [-----]ηθ[εν] σ]τλεγ[γί]ς χρ[υ]στῇ-----]  
 [-----]Νικόξενος Ἀ]γωνίδο τῷ Ἀμ[μ]ωνι-----]

verb with personal subject and the dedication as the object; and lines 6–7: Woodward had restored the first line: — καὶ εἴσατο βωμὸν Ἀθ[ην]αῖ Τριτογένειαι/, with τοῦ πατρός restored as the start of the second, while Peek begins the hexameter at εἴσατο, e.g. βωμὸν Ἀθ[ην]αῖ Ἀριστείδης Τιμαῖο / ὃ πατρός εἰς μν]ήμην τοῖς <δ>ἐ ἰδί[οις] τέλεσιν.

- 35 [------ο[θ]εν Χίων Χειρι[άδης-----]  
 [------]Χαρῖνος Χαρωνίδο [------]  
 [------Εὐ]ωνυμεύς, Χαβρίας Κ[τησίππο Αἰξωνεύς---]  
*vacat*

### Translation

- ‘---]on behalf of [all] the Ath[enians]---‘--- ¶1  
 ‘[N son of N] the Athenia[n, having performed the *theōriā*’ (e.g.) Such  
 and such a *phialē* ¶2  
 on which is written: ‘--- the son of Euthukri]tos?[dedicated] these [gifts]  
 to all [the gods, /  
 [as] was the custom [among our] ance]stors’ [------] ¶3  
 5 [‘Ithukle]s[? made pillars] around the altar here’ [------] ¶4  
 [(Another on which is written?)  
 ‘Aristides son of Timaeus?] established an altar for Ath[ene.  
 in me]mory [of his father] and at his ow[n expense’ -----] ¶5  
 ----- In the *propulaion* on the left [as one enters, a *phialē* on which is  
 written: ‘From] Kallias son of Telokles’. Ano[ther *phialē* on which is inscribed: ¶6  
 10 ‘Ath]enian *theōroi* who[took]the gold [to Ammon]’ ¶7  
 [------ Eu]polemos of the deme of Probalintho[s and N of deme X and..  
 -- Oinokh]ares from the deme of Pergase. An[other on which is written:  
 ‘N] of Athens having performed a *theōriā*’, w[eight xyz [Another of silver, ¶8  
 on which is inscri]bed ‘*theōroi* from Athe[ns in the archonship of N ¶9  
 15 who brought the gol]d to Ammon ... N son of N ..and  
 [------ H]ieronumos son of Xenophantos [and N son of N ?  
 [------ they wei]ghed 10 drachmas [------]  
 [------ it is na]iled in the [space between the pillars---]  
 [------]and this [is nailed] also in the wall -----] ¶10  
 20 [------ from the deme of K]edoi, Demodokos E[------]  
 [------ go]lden *phialē*, in weight [------] ¶11  
 [------ f]o[u]r golden (?), in weight[------] ¶12  
 [------ unma]rked gold, fifty *mna* [------] ¶13  
 [------] five half obols [for?] Athen[e?] ¶14  
 25 [------]oinokhoe which weighs [------] ¶15  
 [‘Oinokhares son of Soi]nautes, Khairekrates son of So[teles’] ¶16  
 [------] at the door as one [exits] on the right [a *phialē*]  
 [on which is writ]ten ‘Khairekrates son of Sote[les dedicated to Ammon (?)’] ¶17  
 [At the door-]post as one pa[sses?] on the right [------] ¶18  
 30 ‘Hieronumos [son of Xenophantos set] this [on a pi]llar’  
 (unclear)  
 [------] at the *propulaion* bands (?) [------] ¶19

	[-----]a golden tiara---[-----]	¶20
	[Nikoxenos] son of Hagnonides for Am[mon---	¶21
35	[------] Khion of the deme Keiri[adai-----	¶22
	[------]Kharinos son of Kharonides [---	
	[------X]of the deme Euonumon, Kabrias son of K[tesippos of the deme Aixone]	¶23

### Commentary

Of the surviving parts of the dedications, three mention *theōriā*: ¶7, ¶8 and ¶9, and are presumably made by returning *theōroi* as a thank offering for a safe trip (see §11.6, p.190). Of these, only ¶9 mentions Ammon, though Woodward restored ¶7 along the same lines; the *theōriai* referred to in ¶7 and ¶9 are similar at least in each comprising three *theōroi*. Ammon could also be mentioned in ¶21. Other deities are referred to also: ‘all the gods’ in ¶3 and Athene in ¶5, possibly in ¶14. In ¶7, ¶8 and ¶9 the *theōroi* are identified as Athenian; ¶1 also sounds like a public dedication on behalf of the Athenians, and ¶2 refers to an Athenian, so the context of either of both of these could have been a *theōriā* as well. ¶3 also sounds like a public dedication. In all the other cases, the dedications could be private citizens acting on their own behalf; ¶5 is certainly private, since the dedication is ‘at his own expense’.

The contents of some temple or sacred building are being described here (cf. the signposts in lines 27 and 29), but which? The dedication to Ammon would be most at home in the *hieron* of Ammon in the Piraeus,<sup>14</sup> but the others do not suit this location.

### C5: IG2<sup>2</sup>.2816: ex-voto relief with dedication to Apollo from Ikaria. 355 BC?

Ex-voto relief now in the Barracco Museum

Boethius:27 and Test.12; for the image, EAA IV.fog.590; cf. Rühfel (1984:120–1, no.67); Lawton (2007:51–2). See Ikaria 3 on Table 10; Figure 4.

πυθαῖσται ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι

(relief)

Πείθων	Τιμόκριτος	Ἀμεινοκλῆς	Ἀγνόδημος
Σωσιγένης	Τιμοκράτος	Ἀμεινίππο	Ἀγνοθέο

<sup>14</sup> For which Woodward (1962:6–7); Garland (1987:134).

*Translation*

The *Pūthaïstai* made a dedication to Apollo  
 Peithon son of Sosigenes  
 Timokritos son of Timokrates  
 Ameinokles son of Ameinippos  
 Hagnodemos son of Hagnotheos

*Commentary*

The dating depends on Timokritos, who was a *prutanis* in 341/0 BC (see *LGPN* II:432). Assuming that Timokritos was a teenager at the time of his *Pūthaïs*, Boethius dates it to 360 BC or before, Davies (1971:513), whom I follow here, to 355 BC, the year of a *Pūthaïs* mentioned by Isaeus 7.27. Davies suggests that a Τιμοκράτης Τιμοκρ[-] who appears as a Eupatrid *Pūthaïstes* in *Pūth.*3 (FD 2.13,6) may be a distant relative.

**C6: SEG 20.707: Cyrenaean *theōroi* returning from Delphi make a dedication at Apollonia, the port of Cyrene. c.350 BC**

Marble block

Oliverio (1961:40, no.20, fig.35); Dobias-Lalou (2003:17); *SEG* 57.2010 calls it ‘a private dedication to Ἀπόλλων Σωτήρ by five θεαροί on their safe return from Delphi (or less probably before their departure)’.

[θεαρο]ι  
 [ἐς] Δελφός  
 [Εὐκλείδα]ς Παραιβάτα  
 [-]-----] Σωγένε[υ]ς  
 5 [-]----]τος Αἰγλάνορο[ς]  
 [-]-----]ς Εὐρυπτολέμω  
 [-]----]νης Φιλοκώμω  
 Ἀπόλλωνι  
 [Σω]τήρι  
 10 [ἀνέθη]καν

*Translation*

[*Theāro*]i to Delphi [Eukleida]s son of Paraibatas, [-]-----] son of Sogenes, -----]tos son of Aiglanor, [-]-----]s son of Euruptolemos, -----]nes son of Philokomos made a [dedica]tion to Apollo [So]ter

### Commentary

The name [Εὐκλείδης] in l.3 is restored by Laronde (1987:106–7 and 118); he is known as a priest of Apollo around the same time (SEG 9.13).

Apollo [So]ter is not otherwise attested at Cyrene and the epithet is rarely used of Apollo (cf. K. Wernicke *RE* 2.1, 69–70). There is unlikely to be a relation to any ancestor of the Soteria at Delphi, which in any case was dedicated to Zeus Soter and Apollo Pythios (NachtergaeleA.21,9 etc.).

The dispatch of a Cyrenaean *theōriā* to Delphi may be the context of #D4 below.

### C7: IG12.4.332b. Koan regulation about priesthoods mentioning the Koan Dalia. Mid fourth century BC

Opisthographic stele, of which three non-contiguous fragments survive: fr.a, which provides the left side of ll.44–64 here; fr.b, which has the right side of ll.58–77 here; and fr.c which gives the right side of ll.39–45 (if it is correctly placed). Of these, fr.a is in the British Museum, fr.b in Kos Museum, and fr.c is lost.

Side B (ll.48ff. of the whole text), is apparently concerned with the priesthood of Apollo Dalios. Side A is mostly about other priesthoods. Most editors have treated the two sides as independent texts, but the editors of *IG* 12.4, whose enumeration I follow here, treat them as a continuum.

Bibliography: see *IG*12.4; Sokolowski in *LSCG*156b; Herzog (1928). I discussed aspects of this text at greater length in Rutherford (2009a).

	-----ΑΠΕ[.]Γ---
40	-----έχωγτι Α[.]
	-----τας μιᾶς δε
	-----έκπράσσεσθ-
	[αι-----πα]ρεχέσθαι Σ
	NO///[-----τόν δ]ε νεμόμ[ε]-
45	νον τὰ μυ[σαρ-----ΛΟΣΣ[.]
	τὰς ἰλεας [-----[[rasura]]
	[[rasura]][-----AX]
	φέροντες ἐκ τοῦ βωμ[οῦ-----]
	τὰς ἀγρετὰς ἐρπούσας [-----τόν χορ]-

- 50 ὄν τῶν Παμφύλων ἐπεκ[πέμπει-----ἀπαγόν]-  
 τω ἐς Κῶν τῶι Ἀπόλλω[ι τῶι Δαλίω βοῦν καὶ οἷν τέλεων καὶ τελέαν]-  
 τούτωμ φέρει ὁ ἱαρεὺς γέρη [σκέλη καὶ τὰ δέρματα· ὁ ἱαρεὺς Διὶ Οὐρίω]-  
 ι θύεται ἐπὶ καλλιαρίαι καὶ οὔρ[ωι-----τοῖς τῶι Ἀπόλλ]-  
 ωνι τῶι Δαλίω θεωρίαν τελε[ῦσι βοῦς καὶ οἷς τέλεως καὶ τελέα, τούτ]-  
 55 ων φέρει ὁ ἱαρεὺς γέρη σκέλη, [κεφαλὰς πόδας καὶ τὰ δέρματα· τούτων]  
 τῶγ κρεῶν οὐκ ἐξαγωγὰ ἐκ Κ[ῶ-----]  
 ος· Ἕκνιδίος ἀπάγεν τῶι Ἀπό[λλωνι τῶι Δαλίω βοῦν καὶ οἷν τέλεων κ]-  
 αὶ τελέαν καὶ τὰι Λατοῖ τελ[έαν· γέρη φέρει ὁ ἱαρεὺς] σκέλη, κεφαλ[άς],  
 πόδας καὶ τὰ δέρματα· τῶ[γ κρεῶν τούτων οὐκ ἐξαγ]ωγὰ ἐκ Κῶ· ἀπάγεν δὲ [ῥ]-  
 60 κκα καὶ ἐς Δολφὸς πέμπ[ηται θεωρία-----Κ]ῶίων ἢ ξένων τῶι Ἀπόλλ-  
 [ωνι τῶι] Δαλίω ἢ τὰι Λα[τοῖ βοῦν-----]ῶς(?) ἄλλον τὰι διχομηνία-  
 [ι τοῦ μ]ηνὸς τοῦ Δαλ[ίου-----ὁ ἱαρεὺς οἷ]ν ἐπιπρεζέτω τέλεων  
 [ὑπὲρ Ἀμ]φιαρῆιδαν [καὶ ἐπευχέσθω τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι] μὴ ξενικὸν στράτευμα-  
 [α ἐπιβαλ]ῶμ[ενον-----ὄπ]λα φέρειν ἐπ' Ἀμφιαρῆιδ-  
 65 [ας-----]ν ἄμνάν καὶ ἄμνὸν καὶ  
 [-----]AΔΙ. Ἰσθμιώταις διδ-  
 [ό-----] ὑπὲρ τᾶς πόλιος, Ἀ-  
 [-----τὰ]ν ἱαρεωσύναν τ-  
 [ἄν-----]/// αἱ δὲ τίς κα μετ-  
 70 [αθῆι τι τῶν ἐν ταῖδε ταῖ διαγραφαῖ γεγραμμένων, ὥστε τ]ὰμ πόλιν ἐξ ὧμ μ-  
 [ετετέθη-----βλάπτες]θαι, ζαμιούντω  
 [-----αἱ δὲ τίς κα τῶν ἱα]ρέων ἢ τὰν ἱαρε-  
 [ῖαν-----παρθ]ῆνο ἢ γυναικὸς  
 [-----τ]ριάκοντα ἄμε-  
 75 [ρ-----τᾶς ἱαρε]ωσύνας τ[ᾶ]-  
 [ς-----τ]ριάκ<sup>α</sup> [---]-  
 [-----M---  
 [-----]

### Translation

#### 48–50 Choruses going to Delos?:

---] carrying from the altar [-----] Agretai coming to [-----sends] out a  
 [khor]os of the Pamphuloi [---]

#### 50–68 Sacrifices on Kos

##### 50–51 Sacrifice 1

Let [them bring] to Kos for [Delian] Apollo [a cow and a sheep, both perfect]. Of  
 these the priest takes as prerogatives [the legs and hides and skins].

## 51–56 Sacrifice 2

The priest] sacrifices [to Zeus Ourios] for good omens and fair winds [--- for those perf]orming the *theōriā* to Delian Apollo [a cow and a sheep, both perfect. Of the] se the priest takes as prerogatives the legs, [head, hooves and skins. Of these] meats there is no export from K[os---.

## 57–59 Sacrifice 3

The Knidians should bring to [Delian] Apollo [a cow and sheep] both perfect and for Leto a per[fect (offering). The priest takes as prerogatives the leg, heads] hooves and hides. Of the[se meats there is no ex]port from Kos.

## 59–62 Sacrifice 4

And when a (*theōriā*) is sent to Delphi (by ? on behalf of? drawn from?) Koans or foreigners, they bring for Delian Apollo or for Le[to an ox. ---] ? other ? on the middle day of the month of Dalios.

## 62–65 Sacrifice 5

In addition to these let the priest sacrifice a sheep, perfect, [on behalf of the Am] phiareidai [and let him pray to Apollo] that a foreign army [attacking-----] should not bear weapons against the Amphiareid[ai. -----] a male and female lamb and [-----

## 66–7 Special case of Isthmos

For the citizens of Isthmos [let them] give[-----]on behalf of the city - [

## 68–76 Punishments

---th]e priesthoods [-----]If any one changes [anything written in the inscription so that] the city [is harmed] as a result of what has been ch[anged---], let them fine him [---

[If any of the pri]ests or priest[esses---vir]gin or woman [---] thirty day[s-----priest]hood

*Commentary*

The editors of *IG*12.4 break down the content as:

Side A, bottom: De Apollinis (Dalii?) sacerdotibus.

Side B vv.48–50 De virginibus choris theoriis Delum deducendis; vv. 50–68 De sacris

Apollini apud Coos offerendis; vv. 50–62 De victimis quas Coorum confines (i. a. Cnidii) Coum adducere iubeantur; vv. 69–77 De poenis contra eos; vv. 69–72 qui legem illam corrumpant; vv. 72–77 qui sacerdotales castimonias violent.

As far as we can tell, the part dealing with Apollo Dalios starts at line 48; the preceding lines are obscure.

Lines 48–50 were reconstructed by Herzog to refer to choruses going to Delos:

τοὶ Ἀμφιαρηΐδαι τοὶ τὸ ἱερόν πυρ]

φέροντες ἐκ τοῦ βωμ[οῦ τοῦ Κερατῶνος τοῦ ἐν Δάλωι· τὰς δὲ Δαλιάδας]

τὰς ἀγρετὰς <τὰς?> ἐρπούσας [περὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα καὶ τὸν τῶν παίδων χορὸν τ]-

50 ὃν τῶν Παμφύλεων ἔπεκ[πέμπει ἅ πόλιν(?)]

Sokolowski, *LSCG*156b, agreed, except with τοὶ πυρφόροι as the subject. This is speculative, and the end of line 47 would require a different position for fr.c than the one in *IG*12.4. Something like this could be right, however.

Most of the inscription is taken up with a sequence of five sacrifices (or six if we include one supplied by Herzog at the end of line 56 and start of 57 with the name of the contributors ending in the accusative plural -]ος (e.g. [...κατὰ ταῦτὰ δὲ ἀπάγεν τὸς Καλυμνί]ος)). The entry for each of these specifies who brings the sacrifice; (optionally) the purpose or dedicatee of the sacrifice; what the offering is; what prerogatives are to be taken by the priest; and in some cases that there is to be no removal (*exagōgē*) of meat from Kos, which seems to correspond to the οὐκ ἀποφορά found in other calendars.<sup>15</sup>

Sacrifice 1 (50–1) covers a group from outside Kos.

Sacrifice 2 (51–6) is interpreted in *IG*12.4 as one that a priest performs for good omens and fair winds for those going on the *theōriā* to Delos. This requires taking θύεται as a middle. The animals sacrificed might be the ones brought to Kos in ll.50–1, though it is odd that the prerogatives are repeated. It is also possible to take the verb as a passive, not an unparallelled construction in religious language.<sup>16</sup>

Sacrifice 3 (57–9) concerns the Knidians.

Sacrifice 4 (59–62) is the hardest textually, posing two problems. First, how should we construe the genitives Κ]ώων ἢ ξένων (60): are these the agents of the delegation to Delphi (ὑπὸ), the beneficiaries (ὑπέρ), the participants (ἐκ?) or something else? The idea that ξενοὶ are involved in any of these capacities is

<sup>15</sup> Rutherford (2009a:663); for the οὐκ ἀποφορά formula see e.g. Scullion (1994:103n.77).

<sup>16</sup> There is a parallel for the passive θύεται in Pin. *Paeon* 6, 62. See also *IG*12.8, 358a and examples collected in *Paeans*: 22n.24.



surprising. Secondly,]ὡς ἄλλον τᾷ διχομηνίαι is difficult to make sense of, and some have speculated that ἄλλο ἢ be read, possibly with μηδαμ]ῶς preceding (Sokolowski), i.e. ‘not other than’. At any rate, it is clear that in some way the sacrifice is correlated with the midpoint of the month.

Sacrifice 5 (62–5) is made by the priest on behalf of the Amphiareidai, who must be some sort of group who go on the pilgrimage.

Lines 66–7 concern citizens of Isthmos, the former Astypalaia, who may accompany the Koan *theōriā*, although they sometimes make delegations in their own right (suggested by ὑπὲρ τᾶς πόλιος?). Herzog thought that Hala-sarna, another Koan deme, was mentioned in 67–8 (Ἀ/[λασσαρνίταις]). The rest of the document concerns punishments for breaking the rules and purity-regulations.

### C8: *I.Ephesos 2 and I.Ephesos 2010. An Ephesian Theōroi attacked en mission to Sardes. 334–281 BC*

#### C8.1: *I.Ephesos 2. The Sacrilege Inscription. Excerpt.*

Marble stele, perhaps from the Artemision

*Ed. pr.* Knibbe (1961–3). See Dusinberre (2003:120–2, 235–7, no.53); Hanfmann (1987); Sokolowski (1965); Masson (1987).

- οἱ προήγοροι ὑπὲρ τῆς θεοῦ κατε[δι]-  
 κάσαντο θάνατον κατὰ τὴν προγορ[α]-  
 φὴν τῆς δίκης ταύτην· ὅτι θεωρῶν  
 ἀποσταλέντων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπ[ι]  
 5 χιτῶνας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι κατὰ τὸν ν[ό]-  
 μον τὸμ πάτριον, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κα[ι]  
 τῶν θεωρῶν παραγενομένων εἰς Σ[άρ]-  
 δεις καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
 τὸ ἱδρυμένον ὑπὸ Ἐφεσίων τά τε ἱ[ερά]  
 10 ἡσέβησαγ καὶ τοὺς θεωροὺς ὕβρι[σαν]  
 τίμημα τῆς δίκης θάνατος·  
 κατεδικάσθη δὲ τῶνδε·  
 Τυίου τοῦ Μάνεω τοῦ Σαππιδος·  
 Στρόμβου τοῦ Μάνεω τοῦ Σαππιδος·  
 15 Μουσαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδεω· Πακτ[ύω]  
 τοῦ Καρουδος τοῦ Ἡρακλείδεω· Π[ακτύω]  
 τοῦ Καρουδος· Μιλήτου τοῦ Καρ[ουδος]  
 Πυ[θ]έου τοῦ Καρουδος· Πακτύω τ[οῦ]  
 Ἀτι[δ]ος· Σαππιδος τοῦ Πίλου·  
 20 Ἡρα[κ]λείδεω τοῦ Ἀρτύμεω τοῦ Μάνε[ω]  
 βαλανέως· Ἡρακλείδεω

- τοῦ Ἀρτύμεω τοῦ Μάνεω βαλανέω[ς τοῦ]  
 ἀδελφοῦ Ἰλου· Μάνεω τοῦ Ἀτιδος  
 τοῦ Ἀριώτεω· Μόξου τοῦ Ἀταδος  
 25 τοῦ πελματοπώλεω·  
 Μόξου τοῦ Ἀταδος  
 τοῦ πελματοπώλεω τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ·  
 Μόξου τοῦ Οἴλου τοῦ Σαπλαδος το[ῦ]  
 ὑποδηματοπώλεω·...  
 [lines 29–57 omitted]  
 4. ἐπ[ὶ τοῦς] [Engelmann (1986:33)]

### Translation

The judges for the goddess condemned to death in accordance with the accusation, that when the *theōroi* had been sent by the city for the cloaks for Artemis in accordance with the ancestral law, and when the offerings and the *theōroi* had reached Sardes and the temple founded by the Ephesians, they committed impiety against the offerings and the *theōroi*. The punishment for the crime is death. The following were condemned: Tuios son of Maneus son of Saplas; Strombos son of Maneus son of Saplas; Mousaios son of Heraclides; Paktus son of Karous son of Heraclides; Paktus son of Karous; Miletos son of Karous; Putheos son of Karous; Paktus son of Atis; Saplous son of Pilos; Heraclides, son of Artumes son of Maneus, the bath attendant; Heraclides, son of Artumes son of Maneus, a bath attendant of his brother Ilos; Maneus son of Atis son of Ariotes; Moxos son of Atas, a shoe salesman; Moxos, brother of Atas the shoe-salesman; Moxos son of Oilos the son of Saplas, the shoe-salesman ... [another 30 names]

### C8.2: I.Ephesos 2010. *Grant of Ephesian citizenship to a man of Sardes who helped the theōroi* (?)

#### Fragment of a square block

*Ed. pr.* Heberdey, Niemann and Wilberg (1912:102, no.10); Robert (1967: 32–6); Engelmann (1986:35).

NB: in the published text of *I.Ephesos* 2010, line 4 is accidentally omitted.

- [ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ]· ἐπειδὴ οἱ θεωροὶ κατασταθέντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν —]  
 [-----Σαρδι]ανὸς προθύμῳς ἐβοήθησεν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ διέσ[ωσεν —]  
 [-----]ηι, ὅταν τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐξετασθῇ τὰ περὶ τῇ[ν —]  
 [-----]αν ἐξητασμένων τῶν ἀδικημάτων· δοῦνα[ι αὐτῷ πολιτείαν]  
 5 [-----εἰς] τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὅπου καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ π[ολιτεῖαι ἀναγράφονται].  
 [ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐσσηνας εἰς φυλὴν] καὶ εἰς χιλιαστύν· ἔλ[αχε φυλὴν —]

## Translation

The council and people decided]: since *theōroi* reporting (?) to the [council] --- a man of Sardes readily assisted the sanctuary and s[aved ---] when the crimes concerning the [---] were examined, after the crimes had been examined: to give [him citizenship] [- - with respect to] the sanctuary of Artemis, where the rest of the [grants of citizenship are registered and the *essenēs* are to allot him to a tribe] and a *khiliastus*. He ob[tained as his tribe ---]

## Commentary

These two texts present two stages of the same affair: harsh punishment of the assailants who attacked the Ephesian *theōroi* on their journey, and a generous honorary decree for a man of Sardes who helped them. The first text raises many problems, among them what the mission of the *theōroi* was, and how it related to ‘the cloaks’ (#C8.1, 5), why they were attacked and whether this has to do with a resentment felt by native Anatolians for a Greek cult recently introduced into Sardes by Ephesos. I discussed some of these problems in §7.4, pp.121–2.

## C9: SEG 34.282: Argive decree for Aspendos. 330–300 BC

Limestone stele from Nemea surviving in three fragments (see image in Stroud (1984:194). Argolic dialect.

Ed. pr. and commentary Stroud (1984); Curty (1995:no.3); Lücke (2000:SO2).

See §12.5, pp.207, 275.

[Ἀσπενδίων

[Θεός. Τύχαι. Ἀλῖαίαι ἔδοξε τελεί]αι, Ἀμυ[κλ]αίου ἐπομένου

[-----ἄ]ρῆττεε βωλᾶς Πο[λυ]χάρης Ἡραιεὺς Κολου-

[ρίς. ἔδοξε τῶ]ι δάμωι τῶν Ἀργείων· Ἀσπ[εν]δίους συγγενέ-

5 [σι καὶ ἀποίκ]οις Ἀργείων πολιτεῖαν ἤμεν ἐν Ἄργει καὶ πό-

[τοδον πὸτ ἄ]λῖαίαν πράττοις πεδὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὸνς Ῥοδί-

ων ? καθάπερ κ[α]ὶ τοῖς Σολεῦσι καὶ ΕΝΣΚΛΗΙΝΣ ἐς τὸνς ἀγῶν-

ας· καὶ τοὺς θεαρ[ο]ύς οὗς κ[α]ὶ ἀποστέλλωντι θύσοντας τῶι Διὶ

τῶι Νεμέαι καὶ τᾶ[ι] Ἡραὶ τᾶι Ἀ]ργεῖαι προπέμπεμ π[ε]δὰ τῶν Ἀ[ρ]-

10 γείων καὶ καλῖσθαι ε[ἰ]ς προεδρίαν. ἐπιμέλε]σθαι δὲ τὸν ἀγωνο-

θέταν καὶ τὸνς ἱερομν[άμονας τὸνς ἀεὶ ἀντι]τυγχάνοντας· ἐπιμέ-

λεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰν ἀλῖαίαν [καὶ τὰς ἀρχας ἀπ<α>]νσας τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον

τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, αἱ τί κα δέ[ωνται·] καὶ τίς κα χράιζηι Ἀσπενδίων

οἰκῆν ἐν Ἄργει, οἰκε[ῖ]τω τελώμ[εν]ος ἅπερ ὁ Ἀργεῖος, κ[αθ]άπερ καὶ Ἀρ-

- 15 γείοις ἐν Ἀσπένδῳ ἔστιν· ἀγγρά[ψ]αι δὲ τὸ δόκημα [τόδε ἐ]ν στά-  
 λαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Λυκείου ἱερῷ καὶ Ν[ε]μέαι [κ]α[ὶ] πᾶρ Ἡραι· π[ρ]ὸτ[ο]ν τὸν τελα-  
 μῶνα τὸν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Λυκε[ίου] ἱε[ρ]ῷ [τὸν δᾶ]μον τῶν Ἀσπεν[δίων] ποτα[νῶ]-  
 γ[ρ]άψαι ἔλεξε Εὐμηλος [-----]Ἀσπένδιος ΕΛ[-----]  
 traces? ---
- 20 [-----]ΤΑΔΕ ἐκ τοῦ τελευ[---] traces? [---]  
 [-----]Ε καὶ Ε[-----]

### Translation

Of the [Aspend]ians. God. In good fortune, The *āliaiā* decided in fu]ll session, [on the Nth day] of the intercalary month of Amu[kl]aios, Poluchares Heraieus Kolou[ris] was *ārētēr* of the *bōlā*. The Argive people [decided]:

- (4–8) that there should be citizenship in Argos for the Asp[en]dians, as *sungene[is]* and colon]ists of the Argives, and ac[cess to the *āliaiā* first after the sacrifices and the Rhodi[ans?, just as] for the people of Soloi [as well], and right of summons to the contests.
- (8–10) And the *theār[o]i* whom they send to sacrifice to Nemean Zeus and [A]rgive [Hera] should convey (sc. their offerings) with the A[r]gives at the front (?) and be summoned [to *prohedriā?*]
- (10) and the *agōnothetās* and the *hiaromn[āmones]* who are cur]rently in office should [take ca]re of them.
- (11–13) and the *āliaiā* and the al[l the magistrates] should care for the Aspendians for all time, should they [need] anything.
- (13–15) And should any of the Aspendians desire to live in Argos, let them live here, paying taxes (?) just as Argives have a right to do so in Aspendos.
- (15–19) [This] decree should be inscribed on the stele in the shrine of Lukeios and at Nemea and in the temple of Hera. They should add the words ‘The people of the Aspen[dians]’ t[o] the *telamon* in the shrine of Lukeios (?)
- (19) Eumelos proposed [--- A]spendian [---]

### Commentary

The decree as a whole honours and provides for the Aspendians, but special honours are put in place for Aspendian *theōroi*. Aspendians as a whole get citizenship, the right to priority in approaching the assembly (*āliaiā*), the right to some sort of formal invitation to *agōnes*, and the right to live in Argos. Their interests are protected by the *āliaiā* and the magistrates, and the words ‘people of the Aspendians’ are added to the *telamon* in the shrine

of Lukeios. Aspendian *theōroi* get the honours of ‘προπέμπεν’, i.e. marching in front of the procession, and being summoned to προεδρία (I accept Stroud’s (1984:204) suggestion in line 10). Their interests are looked after by the *agōnothetās* and the *hiaromnāmones*.

**C10: FD 1.511. Dedication of the Athenian *hieropoioi* in the *Pūthaiis*. 326 BC(?)**

SIG<sup>3</sup> 296

Inscribed on one side of a tripod monument, for which see Pomtow (1909:153–7).

For the date, see Lewis (1955:34); Parker (1996:247n.102).

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τῶι Ἀ[π]όλλωνι ἀν[έ]θηκεν].

[ι]εροποιοὶ οἱ τὴν Πυθαΐδα ἀγαγόντες·

Φανόδημος Διύλλου	Γλαυκέτης Γλάκου
Βόηθος Νausινίκου	Νεοπτόλεμος Ἀντικλέους
Λυκοῦργος Λυκόφρονος	Κλεοχάρης Γλαυκέτου
Δημάδης Δημέου	Ἱπποκράτης Ἀριστοκράτους
Κλέαρχος Ναυσικλέους	Νικήρατος Νικίου

*Translation*

Dedicated by the Athenian people to Apollo. *Hieropoioi* who brought the *Pūthaiis*: Phanodemos son of Diullos, Boethos son of Nausinikos, Lycurgus son of Lykophron, Demades son of Demeas, Klearkhos son of Nausikles, Glauketes son of Glaukos, Neoptolemos son of Antikles, Kleokhares son of Glauketes, Hippokrates son of Aristokrates, Nikeratos son of Nikias.

*Commentary*

An enactment of the *Pūthaiis*, possibly timed to coincide with the completion of the Sixth Temple at Delphi (see §18.1, p.307). This is the only text that gives the *hieropoioi* a leading role in the *Pūthaiis*, though cf. FD 2.52, which Bommelaer (1977) has associated with *Pūth* 3; they are also found in the imperial *dōdekēis* (FD 2.65, 6) and in records of *theōriā* from places other than Athens (see §10.1, p.156). Aristotle (*Ath.Pol.*54.7) mentions ten ‘annual’ *hieropoioi* appointed to administer sacrifices and quadrennial festivals such as the Delian one, so presumably these are the same. For the participants, all apparently prominent Athenians of their day, see §18.1, p.307.

**C11: IG12.8.273, 275, 274, 276. Thasian *Theoroi* of the First and Second *Aparkhai***

Four wall-blocks from the north-western wall of the Passage of the *Theoroi* in Thasos (see §8.3). They are from the top of the first column on the left of the wall. The inscription itself is fourth century, but it is surely based on a much earlier document or documents.

There has been great discussion of the order of the blocks. Here I follow Graham (1982). Salviat (1979) posited a block lost between IG12.8.275 and 274.

IG12.8.273	ἀγαθῇι τύχη[ι οἶδε ἐθεόρεο]ν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης ἀπαρχῆς Ἑρμόζυγος Ξενο[κ]λέος Ἀλκιάδης Τηλεφάνεω 5 [Κ]άδμος Μετηρίτου Κύδιππος Εἰδομένευσ Ἀντίοχος Νικήνορος Τιμαίνετος Φορύλλου [Κ]ύλων Λεῶμιος 10 Ἐπ[ί]κριτος Ἐπικλέος.
IG12.8.275col.A	Τεισίμαχος [---]ίλου Ἥγιων Ἀγασικλέος Ἀριστίων Σημαγόρεω Οἶνιχος Καλλίνου 5 ἐπὶ τῶν δωδέκα ἀρχόντων οἶδε ἐθεόρεον Ὀρθαγόρης Χαρίλλου Ἑλλιμένιος Ἀντιλόχου Κλειτώνυμος Νικίδεω 10 Δήμυλλος Ἀδίλεω Ἄναξις Χοίρωνος
IG12.8.274col.A	ἐπὶ τῆς δευ[τέρη]ς ἀπαρχῆς οἶδε ἐθεόρεον· Εὐριπίδης Νικοδήμου 5 Τίμανδρος Φρυνικίδεω Ἀγασικλῆς Λάβρου Λεύκιππος Εὐρυβούλου Καλλίνους Ξενοδόκου 10 Εὐρυμένης Ἥγησιάνακτος Λυσίλεως Μελησάνδρου Νικαγόρης Λεαγόρεω Καλλιμήδης Θράσυος.

IG 12.8.276      Λεωκράτης Πεισιστρά[του]  
                     Ἀγλαίων Ξανθίππου  
                     Νίκανδρος Ξένωνος  
                     ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον,  
 5                 ὃν οἱ ἐξήκοντα καὶ  
                     τριηκόσιοι ἦρχον  
                     οἷδε ἐθεόρεον·  
                     Πάμφιλος Ἰθυπόλιος...

### Translation

IG12.8.273: In good fortune [these were *theōroi*] during the first *aparkhē*:

Hermozugos son of Xeno[kles, Alkiades son of Telephanes, [K]admos son of Meteritos, Kudippos son of Eidomenes, Antiokhos son of Nikenor, Timainetos son of Phorullos, [K]ulon son of Leomis, Epikritos son of Epikles, Teisimakhos son of [- -]ilos, Hegion son of Agasikles, Aristion son of Semagores, Oinikhos son of Kallinos.

IG12.8.275A, 5ff: While the twelve ruled these were *theōroi*:

Orthagores son of Kharillos, Ellimenios son of Antilokhos, Kleitonumos son of Nikides, Demullos son of Hadiles, Anaxis son of Khoiron.

IG12.8.274A: During the second *aparkhē* these were *theōroi*:

Euripides son of Nikodemos, Timandros son of Phrunikides, Agasikles son of Labros, Leukippos son of Euruboulos, Kallinous son of Xenodokos, Eurumenes son of Hegesianax, Lusileos son of Melesadros, Nikagores son of Leagores, Kallimedes son of Thrasus, Leokrates son of Peisistra[tos], Aglaion son of Xanthippos, Nikandros son of Xenon.

IG12.8.276, 4ff. In the period when the 360 ruled, these were the *theōroi*:

Pamphilos son of Ithupolis...

(continued on next block)

### Commentary

This is the beginning of the records of the Thasian *theōroi*. After this, three *theōroi* are recorded per year, continuing to the bottom of this column and the subsequent ones. Col.B of IG12.8.275 and 274 are thus occupied by such triads.

The reconstruction of the end of l.1 of IG12.8.273 was made possible by the discovery of another block: see Dunant and Pouilloux (1958: 231–2).

Of the names of the *theōroi*, Kadmos (IG12.8.273, 5) stands out; this must have something to do with the tradition that the cult of Herakles on Thasos is Phoenician in origin: see Hdt. 2.44; Pouilloux (1954: 357–8). The name remained popular at Thasos (see LGPN I s.v.).

For the interpretation of ἀπαρχή here, see §8.3, p.130.

## D: Third century BC

### D1: *I.Pergamum* I.4, dedication to Apollo by *theāroi* at Pergamum. Beginning of third century BC or earlier

Marble statue base

Bibliography: Robert (1927)

	θέαροι Ἀπόλλωνι·	
	Φιλοκράτης Δίωνος	Κλεόμβροτος Καί(—)
	Παρμένισκος	Ἴσομένης Αἰσχρί(ωνος)
	Φειδώνδας Ἀλκι(—)	Κρίτων Πυρί(—)
5	Ἀνδρόνικος Εὐκλε(—)	Σωσίκλης Πλάτω(νος)
	Πυραλίων Χίλω(νος)	<i>vacat</i>
	Θεογένης Ἡρο(—)	
	Εὐφρων Ἀντι(—)	

### Translation

*Theāroi* for Apollo: Philokrates son of Dion, Parmeniskos, Pheidondas son of Alki[ - - ], Andronikos son of Eukle[ - - ], Theogenes son of Ero[ - - ], Euphron son of Anti[ - - ], Kleombrotos son of Kai[ - - ], Isomenes son of Aiskhri[on], Kriton of Puri[ - - ], Sosikles son of Plato[n])

### Commentary

Fraenkel in *I.Pergamum* I.4 suggested that these were sacred delegates who were attending a festival in Pergamum. Robert (1927) rightly objected to this on the grounds that we would expect visiting delegates to be identified by their city, and he argued that these were magistrate-*theōroi*, a category otherwise unattested for Pergamum. However, it is just as likely that they are Pergamene *theōroi* returning from Delphi or some other sanctuary. The list in SEG 20.707 (#C6) is similar, except for the specification that they were [ἐς] Δελφός.



## D2: J. Shear (2010:137–8) Athenian decree for Kallias of Sphettos, excerpt 270/69 BC

Marble stele found in the Athenian Agora

*Ed. pr.* T. L. Shear (1978); *SEG* 28.60; translated in Austin (2006:no. 55).

- 55 καὶ ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς πρῶτον ἐπόει τὰ Πτο[λ]εμαῖα τ[ῆ]-  
ν θυσίαν καὶ τοὺς ἁγῶνας τῷ πατ[ρί], ψηφι[σ]α[μένους] τ[οῦ] δ[ή]-  
μου θεωρίαν πέμπειν καὶ ἀξιόσαντος ὑπακ[οῦσαι] Καλλι-  
αν ἀρχεθέωρον καὶ ἀγαγεῖν ὑπὲρ τ[οῦ] δήμου [τὴν θεωρία]ν, [ὅ]-  
πακούσας εἰς ταῦτα φιλοτίμως Κ[αλ]λίας κα[ὶ] τὰς ἐψηφισ-  
60 μένας αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου εἰς τὴν ἀρχεθεω[ρίαν] πεντήκον]-  
τα μᾶς ἀφείς καὶ ἐπιδούς τῷ δ[ή]μῳ, αὐτὸς τὴν] μὲ[ν] θεωρία]-  
ν ἀγαγὼν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων καλῶς καὶ ἀ[ξι]ῶς τοῦ δ[ή]μου, [τῆς δὲ] θ-  
υσίας ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων] ἀπ[ὸ] ντ]-  
ων ὧν προσήκεν μετὰ τῶν θ[ε]ω[ρ]ῶν κ[αὶ] τ[οῦ] δήμου] τότε πρ[ὸ] τ[ο]-  
65 ν τὰ Παναθήναια τεῖ Ἀρχηγέτι[δι] μέλλοντος πρ[ὸ] εἶν] ἀ[φ'] ο[ὗ] τ]-  
ὸ ἄστει ἐκεκόμιστο, διαλεχθεὶς τῷ βασιλεῖ Κ[αλ]λίας ὑπὲ]-  
ρ τῶν ὀπλων ὧν εἰς τὸν πέπλον ἔδει παρασκευάσαι] [καὶ ἐπι]-  
δόντος τεῖ πόλει τοῦ βασιλέως ἐ[σ]πούδασεν ὅπως ἂν ὡς]  
βέλτιστα τεῖ θεῷ γένηται καὶ οἱ θ[ε]ωροὶ οἱ μεθ' [αὐτοῦ] χε]-  
70 ιροτονηθέντες εὐθὺς ἀποκομίζωσιν] ἐ[ν]ταῦθα τὰ ὅπλα...

### Translation

And since, at the time when the king first established the Ptolemaia, the sacrifice and the contests in honour of his father, the *dēmos* voted to send a *theōriā* and requested [Kalli]as to agr[ee] to be its *arkhetheōros* and to lead [the *theōriā*] on behalf of the *dēmos*, Kallias agreed eagerly and, declining the [fifty?] minas which had been [vot]ed for him by the *dēmos* for the conduct of his office, and giving them to the *dēmos*, he himself both led the [delegation] well and in a manner [worthy] of the *dēmos* at his private expense and also, together with the other sacred delegates, took charge of the sacrifice on behalf of the city and of all other things that were appropriate; and since the *dēmos* was then about to [celebrate] the Panathenaia for Athena Archegetis for the first time after they had recovered the city, [Kallias] conversed with the king about the ropes which it was necessary to prepare for the robe, and the king having donated them to the city, he endeavoured that they be as fine as possible for the goddess and that the delegates elected with him bring the ropes here at once...

### Commentary

Our knowledge of the career of Kallias of Sphettos, a member of a prominent Athenian family, depends almost entirely on this decree, which makes it clear that he worked as an agent of Ptolemy Soter in assisting Athens in its rebellion against Demetrius Poliorketes in 287 BC. Subsequently, he continued to act as a liaison with the Ptolemaic authorities on behalf of the city, and when, after the death of Soter in 283, Philadelphos established a festival in Alexandria in his honour, he was appointed to lead the *theōriā* there, undertaking the expense himself. This is the earliest evidence for the Ptolemaia, and the only evidence relating to the first enactment. While in Alexandria, Kallias used his Ptolemaic contacts to obtain ropes for use in the Greater Panathenaia of 282, which was being held for the first time<sup>17</sup> since the revolution. As J. Shear (2010:137–141) has recently pointed out, this must have been the enactment of 282 BC, that of 286 BC perhaps having been omitted because the city lacked the funds to stage it or because military action was still going on. Afterwards, the decree continues, Philadelphos appointed Kallias to serve him in Halikarnassos, where he continued to strive towards the success of Athenian embassies and *theōriai* (73), which, as T. L. Shear (1978:45) pointed out, are likely to have been later enactments of the Ptolemaia.

### D3: SEG 43.715. Decree of Samothrace for *theōroi* from Iasos in Caria. Mid third century BC

Marble slab from Iasos. This decree occupies the first of two columns; the second has another decree from Iasos, of which a few words can be read (Habicht (1994:71)).

Habicht (1994), reproduced in Dimitrova:253 (Appendix n.3); formerly *I.Iasos* 72

βασιλεὺς Ἰασω[ν-----]ου εἶπεν, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ  
 τῶν πόλεων ἀμφοτέρων, δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· δέχεσθαι  
 τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν τὴν παραγεγεννη-  
 μένην εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἰασέων κατὰ τὰ ἐψη-  
 5 φισμένα ἐπ’ εὐτυχίαι καὶ ὑγίαι τῶν τε ἀποστειλάντων καὶ  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἰασέων καὶ στεφανῶ-  
 σαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ Διονυσίων ἐόντων εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν<sup>v</sup>  
 τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ  
 καὶ τοὺς παραγεγεννημένους θεωροὺς Γρύλλον Εὐκλείδου, Εὐκτον

<sup>17</sup> J. L. Shear (2010:140) seems to have refuted the reading τρίτον ('for the third time') in ll.64–5, suggested by Osborne in a review of T. L. Shear (1978) in *CR* 30:298–9.

- 10 Μενεκράτους καὶ εἶναι αὐτοὺς προξένους τῆς πόλεως μετ-  
 εχοντας πάντων ὧν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρόξενοι· ἀναγράψαι<sup>v</sup>  
 δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς τὴν στήλην καὶ καλέσαι αὐ-  
 [τοὺς ἐπὶ] ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα δοῦ-  
 [ναι τοὺς] ἀργυρολό[γους] ἐκ τοῦ κατατεταγμένου  
 [ἀργυρίου].

### Translation

The *basileus* Iaso[n son of --] said: for the good fortune of both cities, the people has decided: to receive the sacrifice, the first-offering and *theōriā* that have arrived at the sanctuary from the people of the Iasians in accordance with what has been voted for the good fortune and health of those sending it and those in the island, and to praise the people of the Iasians and crown them with a gold crown at the Dionysia on account of their piety towards the gods and good will towards the people; and to commend the *theōroi* who are present - Grullos son of Eukleidas and Euktos son of Menekrates - and that they should be *proxenoi* of the city, sharing all privileges that the other *proxenoi* have; and to write up their names on the stele and invite the[m for] a feast of hospitality into the *prutaneion*. The financial-off[icers] should provide the sum from the [money] assigned.

### Commentary

Relations between Iasos and Samothrace are known also from the honorary decree for the poet Dumas of Iasos: *I.Iasos* 153 (see Rutherford (2007a)) and from the proxeny decree: *IG*12.8.171 (Dimitrova: no.6, 70–8).

The combination of *θυσία*, *ἀπαρχή* and *θεωρία* here is unique. Habicht thinks this could be the earliest evidence for sending *theōroi* to the Samothracian festival.

## D4: Accame (1941–3:79.3). Decree from Hephaistia on Lemnos. 250–200 BC

Marble stele ('in marmo dell' Imetto') in two fragments.

See §4.3.4, p.62. See Map 4.

- ἐπὶ Δημητρίου ἄρχοντος, ἔδ[ο]ξεν τῷ δήμῳ, Δει-  
 νίας Δημοσθένου Θριάσιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ θε-  
 ωροὶ οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθη-  
 ναίων τῶν ἐμ Μυρίνῃ ἐπ' Ἀρ[ισ]τείδου ἄρχοντος  
 5 εἰς τὴν θυσίαν τοῖς Καβείρο[ι]ς τῶν Ὀρραίων κα-  
 λῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς ἔθυσαν το[ῖ]ς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ

- δήμου καὶ τᾶλλα ἔπραξαν κατὰ τοὺς θεσμούς  
 καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου τ[οῦ] ἀποστείλαν-  
 τος ἑαυτούς, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπε[κός]μῃσαν, ὅπως  
 10 ἄν οὖν πάντες οἱ παραγιγνόμενοι εἰς τ]ήν θυ-  
 σίαν ταύτην φιλοτιμῶντα[ι πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ]  
 τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τᾶλλα πράτ[τωσιν κατὰ τοὺς]  
 θεσμούς καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα κ[αθ' ἃ ἐπαινέ]-  
 θήσονται καὶ στεφανωθήσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου]  
 15 τῶν τετελεσμένων ἀξίως [τῆς εὐσεβείας],  
 τύχει ἀγαθεῖ δεδόχθαι τῶι δ[ήμῳ] ἐπαινέσαι]  
 [κ]αὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στ[εφάνῳ]----]  
 [-----]σοδωρον Ἄνδρ[-----]  
 [-----]γοντ[-----]

### Translation

In the archonship of Demetrius, the *dēmos* decided and Deinias, son of Demosthenes of Thriasa, said: since the *theōroi* sent out by the *dēmos* of the Athenians in Myrina during the archonship of Aristides to sacrifice to the Kabeiroi at the *Horaia* sacrificed excellently and piously to the gods on behalf of the *dēmos*, did everything else in accordance with the rules and decrees of the *dēmos* that sent them, and adorned the *hieron*, so that all who come to this sacrifice feel zeal towards the temple and the gods and do other things in accordance with the laws and the decrees in accordance with which they will be praised and crowned by the people of the initiated in a manner worthy of their piety, in good fortune! The people decided to praise and garland them with the g[arland] of a branch - - -]sodoros son of Andr[ - -

### Commentary

This decree, apparently passed by the *dēmos* ‘of the initiated’ of Hephaistia (Parker (1994:345)) commends Myrina on Lemnos for sending *theōroi* to attend the *Horaia* festival.

### D5: SEG 57.2010. Cult regulation from Cyrene. 300–250 BC

Marble stele found south of Cyrene city wall ‘between Baggara and the south end of the Wadi el Aish’. This text is on the narrow edge of the stele. Lines 1–5 were originally published as part of *SECir.* 114.34–8. At a later

point (end of third century BC? see *BE* 2008:no. 608) a list of priests was inscribed above and below and on the broader side: see *SEG* 57.2011.

On 1–6: Brunel (1984:38–9); *ed. pr.* 7–11: Fadel Ali, Reynolds, Dobias Lalou (2007:30–5); the two fragments united: Dobias-Lalou (2007: 147–8); Dobias-Lalou (2003:18). Mentioned in *SEG* 53.2029; *BE* 2004:no. 121, *BE* 2008:no. 608.

Ἀκαμαντιάδες  
 [Ἡ]ραίω  
 [ἦν]άτα φθίνοντος  
 [Καρ]νήιω  
 5 [–]δεκάς  
 [Δ]ίω  
 [– – – –]  
 καὶ ἥ κα τοὶ ταμίαι  
 προθεάρια  
 10 τῷ Ἀρχαγέται  
 θύωντι.

3: [ἦν]άτα or [ἐν]άτα J. D. Morgan, [πρ]άτα Dobias-Lalou, κ]αταφθίνοντος Brunel  
 5 [ἐν]δεκάς or [δω]δεκάς Dobias-Lalou 6 [Δ]ίω Brunel

### Translation

Days of the Akamantia: the 22nd of Heraios, the 11th (or 12<sup>th</sup>) of Karneios, the [X day of D]ios (?), and on whatever day the *tamiai* offer the *Protheāria* sacrifice to the Arkhegetes.

### Commentary

As Dobias-Lalou (2007:148–9) comments, we can infer from this a) that the *Protheāria* did not happen on a fixed day, b) that they share with certain fixed days the quality of ‘days of Akamantia’. The mysterious term Akamantia also occurs in the Cyrenaean Cathartic Law (*SEG* 9.72, *LSS*115) A21–5; see Parker (1983:338–9). Does this indicate that a purification rite was performed when Cyrene sent off a *theōriā* (cf. §11.1, pp.175–6)?

## D6: Inventories from Hellenistic Delos. Excerpts

*D6.1: IG11.2.161B, 12–17. From the Artemisium Treasury. 278 BC*

Opisthographic marble stele covering the years 279–8 BC

See Hamilton (2000:97–8): ‘Artemisium Inventory B’

- ... φιάλη, Βάκχωνος ἐπιδόντος Δηλιάσιν  
 χορεῖα· φιάλη χρυσόκλυστος, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδωγ χορεῖα· φιάλη, Δηλιάδων  
 ἀνάθημα χορεῖα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Ῥοδίων Θρασυμάχου· φιάλη, [Φι]λώ-  
 [τ]α [Σι]κυωνίου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη, Φυλάκου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη, Λεοντίνων  
 ἀνάθημα· φιάλη, Κώϊων ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Σίμου· φιάλαι δύο ἐμ-  
 πλ[ιν]θεί-  
 15 ο[ις, Ἀπολ]λοδώρου ἀνάθημα· φιάλαι δύο, Στρατονίκης βασιλίσσης  
 ἀνάθημα· φιάλαι δύο, Κώϊων ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Πολυκλείτου·  
 φιάλη, Ῥοδί-  
 ων [ἀνάθ]ημα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Ἀγησάνδρου· φιάλη, Θεοτίμης ἀνάθημα·  
 φιάλη ἔκτυπον ἔχουσα Ἡλίου πρόσωπον, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων χορεῖα ἐπ’  
 ἀρχεθεώ-  
 ρου Πολυχάρμου..

### Translation

	Hamilton	Bruneau
<i>phialē</i> , gift of Bakkhon, dance-payment for the Deliades;	18	
gilded <i>phialē</i> , dedication of the Deliades, dance-payment	19	
when Thrasumakhos was Rhodian <i>arkhitheōros</i>	20	Rhodes I
<i>phialē</i> , dedication of Philotas of Sikyon	21	
<i>phialē</i> , dedication of Phulakos	22	
<i>phialē</i> , dedication of Leontinoi	23	
<i>phialē</i> , dedication of the Koans when Simos was <i>arkhitheōros</i> ; <sup>18</sup>	24	Kos I
two <i>phialai</i> , on plinths, dedication of Apollodoros	25	
two <i>phialai</i> , dedication of queen Stratonike	26	
two <i>phialai</i> , dedication of the Koans when Polukleitos was <i>arkhitheōros</i>	27	Kos II
<i>phialē</i> , dedication of the Rhodians	28	Rhodes II
when Agesandros was <i>arkhitheōros</i>		
<i>phialē</i> , dedication of Theotime	29	
<i>phialē</i> , face of Helios in relief, dedication of Deliades when Polukharmos was <i>arkhitheōros</i> .	30	Rhodes III

<sup>18</sup> For the phrase ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου ... see Dimitrova: no.63 apropos of her no.26, line 3: ἐπὶ θεωρῶν and §13.1, p.213.

## Commentary

In the column entitled ‘Hamilton’ I give the numbers of the dedications as they appear in Hamilton (2000). In the column entitled ‘Bruneau’ I give the numbers of the *theōriai* as they appear in Bruneau (1970:94–105). All dedications listed were made in 279 BC or a few years before. For the significance of ‘dance-payment’, see §14.2. In entry 30 the name of the polis is omitted and the name of the *arkhitheōros* is mistaken: later inventories correct it to Philodamos and supply the city. The face of Helios on the *phialē* reflects that deity’s status as the patron-deity of the Rhodian state.

### D6.2: IG11.2.287B, 38–45. Inventory of Temple of Apollo. 250 BC

Opisthographic marble stele, covering the years 251–250 BC

Hamilton (2000:122–4): from ‘Apollo Treasure B’

- ...φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου Διοκλείδα· φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου  
 Κράντορος Χαρμίδου φιάλαι δύο ἔκτυποι· φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ’ ἀρκι-  
 θεώρου εἰς Δελφοὺς Λυσιστράτου· Ἀρίστοφύλου φιάλη Ῥοδίου·  
 Ἀπολλοφάνου[ς] φ<ι>άλιον Κώιων ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου Φίλωνος φιάλη·  
 Ἡρακλείτου φιά-
- 40 λη ἔκτυπος· Φιλώτα φιάλη καρυωτή· Τιμάνθους φιάλη Ῥοδίου· Νικίππου  
 φιάλη λεία· Πυρρίου φιάλη· Δημητρίου, Ἡρακλείτου, Αἰσχυρίωνος φιάλη·  
 Σῶσι[σ]  
 καὶ Πραξιδήμος καὶ Σωκλῆς φιάλην· Κώιων φιάλη ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου Ἀναξιβίου·  
 Ἀμμωνίου φιάλη Καλυμνίων φιάλη ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου Διοφάνους·  
 Φιλοκλε[ί]-
- δου φιάλη· Ἱεροκλέους φιάλη· Σιμεία φιάλη· Κώιων φιάλη, Ἀπόλλωνι  
 ἀπαρχάν· Διοκλέους φιάλη Κώιου· ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου Ἀέρτα φιάλη·  
 Κώιων φιάλη ἐ-
- π’ ἀρκιθεώρου Ζωπυρίωνος· Κώιων φιάλη ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου Ἀράτου·  
 Ἡρακλείδου φιάλη ἔκτυπος Κώιων φιάλη ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου Διδυμάρχου·  
 Μεγαλοπο-
- λιτῶν <φιάλη> ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου Ἀφθονήτου· Ῥοδίων φιάλη ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου  
 Φρασίλα· Ῥοδίων φιάλη ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου Φίλωνος· Κώιων φιάλη ἐπ’  
 ἀρκιθεώρου Εὐκλε[ί]-
- 45 δα· καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς· Κώιων τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἰσθμιατῶν φιάλη  
 ἀρχιθεώρου Τελευτία <τοῦ> Θρασυκρίτου· Κώιων φιάλη ἐπ’  
 ἀρκιθεώρου Ἰππάρχου....

## Translation

	Hamilton	Bruneau
<i>phialē</i> of the Rhodians when Diokleidas was <i>arkhitheōros</i>	@10a	Rhodes XVII, 250 or before
<i>phialē</i> of the Rhodians when Krantor was <i>arkitheōros</i>	@10b	Rhodes XVIII, 250 or before
two <i>phialai</i> of Kharmides, embossed	16	
<i>phialē</i> of the Rhodians when Lusistratos was <i>arkhitheōros</i> to Delphi	@16b	Rhodes XIX, 250 or before
<i>phialē</i> of Aristophulos of Rhodes	20	
<i>phialion</i> of Apollophanes	@7c	
<i>phialē</i> of the Koans when Philon was <i>arkhitheōros</i>	@7d	Kos X, 279 or before
<i>phialē</i> of Herakleitos, embossed.	@1a	
<i>phialē</i> of Philotas, knobbed	@7b	
<i>phialē</i> of Timanthes of Rhodes	4	
<i>phialē</i> of Nikippos, smooth	13	
<i>phialē</i> of Purrhias	7	
<i>phialē</i> of Demetrios, Herakleitos, Aiskhrion	@7h	
<i>phialē</i> of Sosis, Praxidemos, Sokles	@7i	
<i>phialē</i> of Koans when Anaxibios was <i>arkhitheōros</i>	@18a	Kos VIII, 269 or before
<i>phialē</i> of Ammonios	19	
<i>phialē</i> of Kalumnians when Diophanes was <i>arkitheōros</i>	@21f	Kalymnos II
<i>phialē</i> of Philokleides	@21e	
<i>phialē</i> of Hierokles	@21d	
<i>phialē</i> of Simias	@35f	
<i>phialē</i> of the Koans, ‘an offering to Apollo’	18	Kos XI, 250 or before
<i>phialē</i> of Diokles the Koan	6	
<i>phialē</i> when Aertas <sup>19</sup> was <i>arkhitheōros</i>	@6a	Kos XII, 268–250
<i>phialē</i> of the Koans when Zopurion was <i>arkitheōros</i>	@35e	Kos IX, 271–269
<i>phialē</i> of the Koans when Aratos was <i>arketheōros</i>	1	Kos III, 279 or before
<i>phialē</i> of Heraclides, embossed	2	
<i>phialē</i> of the Koans, when Didumarkhos was <i>arkitheōros</i>	@2a	Kos XIII, 269–250
[ <i>phialē</i> ] of the Megalopolitans, when Aphthonetos was <i>arkitheōros</i>	@35b	Megalopolis, 274 or earlier
<i>phialē</i> of the Rhodians, when Phrasilas was <i>arkitheōros</i>	5	Rhodes V

<sup>19</sup> No city is given (cf. ID310, 4), but he may be from Kos: Bruneau (1970:101).



	Hamilton	Bruneau
<i>phialē</i> of the Rhodians, when Philon was <i>arkitheōros</i>	17	Rhodes IX
<i>phialē</i> of the Koans, when Eukleidas was <i>arkitheōros</i>	@17a	Kos XIV 268–250
And in our year:		
<i>phialē</i> of the Koans of the deme of Isthmos, when Teleutias, son of Thrasukritos was <i>arkhitheōros</i>	@17b	Kos XV, 250
<i>phialē</i> of the Koans, when Hipparkhos was <i>arkhitheōros</i>	@17d	Kos XVI, 250

### Commentary

Hamilton's numbers here are out of sequence because they are based on the first extant set of accounts from the temple, dated to 279 BC (IG11.2.161). Numbers prefixed with @ indicate items that have been added to the original sequence. For Lusistratos, *arkhitheōros* 'to Delphi as well', see §11.2, p.180; for the *arkhitheōros* from the deme of Isthmos, see §13.3, p.221.

### D7: Skeat (1974: 62–6, no.1973). Papyrus-letter from Apollonios to Zenon. 21 September 254 BC

From the archive of Zenon in Philadelphia in the Fayyum

See Bergmans (1979)

- Ἀπολλώνιος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ὥς ἂν ἀναγνώις  
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἀπόστειλον εἰς Πτολεμαίδα  
τά τε ἄρματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ βαδιστικά πορεῖα  
καὶ τὰς νωτοφόρους ἡμιόνους ὥστε τοῖς παρὰ  
5 Παιρισάδου πρεσβευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἄργους  
θεωροῖς οὓς ἀπέσταλκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ θέαν  
τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἄρσινοίτην. καὶ φρόντισον  
ἵνα μὴ καθυστερήσῃ τῆς χρείας. ὅτε γὰρ  
ἐγράφομέν σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνεπεπλεύκεισαν ἤδη.  
10 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) 32, Πανήμου 26, Μεσορῇ 1.  
(Verso)  
(ἔτους) 32, Μεσορῇ [[1]] 2, Ἀπολλώνιο[ς] Ζήνωνι  
ᾧρας 10. περὶ τῶν τοῖς  
παρὰ Παιρισάδου καὶ  
Ἀργείοις πρεσβευταῖς  
15 πορείων

*Translation*

(From Skeat)

Apollonius to Zenon greetings. As soon as you read the letter, send off to Ptolemais the chariots and the other carriage animals (?) and the baggage-mules for the ambassadors from Pairisades and the *theōroi* from Argos whom the King had sent to see the sights of the Arsinoite Nome. And make sure that they do not arrive late for the purpose: for at the time of writing this letter they have just this moment sailed up. Farewell. Year 32, Panemos 26, Mesore 1.

(Addressed) ‘To Zenon’ (Docketed) ‘Year 32, Mesore 2, at the 10th hour. Apollonius about the animals for the envoys from Pairisades and Argos.’

*Commentary*

For the context, see §9.2. As Bergmans (1979) pointed out, the Argive *theōroi* must be festival announcers and not festival attenders, since otherwise it would be hard to explain why they are the only ones. In any case, the Ptolemaia would have taken place in 255/4 BC. The ambassadors from Pairisades II, king of the Cimmerian Bosphoros, were exploring the world just as their compatriot the speaker of Isocrates’ *Trapeziticus* had done a century before.

### D8: Zenon Papyrus 59341(a). Petition to Apollonios from Theopropos. 247 BC

From the archive of Zenon

Edgar (1928:66–71); Edgar (1920:32–40); discussed by Bagnall (1976:99–100). For an image, see: <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/>

Theopropos, a *theōros* from Kalynda in Caria in 247 BC, asks Apollonius by letter to write home to settle some financial matter for him. This is the first of four documents and drafts written on the papyrus. The second (Zenon Papyrus 59341(b)) also concerns a citizen of Kalynda. This is a draft of the letter, and the texts contains interlinear corrections and additions. For ease of presentation, some of these have been omitted here, including the fragmentary lines 1–6, and an additional clause justifying Theopropos’ case written between ll.32–3 and the right-hand column of ll.33–5.

Ἀπολλωνίω διοικητῇ χαίρειν Θεόπρπος  
θεωρὸς ἀπὸ Καλύνδων. τοῦ η καὶ λ (ἔτους)

- ὁ γεωργός μου Θήρων ἐπρίατο παρὰ  
 10 τῆς πόλεως παρασχεῖν οἶνον τῇ γινομένῃ  
 πανηγύρει ἐγ Κυπράνδοις κατ' ἐνιαυτόν,  
 ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ παρέσχον τὸν οἶνον μετρη-  
 τὰς πδ τὸμ μετρητὴν ἀνα (δραχμάς) 10  
 ὃ γίνονται (δραχμαὶ) 850. [[δανεισά-  
 15 μενος τόκων ἐννόμων διὰ τὸ τὸν Θήρωνα  
 μὴ ἔχειν ἀνηλώσαι, δι' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἡγορακότα]]  
 καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀποδεδωκότων μοι τῶν ταμιῶν Διοφάντου καὶ Ἀκρισίου  
 (δραχμάς) 600, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν  
 18a (δραχμας) 250 διὰ τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν πάσας τὰς συμβολάς,  
 οὐκ ἀποδιδόντων κατέστησα τοὺς ταμίας  
 20 ἐπὶ τε τὸν στρατηγὸν Μότην καὶ τὸν οἰκονόμον  
 Διόδοτον ἀπαιτῶν τὰς (δραχμάς) 250 [[καὶ τὸν τόκον]].  
 οἱ δὲ ταμίαι Διόφαντος καὶ Ἀκρίσιος ἡξίου  
 ψήφ[[η]]σμα αὐτοῖς γραφῆναι, φάμενοι οὐ εἶναι κύριοι ἄνευ ψηφίσματος  
 ἀποδιδόναι, οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις  
 καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς παρήλκυσαν καὶ οὐκ ἔγραψαν  
 25 τὸ ψηφισμα ἕως ὅτου προχειρισθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως θεωρὸς  
 μετὰ Διοφάντου ἐνὸς τῶν ταμιῶν παρεγενή-  
 θην ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. εἰ οὖν σοι  
 δοκεῖ, καλῶς ποιήσεις γράψας πρὸς τε τὴν πόλιν  
 ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν οἰκονόμον  
 30 ἀποδοθῆναι μοι τὰς (δραχμάς) 250 [[καὶ τὸ τόκον  
 ὅσος ἂν γένηται ἀφ' οὗ εἰσανήλωκα εἰς τὸν οἶνον  
 τῇ πόλει αὐτὸς παρ' ἐτέρων δανεισάμενος  
 καὶ τόκους φέρων ἔτι καὶ νῦν]] [ἴνα] μὴ ἀδικηθῶ,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγὼ ὧ [[.]] τῆς παρὰ σοῦ φιланθρωπίας  
 35 τετευχώς.  
 εὐτύχει.

### Translation

(From Edgar (1920:32–3)):

‘To Apollonios the *dioiketes* greetings. Theopropos a *theōros* from Kalynda.

In year 38 my farmer Theron purchased from the city a concession to supply wine for the festival which is held yearly in Kypranda, and I supplied wine on his behalf, amounting to 84 *metretai*, at 10 drachmas the *metretes*, which makes 850 drachmas (borrowing at the legal rate of interest, as Theron had no private means and had

made the purchase through me). And as the treasurers Diophantos and Akrisios had only given me 600dr. in payment of this sum and were withholding the balance of 250dr. because not all the subscriptions had been paid up, I brought them before the *stratēgos* Motes and the *oikonomos* Diodotos, claiming my 250 drachmas. The treasurers Diophantos and Akrisios demanded that a decree should be issued for them to act on, saying that without a decree it was beyond their authority to repay the money. But the *prytaneis* and the clerk procrastinated and had not written the decree up to the time when, having been appointed a *theōros* by the city, along with Diophantos one of the treasurers, I came here to see the king. If therefore it seems good to you, kindly write to our city, and to the *stratēgos* and the *oikonomos* to let the 250dr. be paid to me (together with the interest whatever it may amount to from the time when I paid out the money to buy the wine for the city, as I had myself to borrow from other people and am still incurring interest), in order that I may not suffer wrong but may be one of the many that have experienced your benevolence.’

### Commentary

Theopropos was attending the last Ptolemaia festival celebrated in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos (died 246), and this is our only certain evidence for this enactment of it. See further §15.2, pp.257–8.

### D9: IG12.4.207. Koan decree about *theōroi*. Around 242 BC

Fragmentary stele from the sanctuary of Asclepius.

Bibliography: Boesch (1908:28); Rigsby (2010); see §5.2.3.

-----  
 [------καγο///-----]  
 [------τοι δὲ θεωροὶ] τοὶ αἰρεθέντες ἐς Ἴτωνον  
 [------] τῷ ἐπαγγελλόντῳ τὰ  
 [Ἀσκληπιεῖα-----ἐν] Θεσσαλίας καὶ ἐν Ἀργεῖ  
 5 [------τοι δὲ θεωροὶ τοῖ] ἐς Σαμοθράικαν ἀποσ-  
 [-τελλόμενοι ἐπαγγελλόντῳ τὰ] Ἀσκληπιεῖα ἐγὼ Χίῳ καὶ  
 [------τοι δὲ ἀποστελλόμενοι θεωροὶ φορεύντω  
 [------τᾶν δὲ] ἀφικνευμένων θεωρίαν  
 [------ἐπιμελείσθωσαν τοῖ ἱεροφύλ]ακες, τοῖ δὲ  
 10 [------] πανάχχῳρις  
 -----

### Translation

--- The *theōroi* elected for Itonos [-----] are to announce [the Asklapieia ----- in] Thessaly and in Argos. [--- The *theōroi* se[nt] to Samothrace [are to announce the] Asklapieia in Khios [and in --- The] *theōroi* [se]nt out are to wear [--- The *hierophul*]akes [are to care for] the *theōriai* which arrive [---] assembly.

### Commentary

Lines 2–6 of the decree mandate *theōroi* sent to Itonos in Thessaly and Samothrace to double as festival announcers for the Koan Asklapieia en route. For details, see §5.2.3.

The scope was broader than that, however, as we can see from lines 7–10 which deal with the dress of *theōroi* (l.8: ἐν τῷ πομπᾷ στεφάνος Rigsby, ἱμάτια λευκὰ καὶ στεφάνος θαλλοῦ Herzog), and the treatment of *theōriai* that arrive from elsewhere (l.9).

### D10: IG12.4.216III. Thebes in Achaea Phthiotis invited to recognise the Koan Asklapieia. 242 BC

Part of an opisthographic marble stele from the Koan Asklapieion. This is from Side B, along with a decree from Megara. Side A has decrees from Gonnoi and Homolion.

RigsbyA19; Bosnakis and Hallof (2003:231–2); Helly (2004).

- [Θηβαίων τῶν ἀπ' Ἀχαιῶν]  
 [----- παραγενομένων]  
 [παρα τῆς πόλεως τῆς Κώων ἀρχιθεώρου Ἀριστολ]όχου Ζμ[έν]-  
 [δρωνος, Μακαρέως Ἀράτου καὶ Ἡρακλείτου] Τιμαίθου ἐπαγ-  
 χε[λλόντων τὴν θυσίαν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ κ]αὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ  
 τὴν παν[ήγυριν καὶ ἀξιούντων δέχεσθαι] καὶ τὴν ἀσυλίαν τοῦ ἱε-  
 5 ροῦ, ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ, δεδόχθαι τῇ] πόλει Θηβαίων τῶν Ἀ-  
 χαιῶν · ἐπαινέ[σαι μὲν τὴν πόλ]ιν τὴν Κώων καὶ δέξασ-  
 θαι καθάπερ ἐπαγγέλλ[ουσιν]· περὶ δὲ τῶν θεωρῶν τῶν  
 [ἀποσταλησομένων εἰς τὴν] θυσίαν τοὺς συνθύσον-  
 τας ἀνενεγκεῖν τοὺς ἀρχ[ο]ντας εἰς τὴν ἔννομον  
 10 [ἐκ]λ[η]σίαν περὶ τούτων· δοῦναι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ θεωρικόν  
 [τ]ὸ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου· καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια τοὺς θεωροὺς  
 εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον.

### Translation

[Citizens of Thebes in Akhaia

[Since --- the *arkhitheōros* Aristol]okhos son of Zm[endron, Makareus son of Aratos and Herakleitos] son of Timaithos [have arrived from the city of the Koans,] annou[ncing the sacrifice for Asclepius a]nd the games and the *pan[ēguris* and ask- ing for acceptance] also of the inviolability of the sanctuary:

In good [fortune. It has been decided by] the city of the Thebans in [Thebes] in Achaea: to prai]se the ci]ty of the Koans and recognise just as they anno[unce]. As for the *theōroi* who will be sent out for the] sacrifice, to join in the sacrifice, the archons will report about these to the legal assembly. They will give them the *theōrikon* assigned by law. They are to invite the *theōroi* for guest gifts to the *arkheion*.

### Commentary

In 242 BC, Kos sent out delegates, announcing the new festival of Asclepius and seeking recognition of the inviolability of the sanctuary. Of the eight *theōriai* known to have been sent out, one, led by Aristolokhos the son of Zmendron, covered mainland Greece and the North, including Thebes in Achaea Phtiotis (*Theōriā* 1' in Rigsby's list: see p.78, Table 4). All four cities represented on this stone were visited by Zmendron's *theōria*.

One unique feature of the decree is the term '*to theōrikon*' (line 11), apparently applied to a gift or offering that the *theōroi*-announcers are to receive. See §5.2.2, p.80.

## D11: IG12.4.31. Koan decree in honour of Kaphisophon. Mid-third century BC

Marble stele from Kos-town.

Bibliography: Samama (2003:no. 132); Herzog (1983).

- [-----ἐπειδὴ Καφισοφῶν Φιλίππου-----]  
 [διατρίβων παρὰ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ----]  
 [ἄεί τινος ἀγαθοῦ κ]ο[ινᾶι τε καὶ ἰδίαι πᾶ]σιν  
 [γέγονε τ]ᾶι πατρίδι παρα[ίτιος, καιρὸν] οὐδένα  
 [παραλεί]πων εἰς τὸ μηδενὸ[ς τῶν χρη]σίμων  
 [καθυ]στερεῖν τὰν πόλιν, ὕ. ὑπὲρ ὧγ καὶ βασιλεὺς  
 5 [Πτο]λεμαῖος ἔγραψε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐν [ἐ]πιστολαῖ  
 [ᾶ]ν ἔπεμψε ποτὶ τὸν δᾶμον ὑπὲρ τᾶς θυσία[ς]

ὅς ἐξαπέστολκε' τῷ τε Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἀπάγοντα Καφ[ι]σοφῶντα  
 μετὰ συνθεώρων, ἐμφανίζων [α]ὐτὸν ἄξιο[ν]  
 10 ἦμεν τῶς ἀποστολᾶς διὰ τε τὰν δόξαν καὶ  
 τὰν προ[κο]π[τ]ὶν-----]ΑΙ[.]ΓΛ--ON--  
 [-----23 worn lines follow-----]

### Translation

[---since Kaphisphon son of Philip---living with king Ptolemy---has consistently proved] a cause [of benefit both] in p[u]blic and private in every] respect (?) to his homeland, [omit]ting no [opportunity] to make sure that the city does not fall short in respect of anything useful, about which things king [Pto]lemy actually wrote on behalf of him in the letter [which] he sent to the people concerning the sacrifice which he sent Kaphisophon to bring for Asklepios and the other gods with the joint *theōroi*, declaring him to be worthy of the mission on account of his reputation and his success [-----]

### Commentary

There is another fragmentary Koan honorary decree for Kaphisophon, IG12.4.32, ll.13–15 of which says, according to Herzog's reconstruction, that he received Koan *theōroi* and *presbantai* in Alexandria. Kaphisophon is mentioned also in a Michigan papyrus from the Zenon archive dated to 240 BC (Edgar (1931:no.55,16–19), and an epigram of Callimachus (AP12.150=46Pf.) may be dedicated to his father. For the historical context, see Marasco (1996:449–51) and Paschidis (2008:371–2).

An unusual feature is that the *theōros* is a citizen of the host-polis: see §10.3.1, pp.159–60.

## D12: SEG 36, 1218. Letter from Ptolemy III to the Xanthians. 243/2 BC

Limestone stele from the Letoon at Xanthos

Ed. pr. Bousquet (1986).

βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολ[ε]-  
 μαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης Θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν,  
 ἀποσταλέντες θεωροὶ Νικόλαος Κολίος  
 Ἑρμόλυκος Λύσωνος ἐκόμισαν ἐπιστο-

- 5 λήν τήν ὑπογεγραμμένην  
 βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Ξανθίων τῇ  
 πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι χαίρειν. οἱ πεμφθέν-  
 τες παρ' ὑμῶν θεωροὶ εἰς τὰ Πτολεμαῖα  
 καὶ τὰ Θεαδέλφεια Νικόλαος καὶ Ἑρμόλυκος  
 10 τὰ τε γράμματα ἀπέδωκαν καὶ τοὺς  
 στεφάνους οἷς καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελ-  
 φὴν Βερενίκην ἐστεφανώσατε, καὶ τὰς  
 [ε]ικόνας αἷς ἡμᾶς ἐτιμήσατε ἀνηγό-  
 [ρε]υσαν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐν τοῖς καθή-  
 15 [κου]σι χρόνοις συνετέλεσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἅ-  
 [πὸ τ]ῶν πανηγύρεων ἐγένοντο, ἀνα-  
 [ληφθ]έντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν τὴν τ' εὐνοίαν τῆς  
 πόλεως ἐνεφάνισαν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἡξι-  
 οὔτε τὰ ὑπομνήματ' ἐπέδωκαν. ἐπαι-  
 20 νοῦμεν οὖν ὑμᾶς τὴν αὐτὴν αἴρεσιν  
 διὰ παντὸς ἔχοντας καὶ μεμνημέ-  
 νους εὐχαρίστως ὧν εὐεργέτησθε  
 καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ  
 τοῦ πάππου, καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ  
 25 εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ διαθήσει  
 μένειν, εἰδότας ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν  
 ἀπάντων τῶν φιλανθρώπων τεύ-  
 [ξεσθε ... ..] ΕΥΤΙΕΡΜ[-----]

### Translation

In the reign of Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios, and Arsinoe, the sibling gods, Nikolaos son of Kolis and Hermolukos son of Luson, having been dispatched as *theōroi*, brought the letter written below.

‘King Ptolemaios to the city of the Xanthians and its rulers: rejoice! The *theōroi* sent from you to the Ptolemaia and the Theadelphia, Nikolaos and Hermolukos, delivered the letters and the crowns with which you crowned me and my sister Berenike, and they proclaimed the statues with which you have honoured us, and performed the sacrifices at the appropriate times. When they had finished with the festivals, they had an audience with us, and they revealed the good will of the city, and gave us the documents relating to your requests. We praise you for the attitude you consistently have, and for remembering graciously the benefits you have received from me, my father and my grandfather, and we invite you to keep the same disposition in the future, knowing that from us you will re[ceive] every kindness  
 [--- ‘



### Commentary

The normal mode of communication for a king is a letter, just as the usual mode of communication for a city is a decree. This is the only known case where a king commends *theōroi* for attending a festival.

The document is remarkable for giving insight into the diplomatic process that accompanied attending the Ptolemaia festival: see §15.2, pp.255–8.

### D13: I.Gonnoi 109. Gonnoi selects a *theōrodokos* for Athenian festivals. Late third century BC

#### Marble stele

	ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει τῇ Γοννέων θεω-	25	λῆι ὅσοι θεωροδοκοῦντες τυγ-
	ροδόκον ἐλέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ψήφισ-		χάνουσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ταῖς
	μα ὃ ἦνεγκαν οἱ θεωροὶ τῶν Ἀθηνα[ι]-		ἀποδεδειγμέναις σπονδὰς
	ων Σωσιγένης καὶ Ἀρχεπτόλεμος		τῶν τε Ἐλευσινίων καὶ Παναθη-
5	καὶ ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰστή-		ναίων καὶ Μυστηρίων, ὑπάρχειμ
	λην λιθίνην καὶ θεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱε-	30	μὲν αὐτοὺς ἤδη προσένοους
	ρόν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς θεωροδόκος Νί-		τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, εἶναι
	καῖος Ἀριστοκράτους ἐκὼν προσ-		δὲ αὐτοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις
	εδέξατο· κύριον.		εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν
	Εὐκλῆς Εὐκλέου		εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ὅτου
10	Ποτάμιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ τινες τοὺς	35	ἂν δοκῶσιν ἄξιοι εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ
	ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεμπομένους		σπονδοφόρους τοὺς ἐπαγγέλ<λ>ον-
	σπονδοφόρους θεωροδοκοῦντες		τας τὰ τε Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὰ Πα-
	φανερὰν καθιστᾶσι τὴν πρὸς τὸν		ναθῆναι καὶ τὰ Μυστήρια προσαπο-
	δῆμον εὖνοϊαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν,		φέρειν εἰς τὸ Μητρῶιον ἐν τοῖς λό-
15	καθήκει δὲ τῷ δήμῳ μηθὲν λεί-	40	γοις τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεωροδο-
	πεσθαι τῶν εἰς τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ἀνη-		κούντων πατρώθεν ὅταν καὶ
	κόντων πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργετῆν τὸν		τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἀποδεξαμένας
	δῆμον αἰρουμένους,		[τ]ὰς σπονδὰς ἀποφέρωσιν, ὅπως
	τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ,		[ἀν] τούτων γινομένων οἳ τε φιλο-
	δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς προέ-	45	[τίμως π]ρὸς τὴν πόλιν διακείμε-
20	δρους οἵτινες ἂν λ<ἀ>χωσιν προεδρεύ-		[νοι φανεροὶ] καθιστῶνται καὶ ὁ δῆ-
	ειν εἰς τὴν ἐπιουσαν ἐκκλησίαν		[μος---εὐχάριστ]ος φαίνεται
	χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνω-		[------]
	μὴν δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς		
	εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βου-		

### Translation

The city of Gonnoi decided to choose a *theōrodokos* in accordance with the decree which the *theōroi* of the Athenians Sosicles and Archeptolemus brought, and to write the decree on a stone stele and put it in the temple of Athena. The *theārodokos* Nikaïos, son of Aristocrates, accepted willingly. This is ratified.

[Athenian Decree] Euklees, son of Eukles, of Potamos, said: since some people by performing *theōrodokiā* for the *spondophoroi* sent out by the city make clear their goodwill and kindness toward the city, and since the people should neglect nothing with respect to honour and gratitude for those who choose to do them good services:

In good fortune. The Council decided that the *prohedroi* whose lot it is to serve in the coming assembly should deal with these things, and should share with the people that the Council has decided that those who happen to be acting as *theārodokoi* within the appointed cities with respect to the sacred truce of the *Eleusinia*, the Panathenaia and the Musteria should be *proxenoi* of the Athenian people, and it should be possible for them, since they display zeal with regard to the city, to obtain any other benefit they wish from the people of Athens. The *spondophoroi* who announce the Eleusinia, the Panathenaia and the Musteria should add the names of the *theārodokoi* with their patronyms in their accounts to be desposited in the Metroon, when they report the cities who accepted the truce, so that by this those who display ze[al t]oward the city should be [recognised], and the peo[ple] are shown to be [grate]ful...

### Commentary

Gonnoi appoints a *theōrodokos* for the Athenian Eleusinia, the Panathenaia and the Musteria, and summarises an Athenian decree (omitting the usual introductory formula) which promises rewards for those who host its *spondophoroi* in ‘the appointed cities’ (see §18.5). No other evidence for the Athenian decree survives.

Gonnoi does not in this decree mention that it recognises the festivals or undertakes to send a *theōros* to them. As Helly points out, this decision may have been announced in another decree, a fragment of which survives as *I.Gonnoi* 108.

**D14: Pouilloux (1974:158). Decree for Matrophanes of Sardes. 226/5 BC or 213/12 BC**

Inscribed on the Polygonal Wall.

SIG<sup>3</sup>.548/549; *ed. pr.* Hausoullier (1881:398–402, nos.7–8).

Date: 226/5 BC: Gauthier (1989:143–50); 213/12 BC: Knoepfler (1993:41–2).

- ἔδοξε τᾷ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν σὺν ψάφοις ταῖς ἐννόμοις· ἐπειδὴ παραγενόμενος  
εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀμῶν Ματροφάνης Μενεκράτεος, θεοπρόπος καὶ πρεσβευτὰς  
παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σαρδιανῶν, τὰ τε {τά τε} ὑπάρχοντα Δελφοῖς φιλόανθρωπα  
ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ποτὶ Σαρδιανούς ἀνανεοῦται καὶ ἐμφανίζει, ἂν ἔχοντι  
5 εὖνοιαν πάντες ποτὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἀμετέραν·  
ἀγαθὰ τύχαι, δεδόχθαι· ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δῆμον τὸν Σαρδιανῶν ἐπὶ τᾷ εὐνοίαι  
ἂν ἔχει ποτὶ Δελφούς, καὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς τὴν δεδομένην ἐ[ξ] ἀρχᾶς παρὰ τᾶς  
πόλιος τᾶς Δελφῶν προμαντεῖαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν καὶ προεδρίαν καὶ τᾶλλα [ῥοσα]  
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις. εἴμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Δελ[φῶν]  
10 πρόξενον τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς Σαρδιανῶν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἄξιοι Ματροφάνης ἀποδεῖ[ξαι]  
τὸν προθύσοντα διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχειν πρόξενον Σαρδιανῶν, οὐ δυνατ(ῶν) ὄντων [αὐ]-  
τῶν πλείονος χρόνου παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον διὰ τὰς αἰτίας,  
ὅς ἀπελογίσαστο Ματροφάνης, προθύειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν.  
Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Ματροφάνει Μενεκράτεος Σαρδιανῶι αὐτῷ καὶ ἐ[κγῶ]-  
15 νοις προξενίαν, προμαντεῖαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν ἀτέ[λει]-  
αν, θεωροδοκίαν τῶν τε Πυθίων καὶ Σωτηρίων καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα κα[ὶ] τοῖς  
ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις. ἄρχοντας Ἀναξανδρ[ίδ]α, βουλ[ευ]-  
[όν]των [ῖ]ππωνος, Μνασιθέου, Νικία, Πολύωνος, Ἀτεισίδα.

### Translation

The city of Delphi has decided with legal votes: since Matrophanes son of Menekrates, arriving in our city as a *theopropos* and ambassador from the people of Sardes, has renewed the friendly relationship that has existed between the Delphians and Sardes since ancient times, and indicates that they all have goodwill to our city:

In good fortune, the people has decided to praise the people of Sardes for the goodwill it has towards the Delphians, and that they have the *promanteiā* given to them originally by the city, and immunity, *prohedriā* and the other privileges that belong to the rest of the *proxenoi* and benefactors. The city of the Del[phians] is to be *proxenos* of the city of the Sardians, and, seeing that Matrophanes asks that we app[oint] someone who will carry out the preliminary sacrifice, since the Sardians have no *proxenos*, they being unable to approach the oracle for a long period for the reasons [-] that Matrophanes set out, the city will carry out the preliminary sacrifice for him.

The Delphians gave Matrophanes, son of Menekrates of Sardes, himself and his of[fsp]ring *proxeniā*, *promanteiā*, *prohedriā*, *prodikiā*, inviolability and imm[uni]ty, *theārodokiā* in the Pythia and Soteria and all other awards that belong to *proxenoi* and benefactors. The archon was Anaxandridas, members of the council were Hippon, Mnasitheos, Nikias, Polyon, Ateisidas.

### Commentary

This decree has generated a remarkable number of misguided interpretations. Pouilloux (1974) rightly surmises that in general people who wanted to consult the Delphic oracle needed a local *proxenos* to perform the pre-consultation sacrifice. There was none for Sardes, because no consultation had been performed for a long time, so Delphi does Sardes the honour of appointing itself *proxenos*. Appointing the city *proxenos* actually seems to suit the logic of inter-polis religion, since Matrophanes is himself a representative of his city. Something of a parallel is the fact that a whole city is occasionally appointed a *theārodokos* for a sanctuary: see Perlman (2000:37n. 3).

Daux's view (1936:510n. 2) was that lines 11–12 mean that Matrophanes and his entourage were not able to remain at the sanctuary for very long, so that Delphi agreed to perform the sacrifice 'on their behalf' (προ-). However, saying that you performed a sacrifice instead of someone else who did not have the time to do it themselves seems an odd way to honour them, and it is not even clear why Matrophanes would need to sacrifice if he had already consulted the oracle.

For Gauthier (1972:49–50) this decree was simultaneously proof and dis-proof of his thesis that *proxenoi* were collective at Delphi (see §12.2, p.195). In his reconstruction, the decree distinguishes two levels of *proxenoi*: a collective one, with a general function of reception and hosting, which is here renewed, and an individual one required for the προθύσια, which Delphi anomalously undertakes here. This is too complicated. Even if collective proxyeny was normal at Delphi in the fifth century BC, it may have ceased to be so by the late third century BC.

In view of the awarded of *theārodokiā*, it has been suggested that Matrophanes may have been the *theārodokos* of Sardes in DTL 1.91Oulhen.<sup>20</sup>

### D15: Enklaar (1992:nos.12, 19, 27–8, 39). Hadra vases inscribed with names of *theōroi*. 234–213 BC

Inscriptions on vases of the Hadra type from the cemetery at Hadra village in eastern Alexandria (see Enklaar (1992: Appendix C with fig. 75)). It has been argued that this cemetery was for *arkhitheōroi*, *theōroi* and *presbeutai* (see Rönne and Fraser (1953:97), Braunert (1950/1:233) and Neroutsos-Bey

<sup>20</sup> Daux (1980b:120–3), Gauthier (1989:149–50).

(1888:110–1), who thought this was because Hadra-Eleusis was a ceremonial centre). See below.

Bibliography: the unpublished thesis of Enklaar (1992) is a reliable survey; see also Cook (1968–9).

The vases below all date from the reigns of Ptolemy III Euergetes (ruled 246–221 BC) and Ptolemy IV Philopator (ruled 221–205 BC).

*D15.1: SEG 24.1175. For N of Apollonia. Year 14 of Euergetes (234–233 BC), month 2 (Apellaaios) (i.e. Nov.–Dec. 234)*

Enklaar (1992:no. 12); Cook (1966:no. 1); Cook (1968–9:no. 13)3; Braunert (1950–1:no. 10); Bingen (1968:no. 3).

(ἔτους) ιδ' Ἀπελλαίου - α - αρ --  
 Θαρσύφα  
 θεωρὸς Κρ[ῆς]  
 Ἀπολλων[ι]ε[ύς]  
 διὰ Σα[ρ]απ[ι]ω[ν]ος.

## Translation

Year 14, Apellaaios x, N son of Tharsuphas, Cretan *theōros* from Apollonia, by Sarapion

*D15.2: Enklaar (1992:no. 19). For Hieronides of Phokaia. Year 21 of Euergetes (227–226), month 10 (Loios) (i.e. July–August 226)*

Cook (1966:no. 3); id. (1968–9:no. 19); Braunert (1950–1:no. 16)

ἔτ<ο>υς ἑνὸς καὶ εἰκοστοῦ μηνὸς Λώιου  
 διὰ Σαραπίωνος Ἱερωνίδης Λάμπωνος  
 Φωκαεὺς ἀρχιθέωρος

## Translation

Year 21, month Loios, by Sarapion, Hieronides son of Lampon, of Phokaia, *arkhitheōros*

Below the foot, in a monogram:

ἀρχι(θέωρος)

## Translation

*arkhi(theōros)*

*D15.3: SEG 24.1179. For Anaxilaos of Dyme. Year 6 of Philopator (217–216 BC), month 9 (Panemos) (i.e. June–July 216)*

Enklaar (1992:no. 27); Cook (1966:no. 7); id. (1968–9:no. 26); Braunert (1950–1:no. 23)

(ἔτους) ς' Πανήμου κε',  
 διὰ Θεοδότου ἀγοραστοῦ  
 Ἀ[ν]αξιλάου τοῦ  
 Ἀρι[στ]έου  
 5 Ἀ[χ]αιῶ ἄρχιθεώρου  
 Δυμαίου

## Translation

(Year) 6 Panemos 25, through Theodotos the *agorastēs*, Anaxilaos son of Aristes, Achaean *arkhitheōros* from Dume

*D15.4: SEG 24.1180. For Damo[ ] of Boeotia. Year 9 of Philopator (214–213 BC), month 6 (Mekheir) (i.e. March–April 213)*

Enklaar (1992:no. 28); Cook (1966:no. 8); id. (1968–9: no. 28); Braunert (1950–1:no. 24)

(ἔτους) θ', Μεχεῖρ  
 Δαμο[---] Νεάρχου  
 [θεωρ]ὸς Βοι[ώτιο]ς  
 [διὰ Θε]οδότου ἀγοραστοῦ

## Translation

(Year) 9, Mekheir, Damo[ ] son of Nearchos, Boi[otian] [*theōr*]os [by The]odotos the *agorastēs*

*D15.5: Cook (1966: no. 10) For Sotion of Delphi. Year 9 of Philopator (214–213 BC)*

Enklaar (1992:no. 30); Cook (1968–9:no. 30); Nachtergaele.A28 (with discussion of chronology, 228–33); Braunert (1950–1:no. 26)

(ἔτους) θ' Σωτίων  
 Κλέωνος  
 Δελφός  
 θεωρός τὰ  
 Σωτήρια  
 ἐπαγγέλλων  
 διὰ Θεοδότου  
 ἀγοραστοῦ

### Translation

(Year) 9, Sotion son of Kleon of Delphi, *theōros*, announcing the Soteria, by Theodotos the *agorastēs*

### Commentary

The *agorastēs* mentioned in these texts may have been a royal official charged with looking after foreign dignitaries (Enklaar (1992:1.29–30), Sarapion holding the job under Euergetes and Theodotos under Philopator.

If the cemetery at Hadra village was for *arkhitheōroi*, *theōroi*, and *presbeutai* (see above; Enklaar (1992:1.78n.10) is sceptical about this, pointing out that one vase found there contained remains of a mercenary soldier), other vases from there could be for *theōroi* as well, including those for:

- Alexikrates, son of Kratides, of Rhodes, Year 4 of Euergetes (244/3 BC), month 6 (Xandikos) (i.e. Mar.–Apr. 243): Enklaar (1992:no. 6); Braunert (1950–1:no.3); Cook (1968–9:no.7).
- Hegesias of Keos son of Aglophanes, Year 20 of Euergetes (228/7 BC), month 2 (Apellaios) (i.e. Nov.–Dec. 228): Enklaar (1992:no.18); Braunert (1950–1:no.15); Cook (1966:no.2); id. (1968–9:no.18).
- Androkles of Phalasarna, Year 2 of Philopator (221/20), month 9 (Panemos) (i.e. June–July 220): Enklaar (1992:no.22); Braunert (1950–1:no.20); Cook (1966:no.4); id. (1968–9:no.21); SEG 24.1177; see Huss (1976:158) on Androkles and the Luttos-war (see p.85n.77, p.257n.34.).
- Theondas of Samothrace, Year 3 of Philopator (220/19 BC), month 1 (Dios) (i.e. Oct.–Nov. 220): Enklaar (1992:no.23); Braunert (1950–1:no.21); Cook (1966:no.5); id. (1968–9:no.22).

Assuming the Ptolemaia took place in the winter of 247/6, 243/2, 239/8, 235/4, 231/0, 227/6, 223/2, 219/8, none of these is a very good match for the festival.

### D16: DTL 3.104–24. Excerpt on Crete. 220–210 BC

A limestone stele reassembled from fragments, over 2 metres high; four columns on the front, the fifth column on the right side.

I follow Oulhen's text, also cited by Perlman (1995a:129). There are a number of differences from the edition of Plassart (1921:19–20). Inglese (1991) discusses the Cretan section. See §5.2.1, p.74.

- τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτας
- 105 ἐν Κυθήροις Ἀρμόδικος Εὐτύχημος  
ἐν Φαλασάρναι Πολύαινος Γεραισίου  
ἐν Π[ο]λύρηνι Πασίνους Τιμομένης Ἀνδρύτου  
ἐν Πελκινι Ἀρχαμένης Χαρινίκου  
ἐν Λισῶι Ἐξακέστας Εὐθάλεος
- 110 ἐν Ἰλύρωι Κόσιλλος Παρρασίδα  
ἐν Τάρραις Σῶσος Τίμομένεος  
ἐν Ηραδίηνι [Σ]κορπίω[ν] Μ[---]λα  
ἐν Ἀνωπόλι Θαρσύτα[ς---]ίδα  
Ἀγήσαρχ[χ]ος
- 115 ἐν Κ[ε]ραίαις Ὀρύας Ῥιάνου Λεῦκος  
ἐν Κυδωνίαι [---]ας Στασιμέ νευς  
ἐν Ἀπτέραι Φ[---]ος Ξενοτίμου  
Σῶσος Παισθεμίδα  
ἐν Λάππα[ι] Ἀρχων Ἀχαι(ά)δα
- 120 ἐν Ριθ[ύμ]ναι Ἐπίθετος Ἀκουσ[ι]λα  
ἐν Φαλά[ν]ναις Αὔλος  
ἐν Σιβρύτῳ Ε[---]ας? Ἰππ[---]  
ἐν Ἐλευθέρ[ναι---]  
ἐν Οάξω[ι---]

### Translation

*The (theōroi) in the direction of the Cretans*

- 105 In Kythera: Harmodikos, Eutukhemos  
In Phalasarna: Poluainos son of Geraisios  
In Polurrenia: Pasinous, Timomenes son of Andrutos



- In Pelkis: Arkhamenes son of Kharinikos  
 In Lisos: Exakestas son of Euthales  
 110 In Iluros: Kosillos son of Parrhasidas  
 In Tarrha: Sosos son of Timonenes  
 In Araden Skorpion son of M[ - - ]las  
 In Anopolis: Tharsuta[s]  
 Agesarkhos  
 115 In Keraiai: Oruas son of Rhianos, Leukos  
 In Kudonia: [ - - ]as son of Stasimenes  
 In Aptera: Ph[ - - ]s son of Xenotimos,  
 Sosos son of Paisthemidas  
 In Lappa: Arkhon son of Akhaiadas  
 120 In Rithumna: Epithetos son of Akousilaos  
 In Phalanna: Aulos  
 In Sibrutos: E[ - - ]as, Hipp[  
 In Eleuther[na:  
 In Oaxos:[

### Commentary

This is part of the fourth itinerary in the DTL, covering East Crete, moving from north coast to south and then north again. Of ll.125–8 only traces survive. Lines 129–43 have been written over with a list of *theārodokoi* from Thessaly. The Cretan itinerary is preserved again at the top of column 4 (1–14), where it covers cities in West Crete. Not all the cities are necessarily independent; so Perlman (1995a:135) and Chaniotis (2000:56), who points to Pelkis (3.108) and Phalanna (3.121) as possible dependent cities in this section.

At l.115, the reading  $\chi\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma$  goes back to Faure (1962:53). Guarducci (1936:153–8) had suggested that the town was Polichna. Rhianos could be the Hellenistic poet (Rigsby (1996:350–5)), the name of whose home city resembled Keraia according to Stephanos of Byzantium (‘ $\chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ’) and the Suda (‘ $\chi\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ’).<sup>21</sup>

Arkhon son of Akhaiadas was also *theārodokos* for Epidauros (PerlmanPC59, Oulhen:114).

<sup>21</sup> Faure (1962:53) also approves a suggestion of Bousquet that the name Orouas has been mistakenly copied from that line below, so that the true *theōrodokos* at Keraiai was Leukos, son of Rhianos.

## E: Late Hellenistic (200–50 BC)

### E1: *ICret* 2.13.1A. Elyros and Delphi. Second century BC

See Thenon (1866:398)

The first of three texts inscribed on a stone block. The one immediately below (*ICret* 2.13.1B) may be a proxeny decree. The stone is extremely worn on the left.

ἔδοξε τᾷ πόλει τῶν Ἑλυρίων  
 θεοί. προσξένωι καὶ θεαροδόκωι χρῆσθαι  
 [ἐ]ν Δελφοῖς Κλεοφάνει Ταραντ[ύ]νῳ  
 [κα]ὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις.

#### Translation

Gods! It is decreed by the polis of the Elyrians to use as *proxenos* and *theārodokos* in Delphi Kleophanes son of Tarantinos.

#### Commentary

Like other cities, had a local *theārodokos* to receive festival announcers from Delphi (see #D16, 110), but unusually it also had a *theārodokos* (Perlman's 'Type Two': see §5.2.4, p.82n) at Delphi to receive its delegations, apparently identical to the *proxenos* in this case.

Paus.10.16.5 says that Elyros dedicated a bronze goat at Delphi. See Jacquemin (1999:69 and no. 281); Lacroix (1992:170).

### E2: Bousquet (1942–3:126–8). Marathonian Tetrapolis sends a delegation to Delphi. About 150 BC

Wall block from the south-east anta of Athenian Treasury (see Bousquet (1942–3:127)), assembled from several fragments, the most recent added by Bousquet (1942–3).

Formerly *FD* 2.21; see §18.4.

[ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς----- ἐν Ἀθήναις-----ἔδοξε τᾷ πόλει ἐν  
 ἀγορᾷ τελείωι σὺμ ψάφοις ταῖς ἐννόμοις]

- [ἐ]πειδὴ [Τετραπολεῖς, ἀποστείλαντες θεωροὺς Ἡρόδοτον Ζήνωνος  
Προβαλίσιον, -----]  
[Μ]αραθώνιον, Ζή[νωνα Διονυσίου Μαραθωνιον-----  
-----]  
κλέους Μαρα[θώνιον, ὑπέμνασαν καὶ ἀνενέωσαντο τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς  
ἀπὸ προγόνων οἰκειότατα ποτὶ τε τὸν θεὸν]
- 5 [κ]αὶ τὴν πόλιν [τῶν Δελφ]ων, καὶ ἀ[π]ελ[ογ]ίξαντο ὅ[τι διατηρέοντι τὰς  
ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς θυσίας τε καὶ τιμὰς δεδομέ-]  
νας τ[ῷ] θεῷ· δεδόχθαι τᾷ πόλει ὑπά[ρ]χειν τὰ[ν] προμαντεῖαν  
Τετραπολεῦσιν] ἐν [τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν]  
[θ]ύειν πρώτοις μετὰ Δελφοῦ[ς] κατὰ τὰ [π]άτρια, [εἶμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ  
προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγώνοις πάντοις τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ]  
[ἐ]παινεῖσαι καὶ στεφανῶσαι [Τ]ετραπολεῖς [παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δάφνας στεφάν]  
ωι, ὧι π[ά]τριόν ἐστι Δελφοῖς, ἐφ' αἷ ἔχοντες εὖσε]-  
βείαι διατελέοντι ποτὶ τε τ[ῷ] θεὸν καὶ τὴν [πόλιν, ἅξια πράσσοντες αὐ-]  
τοσ[αυτῶν καὶ τῶν προγόνων, ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ τοὺς]
- 10 [τᾶ]ς Πυθα[ῖδο]ς θεωροὺς Ἡρόδο[τ]ον Προβαλίσι[ον, καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ στεφάνωι, ἐπὶ  
[τᾷ φιλοτιμί]αι κα[ὶ] ἀνα[στρ]οφ[ᾶ]ι αἱ πεποιήν[ται ἀξίως τε τῶν  
ἐξαποστειλάντων αὐτοὺς καὶ τᾷς ἀμετέρας πόλιος].

### Translation

[When X was archon in Delphi and Y in Athens, the city decided in full assembly and with legal votes:] since [the citizens of the Tetrapolis have sent as *theōroi* Herodotus son of Zenon of Probalinthos, A son of B] of Marathon, Zenon [son of Dionysios of Marathon - - - and X son of [ - - ]kles of Marathon [and have called to mind and renewed the ancestral affinity they have with the god] and the city of [Delph]i and proclaimed that they are continuing the sacrifices and honours given to the god that has been theirs since the beginning: the city decided that *promanteiā* should be given to the Tetrapolis [for all time and that on the altars] they should sacrifice first after the Delphians in accordance with ancestral custom, [and they should have] *prohedriā* in all the competitions of the god, and it decided to praise and garland the Tetrapolis with a [garland of laurel from the god], as is the custom of the Delphians, for the piety that they continue to have to the god and [the city, acting in a way worthy of themselves and of their ancestors, and to praise the] *theōroi* of the *Pūtha[is]* Herodotus of [Probalinthos and those with him and garland them with a garland of the god for] the love of honour and

be[haviou]r that they showed [in a manner worthy of those who sent them out and our city.

### Commentary

Debate has centred on ll.10–11. The reconstruction above, with the *theōroi* belonging to the Marathonian *Pūthais*, goes back to Daux (1936: 535) who read Πυθα[ῖδο]ς, where Colin had thought of ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ [τοῦ]ς Πυθ[ικοῦ]ς θεωροῦς (FD 3.2, p.28) and then Πυθα[ίου]ς (pp.288–9), but *theōroi* are not qualified by an adjective referring to the sanctuary anywhere else.

The awards given to the Tetrapolis includes the rarely attested one of priority in sacrifice, for which see §12.4.

Herodotus' son was *arkhitheōros* of the Tetrapolitan delegation in *Pūth* 4, and his grandson was a *Pūthaistēs* in *Pūth* 4 as well (Tracy (1982: 204)).

### E3: SEG 39:1243. Kolophonian decree for Polemaios of Kolophon, excerpt (I.28–46). 130–110 BC

The decree for Polemaios is inscribed in five columns on the west and south faces of the base of a monument north of the Propylaea.

Claros:12.

μετὰ ταῦτα προ-  
 χιρισθεὶς θεωρὸς εἰς τὴν Ζμυρ-  
 30 ναίων πόλιν τὰς νομιζο-  
 μένας τοῖς θεοῖς παρέστη-  
 σεν θυσίας μετὰ τοῦ συναποδει-  
 χθέντος ἀνδ[ρ]ὸς ἀξίως τῶν δῆ-  
 μων ἐκατέρων καὶ τὸ ταγὲν αὐ-  
 35 τῷ διάφορον εἰς τὴν [θυ]σίαν ἀνέ-  
 πεμψεν τῷ δῆμῳ· ἐπέμει<νε> δὲ  
 κακεῖ συνὼν τοῖς ἀρίστοις παι-  
 δευταῖς· λαβὼν δὲ τῆς πάσης  
 παρεπιδημίας τὴν ἐπιβάλλου-  
 40 σαν μαρτυρίαν καὶ ἐπαινεθεὶς  
 διὰ ψηφίσματος οὐ μόνον παρὰ  
 τοῖς ἀποδεξαμένοις αὐτὸν Ζμυρ-  
 ναίοις καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀρε-  
 τὴν καὶ εὐταξίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πα-

45 ρ' ἡμῖν διαπρεσβευθέντων τοῦ-  
των μετὰ πομπῆς, φιλοτιμίας...

### Translation

After this, having been appointed *theōros* to Smyrna, he provided the customary sacrifices for the gods with his co-appointee, in a manner worthy of each community, and sent the money assigned to him for the sacrifice back to the people. And he stayed there associating with the best teachers. Receiving from the whole stay the appropriate testimony and being praised through a decree not only among the men of Smyrna who appreciated his virtue and good order, but also among us, when they sent an embassy with an escort [---]

### Commentary

The first of the five columns of the honorary decree for Polemaios recounts his early career: the ephebeia, gymnasium and athletic successes (1–16), then a period of education in Rhodes (16–28), and then his *theōriā* to Smyrna, possibly to the Nemeseia festival (Claros:26). The rest of the text dealt with his subsequent diplomatic career.

In the usual fashion, Polemaios returned the sum given to him by the city, which, as Robert and Robert note, must have been for the sacrifice; the travelling expenses were negligible since Smyrna was so close.

## E4: PEP (Priene) 51. Decree for Herodas of Priene, excerpt. Around 100 BC

The long honorary decree for Herodas son of Herodas was inscribed on the north wall of the Sacred Stoa in Priene, built around 150 BC. It takes up five columns in the middle register. Decrees preceding it on the same wall include those for Krates (see *I.Priene* 111) and Moskhion (*I.Priene* 108)

Formerly *I.Priene* 109, 42–62.

[-συντελεῖς]-

θαι πομπὰς καὶ θυσίας ἐν αὐτῷ [-]α[-] ἐποίησατο· βου-  
θυτήσας δὲ καὶ καλλιερέσας [κατὰ τ]οὺς τόπους τῶν ἱερῶν  
45 ἐπόησεν καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶ[νας] ἀξίως πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων]  
τῶν ἐν συγγε[γ]ῆ[ι] καὶ φιλῖαι προ[υπ]ο[τε]θραμμένων, καθό-  
τι περιέχουσιν [καὶ αἱ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων] ἀποκρίσεις· εἰς δὲ

τὴν μητρόπολιν ἡμῶν τὴν [Ἀθηναίων πόλιν] κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν  
 χρεῖαν ἀποδημήσας καὶ [ἐκεῖ? κ]ατ[ηργάσα]το μείζο[ν]α τῷ δῆ-  
 50 μῳ συμφέροντα, τὴν προγο[νικ]ή[ν] ἄγαν[ε]ω[σ]άμ[ε]νο[ς]  
 (col.10) πρὸς Ἀθη[ναίους οἰκ]ειότητα καὶ τῶν ὑ[παρχόντων] ἡμῖν  
 πρὸς αὐτο[ὺς φιλ]ανθρώπων ἀνάμνησιν [ποιησάμενος· ἀποδειχ]-  
 θεῖς τε εἰς Παν[ιών]ιον θεωρὸς ἐπὶ στεφ[αν]οφ[ο]ρου-----  
 ἀπαγωγῇ τὰ [κοι]νὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Χίων πόλε[ως]-----  
 55 νην καὶ ἐν τ[ούτ]οις εἴληφεν διὰ τῶν [-----]  
 ἐπὶ τὰς θυσ[ίας τ]ὴν ἑαυτοῦ γενηθε[ῖσαν]-----ἐπιμέ]-  
 λειάν τε κ[αὶ χορ]ηγίαν· τῆς τε τῶ[ν ἐν Πίσ]ῃ Ὀλυμπίων ἐπιτε]-  
 λουμένη[ς παν]ηγύρεως οὐ μόνον[ν πάντων τῶν ἀνηκόντων]  
 εἰς τοὺς θε[οὺς] προενόησεν ἐπ[ιμελῶς, ἀλλ’ ἀποδειχθεῖς]  
 60 πρεσβευτὴ[ς πρὸς] Ἡλήους ὑπ[ὲρ τῶν]-----φιλο]-  
 δοξίαν δια[-----]των πρ[εσβευτ]-----  
 χοντα αὐτὰ [-----]τὴν

### Translation

-- he made [---] processions and sacrifices be carried out in it. Offering a bull and performing successful sacrifices on the area of the temples, he also arranged contests in a manner worthy of all in Greeks raised in common family and friendship, as the answers from the cities maintain. Going abroad to our *metropolis* of Athens for the same purpose he also performed there great services for the people, renewing our ancestral relationship with the Athenians and recalling the good will we have for them. Appointed *theōros* to the Panionion in the stephanephorate of [X] delivering (?) common sacrifices of the city of Khios [---] and [---]to the sacrifices his own [---] care and service. When the Olympian festival was being held in Pisa, not only did he carefully look after all the things that have to do with the gods, but, appointed ambassador to the Eleans on behalf [-----]

### Commentary

Herodas' services were: performing sacrifices at miscellaneous festivals, presumably regional ones (ll.41–7); visiting Athens, possibly as a *theōros* at the Panathenaia, perhaps engaging in diplomacy as well (ll.47–52); serving as *theōros* at the Panionion (ll.52–7(?); see §4.3.2),<sup>22</sup> a double service at Olympia, acting as *theōros* (the word is not used, but ll.58–9 sound like a periphrasis for it) and as *presbeutēs* to the Eleans (ll.57–61(?)). Later on in l.91 he was also delegate to the festival of Perpenna in 130 BC (§15.1, pp.323–4).

<sup>22</sup> The syntax of ἀπαγωγῇ is mysterious, as is the role of the Chiote offerings in this context.

Comparable is the Prienian decree for Moskhion, *I.Priene* 108 (PEP (Priene) 66; after 129 BC), who was appointed *theōros* to a number of places (see §10.3.3, p.165).

#### E5: Tracy (1975a:7b): Officials from *Pūth*. 4. 98/7 BC

Earlier *FD* 2.10+2, *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.728 A, 728 C et D1. Three wall blocks in a row at the top left of the south side of the Athenian Treasury. They are part of a longer sequence of blocks recording *Pūth* 4: *FD* 2.6 (magistrates and priests), 2.10+2, 2.31+17 (*kanēphoroi* and *Pūthaistai*), 2.26 (*ephēboi* + *hippeis*). The position of these blocks on the wall can be seen in [Figure 3](#).

Earlier publications treat this as two distinct inscriptions, one of them in two parts. Cf. also Colin (1905:43, nos. 23a and 23b). Discussed by Boethius (1918:117–18). See pp.430–1.

#### Commentary

Some care has been taken in the arrangement, with the *theōroi* arranged on either side of the officials, in an almost processional formation.

Why only three tribes are represented is unclear; Tracy (1975a:53) says the cutter ‘expected more entries ...’. The Erusikhthonidai, usually associated with Delos, are included for the first time, while the Eupatridai, who appeared in earlier enactments, are missing. The arrangement of the right-hand column seems designed to call attention to the subdelegation from the Marathonian Tetrapolis, separated by two lines from what precedes (cf. Tracy (1969:373–4), id. (1975a:52)).

There is some overlap between personnel here and the Dionysiac Artists, including the *theōros* of the Attalis tribe and the *arkhitheōros* and one *theōros* of the Erusikhthonidai.<sup>23</sup> Another of the *theōroi* of the Erusikhthonidai, Kharmulos, also seems to appear in another record from this *Pūthais* (*FD* 2.6, 15) as a seer.

There are some repetitions from previous enactments, e.g. Timanax, one of the Purrhakidai, also represented that *genos* in *Pūth* 2 (*FD* 2.8) (Boethius (1918:117–18)). Herodotus, son of Zenon, *Pūthaistēs* from the Tetrapolis, is the son of one of the men who led the Tetrapolitan *Pūthais* around 150 BC (#E2 above).

<sup>23</sup> Aneziri (2003:254); the ‘singers of the paean’ include Epimeneides son of Poimandrides, *theōros* of Attalis; his father was a kitharist in *Pūth* 2 (Aneziri (2003:449,no.51)), Herakleidas son of Kallisthenes, *theōros* of Erusikhthonidai (also in *Pūth* 2?) (Aneziri (2003:445no.19), and Dionusios son of Dionusodoros, *arkhitheōros* of the Erusikhthonidai (Aneziri (2003:447n.37)).

	(FD 2.10 )		(FD 2.2)		(FD 2.10)
	<i>vacat</i>		ἐπὶ Ἀργείου ἄρχον[τος Ἀθή]νη[σιν],		θεωροὶ Κεκ[ροπίδο]ς·
	[θε]ωροὶ Αἰγεῖδος		ἐννέα ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀγαγόντες τὴν Πυθ[αῖ]δα		Θεόφιλος Διοδώρου,
	Εὐβιος Ἡλιοδώρου	15	ἄρχων Ἀργεῖος Ἀργείου·	35	Φιλάνθης Διοδώρου,
5			βασιλεὺς Ἀρχωνίδης Ναυσιστράτο		Διοπεΐθης Διοδώρου.
	<i>vacat</i> (7 lines)		πολέμαρχος Ἀριστίων Εὐδόξου		<i>vacat</i>
			θεσμοθέται		<i>vacat</i>
			Ἀπολλώνιος Νικάνδρου,		ἀρχεθέωρος ἐκ Τετραπολέ[ων]·
		20	Σκαμάνδριος Ὀλυμπίχου,		Ζήνων Ἡροδότου.
			Φιλέας Ἐφόρου,	40	θεωροί·
			Φιλίων Φιλίωνος		Διόφαντος Εὐθυμένου,
10	[Α]τταλίδος		Βούλων Λεωστράτου,		Δημή[[τ]]ριος Διονυσίου,
	[Ἐπιμε]νείδης Ποιμανδρίδου		Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου·		Εὐνομος Εὐθυδίκου.
		25	κῆρυξ βουλῆς [[.....]]τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου		πυθαῖστης ἐκ Τετραπολέων·
			Πύρρος Πύρρου	45	Ἡρόδοτος Ζήνωνος
	<i>vacat</i> to bottom		<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>
			κῆρυξ ἄρχοντος Σίμων Σίμωνος		ἐκ Πυρ[[ρ]]ακιδῶν·
			σαλπικτης· Ἀριστόμαχος Δάμαντος		Τιμάνας Εὐκλέους,
		30	<i>vacat</i>		Εὐκλής Τιμάνακτος
			ἀρχιθέωρος ἐκ τούτων Ἀργεῖος Ἀργείου.	50	Σ[[ωσ]]ικράτης Θεοτίμου.
					ἀρχεθέωρος ἐξ Ἐρυσιχθ<ο>νιδῶν·
					Διονύσιος Διονυσοδώρου.
					θεωροὶ
					Χαρμύλος Χαρμύλ[ου],



55 Καλλιξίνο[ς] Ἀσκληπιάδου,  
 Ἡρακλείδης Καλλισθένου  
 πυθαῖσται ἐκ Κηρύκων  
 Σοφοκλῆς Λεοντίου,  
 Ἀμονοκλῆς Λεοντίου,  
 60 Φιλωτάδης Ἀρισταίχμου.  
*vacat*  
 ἐξ Εὐνειδῶν·  
 Διοσκουρίδης Διοσκουρίδου,  
 Νικίας Νικίου,  
 65 Διοσχουρίδης Θέρσωνος  
*vacat to bottom*

## Translation

**theōroi of the Aigeis tribe**  
 Eubios son of Heliodoros

in the archonship of Argeios at Athens  
**nine archons who brought the *Pūthais***  
 archon: Argeios son of Argeios  
 king: Arkhonides son of Nausistratos  
 polemarchos: Aristion son of Eudoxos  
**thesmothetai**  
 Apollonios son of Nikandros  
 Skamandrios son of Olumpikhos  
 Phileas son of Ephoros  
 Philion son of Philion  
 Boulon son of Leostratos  
 Lakrateides son of Sostratos  
**herald of the council of the Areopagos**  
 Purrhos son of Purrhos

**theōroi of the Kekropis tribe**  
 Theophilos son of Diodoros  
 Philanthes son of Diodoros  
 Diopheithes son of Diodoros

**arkhitheōros from Tetrapoleis**  
 Zenon son of Herodotus  
**theōroi**  
 Diophantos son of Euthumenes  
 Demetrios son of Dionusios  
 Eunomos son of Euthudikos  
*Pūthaištēs* from Tetrapoleis  
 Herodotos son of Zenon

**herald of the archon:** Simon son of Simon

**trumpeter:** Aristomakhos son of Damas

*arkhitheōros* **from these:** Argeios  
son of Argeios

**from the Purrhakidai**

Timanax son of Eukles

Eukles son of Timanax

Sosikrates son of Theotimos

*arkhitheōros* **of the Erusikhthonidai**

Dionusios son of Dionusodoros

*theōroi*

Kharmulos son of Kharmulos

Kallixenos son of Asklepiades

Heraclides son of Kallisthenes

*Pūthaïstai* **from Kerukes**

Sophokles son of Leontios

Amonokles son of Leontios

Philotades son of Aristaikhmos

**from the Euneidai**

Dioskourides son of Dioskourides

Nikias son of Nikias

Dioskourides son of Therson

E6: Dimitrova:no.15. *Theoroi* and *mustai* at Samothrace. First century BC? Marble wall block. Dimitrova:no.19 argues that, along with others recording visits by *theōroi–mustai*, it was displayed on the building that was earlier used to record of awards of *proxenia* to *theōroi* (see §2.3, p.32).

IG12.8.174.

- ἐπὶ βασιλείῳς Ἰφικράτους τοῦ [- -]  
 θεωροὶ Δαρδανέων  
 μύσται εὐσεβεῖς·  
 Πausανίας Διφίλου  
 5 Διονύσιος Σκοπίου  
 Ἀντίοχος Σκοπίου  
 ἀκόλουθος Πausανίου· Ὅμιλος  
 mystae · piei  
 L(ucius) Veneilius · L(uci) f(ilius) Pollion · Dionysius L(uci) se[r](vus)  
 10 Q(uintus) Acorenus · Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Alexsander

### Translation

[Greek] During the kingship of Iphikrates the son of [- -]

*Theōroi* of the Dardaneis, pious initiates

Pausanias son of Diphilos, Dionusios son of Skopios, Antiokhos son of Skopios, servant of Pausanias, Homilos

[Latin] Pious initiates

Lucius Veneilius Pollion son of Lucius, Dionysius slave of Lucius, Quintus Acorenus Alexsander freedman of Quintus.

### Commentary

Uniquely at Samothrace in the first century BC visitors were simultaneously honoured as *theōroi* and *mustai*, which presumably indicates that they combined attending the festival with initiation. The first three delegates here are from the city of Dardanos in the Troad, which is one of the better attested cities at Samothrace and may have been linked to the island by mythological traditions (see §17.4.2, p.296).

Like Dimitrova:no.14 (IG12.8.173) this inscription combines a list of Greek names in Greek script with Roman names in Latin script. The Romans are called *mystae pii*, which is an exact translation of μύσται εὐσεβεῖς, but there is nothing corresponding to the Greek θεωροί. There is no sign where the Romans were from, but if, as Dimitrova:46 says, ‘the Greek and Roman letters seem to have been executed by the same hand’, it could be Dardanos.

## F: Early Roman Empire

### F1: FD 2.59. Athenian *dōdekēis* to Delphi. 30/29 BC?

Wall block displayed on the South Wall of the Athenian Treasury, on the right side, halfway up.

FD 2.60 (from the same wall, lower down) is an abbreviated doublet; following Pomtow in *SIG*<sup>3</sup>773 I indicate the words omitted in FD 2.60 by underlining.

[ἀγ]αθῆι τύχηι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου το[ῦ Ἀθηνα]ίων. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος  
ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀντιγένου, Ἀθήνησι δὲ Ἀρχιτίμου, οἷδε ἡγαγον τὴν δωδε-  
κῆϊδα· ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Εὐκλῆς Ἡρώδου Μαραθώνιος, ἐξηγητὴς ὁ πυθό-  
χρηστος ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν Πολύκριτος Πολυχάρμου Ἀζηνιεύς, ἐξηγητὴς ἐξ Εὐπα-  
5 τριδῶν ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καθεσταμένος Διότιμος Διοδώρου Ἀλαιεύς, κῆρυξ τοῦ  
Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἱερεὺς Ἑρμοῦ Πατρῶου κηρύκων Γόργιππος Εὐδήμου Μελιτεύς,  
ἱερομνήμων Θρασυκλῆς Ἀρχικλέους Λακιάδης, μάντις Ἀρχικλῆς Θρασυκλέους Λακι-  
άδης, Λυσίας Παραμόνου Λακιάδης. *vacat*

### Translation

For the good fortune of the council and people of the Athenians. When Antigenes was archon in Delphi, and Architimos in Athens, these men brought the *dōdekēis*:

the priest of Apollo: Eukles son of Herodes of Marathon; the *exēgētēs* appointed by Delphi from the Eupatridai: Polukritos son of Polukharmos of Azenia; the *exēgētēs* from the Eupatridai appointed by the people: Diotimos son of Diodoros of Halai; the herald of Apollo and priest of Hermes patron of Heralds: Gorgippos son of Eudemos of Melite; the *hieromnēmōn*: Thrasukles son of Arkhikles of Lakiadai; seers: Arkhikles son of Thrasukles of Lakiadai, Lusias son of Paramonos of Lakiadai.

### Commentary

Records of numerous Athenian *theōriai* to Delphi survive in this period (see §18.2, p.312). There are three series:

- A. FD 2.57–8. FD 2.57, coinciding with the Pythia, is 42/38 BC, FD 2.58 earlier.
- B. FD 2.59–64. Athenian *dōdekēis* to Delphi, late first century BC.
- C. FD 2.65–6 Athenian ‘ox-fronted’ *dōdekēis* to Delphi, AD 87/8 and later.

FD 2.59, the earliest of sequence B. The archonship of Architimos is dated by Follet (1998:250–1) to 30/29 BC; she says ‘la dodécaide a dû être établie aussitôt après Actium’.

In the same year Thrasukles son of Arkhikles of Lakiadai was honoured by the Amphiktiony (FD 2.67 = SIG<sup>3</sup>772) for serving as *hieromnāmon*, sacrificing at Delphi on behalf of Athens, and judging the Pythia, and also because when he won the Dionysia in Athens with a ‘new tragedy’, he bestowed a crown the people of Delphi. This award took place in the Delphic month of Herakleios, which suggested to Pomtow (1909:ad loc.) that this was when the *dōdekēis* took place.

## F2: SEG 39.752. Commendation of Eupolemos of Rhodes. Reign of Augustus

From the temple of Halios, a statue base. Text originally continued in another stone on the right.

Bibliography. Kontorini (1989:no.65).

[Ε]ὐπόλεμον Βασιλείδευς  
 πρεσβεύσαντα ποτὶ Αὐτοκράτ[ορα] Καίσαρα  
 θεὸν θεοῦ [υ]ἱ[ὸ]ν Σεβαστὸν τετράκ[ις καὶ ἄπο]-  
 σταλέντα θεωρὸν εἰς τὸ Ἄκτιον καὶ εἰς [Ἀλ]ε.-  
 ξάνδρειαν καὶ π[ρ]εσβε[ύ]σαντα ποτ[ὶ]---

### Translation

Eupolemos son of Basileides, who was four times an ambassador to the Emperor Caesar Augustus, a god and the son of a god, and was sent as a *theōros* to Aktion and Alexandria and on an embassy to ... [

### Commentary

Aktion near Nikopolis in Acarnania was the site of the Aktia festival (see §3.5, p.49); Erskine (1991) argues that the context for the second visit was Augustus’ victory festival at Nikopolis in Egypt, a new foundation just to the east of Alexandria.

## G: Second–third century AD

### G1: ID 2535, 1–7. Athenian *dōdekēis* at Delos, excerpt. AD 112/13

Marble stele recording nine yearly offerings of the *dōdekēis* at Delos between AD 112/13 and AD 119/20, all led by M. Annius Puthodorus, priest of Delian Apollo and *nomothetēs*. I give the first one only.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ  
 τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ δήμου  
 τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὁ ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου τοῦ Δη-  
 λίου Ἀπόλλωνος Μ. Ἄννιος Πυθόδωρο[ς]  
 5 ἤγαγεν τὴν δωδεκεῖδα ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ὀκτ[α]-  
 ῖου Θέωνος ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ ἔθυσε τ[ὰς]  
 πατρίους θυσίας πάσας *vacat*

### Translation

For the good fortune of Caesar Augustus and the people of Athens, the lifetime priest of Delian Apollo, M. Annius Puthodoros, took the *dōdekēis* in the year of the archon Octavius Theon and sacrificed all the traditional sacrifices.

### Commentary

M. Annius Pythodorus is grandson of M. Annius Ammonius, the teacher of Plutarch. See Byrne (2003:55–7, no. 10. and Stemma 3 for the family).

For the *dōdekēis*, see §12.4, p.204.

## G2: Dedications by Malthake of Tenos. Hadrianic

Inscribed bases from the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite (cf. Étienne (1990:157)).

See Stavrianopoulou (2006b:146–7); Étienne (1990:156–61); §10.3.1.

### G2.1: IG12.5.949

[Μαλθάκη Φιλε]ίνου Σάτυ-  
 [ρον Φιλείνου] τὸν πρὸς πα-  
 [τρὸς ἀδελφός]γ, πληρώσαν-  
 [τα δὲ πᾶσαν] ἀρχὴν καὶ λει-  
 5 [τουργίαν {λει}τοῦ]καὶ τετ[ρά]-  
 [κις ἀρχιθεωρήσαντα-].

### Translation

Malthake daughter of Philei]nos (in honour of) Satu[ros son of Phileino]s her [brothe]r on her fa[ther's side], who fulfill[ed every]office and li[turgy] and was *arkhitheōros* four times.

## G2.2: IG12Suppl. 323

Μαλθάκη Φ[ιλεί]-  
 νου ἀρχιθ[ε]ωρή-  
 σασα τὸ ἔσο-  
 πτρον Ἀμφι<τ>ρεί-  
 5 τη ἀνέθηκε.

## Translation

Malthake son of Ph[ilei]nos having served as *arkhitheōros* dedicated the mirror to Amphitrite.

## Commentary

Satyros was son of Phileinos and Malthake was his adopted daughter. Satyros performed the liturgy of *arkhitheōria* four times and Malthake once (for the meaning of this, see §10.3.1, pp.131–2). IG12.5.949 must go with the gift of a statue of Satyros, also commemorated in the civic decree IG12.5.946 (= Étienne (1990:157–8, no. 13) which also mentions his *arkhitheōriai* (l.3). Malthake and Satyros are commended together in the fragmentary IG12.5.947 (= Étienne (1990:158, no. 14)) and in IG12.Suppl.322 Malthake honours Sabina, wife of Hadrian.

Malthake is the only women ever said to have served as an *arkhitheōros*.

## G3: Delegations at Claros. AD 152–85

G3.1 Carie 116, no. 24. Record of a delegation from Tabai at Claros.  
 AD 152–3

Inscribed on the southern anta of the *exedra* next to the temple on the Sacred Way.

See Ferrary (2005:751).

Ταβηνῶν θεωροί. ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀπόλλωνος  
 τὸ ος´, ἱερέως Τιβ. Κλ. Ρούφου, θεσπιαδοῦντος  
 Γναίου Ἰοῦλ. Ῥηγίνου Ἀλεξάνδρου, προφήτου Μητροδώρου  
 Ποτάμωνος, γραμματεύοντος Τιβ. Κλ. Κριτολάου νέου  
 5 καὶ Κλ. Ζμαράγδου· θεοπρόπος Θεαγένης,  
 ἱερεὺς[ς] παίδων Ἀριστοφάνης Παπίου, Σέλευκος  
 Στράτωνος, Σωζόμενος β´ Κτησᾶ, Ζήνων β´ Ἀρτεμήους,  
 Μαρσύας Ἀρτέμωνος, Ζήνων γ´ Φιλοκυρίου, Εὐβιος  
 Ἑρμοῦ *vacat*

### Translation

*Theōroi* of the Tabenoi. While Apollo was prytanis for the 76<sup>th</sup> time, during the priesthood of Tiberius Claudius Rufus, while Cn. Iulius Reginus Alexander was thespioide, while Metrodoros son of Potamon was *prophētēs*, and the scribe was (i.e. scribes were) Tiberius Claudius Critolaus the younger and Claudius Zmaragdus: Theagenes was *theopropos*, Aristophanes son of Papius was priest of the children, Seleukos son of Straton, Sozomenos (son of Sozomenos) son of Ctesas, Zenon (son of Zenon) son of Artemes), Marsyas son of Artemon, Zenon (son of Zenon son of Zenon) son of Philokurios, Eubios son of Hermes.

### Commentary

This is the earliest attested of eleven dated delegations from Tabai; the others take place between AD 156 and AD 184 and there must have been many more. They always have one or two θεότροποι but this is the only reference in them to θεωροί. In this enactment the θεότροπος was called Theagenes; in a slightly later one, from 156 or 157 (*Carie* 380, n.192), the θεότροποι were Theagenes and his son Alexandros. Theagenes is also the name of the leader of the Ainian delegation in Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*.

### G3.2: SEG 15:715. Delegation from Parion at Claros. AD 159/60

Inscribed on the eastern crepis of the temple.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 275 ('B') with *BE* 1961:no. 533 which supplies a correction in l.5.

Ferrary (2005:752); Frisch (1983:90–1, T103.2)

Παριανῶν κολωνείας. ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀπ[ό]λλωνος τὸ πβ', ἱερῶς Κλ(αυδίου)  
Ῥούφου, θεσπιωιδούντος Γν(αίου) [Ἰου(λίου)]

Ἀλεξάνδρου, προφήτου Γν(αίου) Ἰου(λίου) Καπετωλείνου, γραμματεύοντος  
Γν(αίου) Ἰου(λίου) Ἀλκίμου τὸ β'· θεωρὸς Λ(ούκιος)-

Μαξιμιανός· ἡῖθεοι Λ(ούκιος) Ἑρέννιος Μαξιμιανός, Λ(ούκιος) Ἑρέννιος  
Βάσσος, Λ(ούκιος) Οὐαλέριος Βάσσος, Λ(ούκιος) Μου-

Στέφανος, Σ(έξτος) Ἄτριος Μαρκιανός· Ἑσπερος δημόσιος. *vacat*

### Translation

*Colonia* of Parion. In the 82nd prytany of Apollo, when Claudius Rufus was priest, Cn. Iulius Alexander was thespioide, Cn. Iulius Capitolinus was prophetes, and the scribe was Cn. Iulius Alcimus for the second time.



*Theōros*: L. [----] Maximianus.

Young men (ἡῖθεοι): L. Herennius Maximianus, L. Herennius Bassus, L. Valerius Bassus, L. Mou(natios) Stephanus, Sextus Atrius Marcianus

Public slave: Hesperos.

## Commentary

Parion had the status of a ‘colonia Iulia’, bestowed by either Julius Caesar or Augustus (see Frisch (1983:73–5)). Its interest in Claros is thus an example of Robert and Robert’s thesis that the oracle was particularly cultivated by Roman *coloniae* (see §17.4.4, p.299).

This is one of three records of visits to Claros by delegations from Claros. In the two others, from AD 144/5 and AD 180/1, we have a *theopropos* instead of a *theōros* (Hellenica 10.275A, C).

In the Hellenistic period, Parion had been an active participant in the festival network at Samothrace (Dimitrova:5.81–4, 18, 22.51–64).

G3.3: *Macridy* (1912:no. 2). *Record of a delegation from Lappa at Klaros.* AD 184/5

Inscribed on Column A of the temple of Apollo (cf. drawing on Macridy (1912:43), along with three other records (no.1: Herakleia apo Salbakes (183/4), no.3: Lappa again (185/6, i.e. the next year) and no.4: Khios (184/5))

Ferrary (2005:756)

Κρητῶ[ν Λ]αππα[ίω]ν  
 ἐπὶ πρυτάνε[ως Κλα]ρίου Ἀπόλλων[ος τὸ] ρ', θεσπιωιδου[ν]-  
 τος Τιβ[ερίου] Κλαυδίου Ἄρδους τῶν ἀπὸ Ἄρδ[υος] Ἡρακλειδῶν  
 Πατρογενίδου ἐπὶ ἱερέως Πο(πλίου) Αἰλ(ίου) [Φιλί]ππου  
 5 θεοπρόπος  
 Ἀνδρικός Ἀλεξάνδρου παραλ[αβ]ῶν τὰ μυστήρι[α]  
 ἐνεβάτευσεν. ὕμνωδοί·  
 Φά(βιος) Ἀντιγένης, Ἐπίγονος β', Ἀλέξανδρος β', Σερραπί-  
 ων Κλωδίου Ζωσίμου, Ῥάντος Ἀσκληπιάδου, ὕμνο-  
 10 διδάσκαλος κ(αί) κιθαριστής Μ(ἄρκος) Πεδουκαῖος  
 Ἀλέξανδρος. *vacat*

9 Ῥάντος: Ῥάνιος J. D. Morgan

## Translation

## Cretans from Lappa

When Klarian Apollo was *prutanis* for the hundreth time, Ti. Claudius Arduus was thespiode, one of the Herakleidai from Arduus, *patrogenides*, and when P. Aelius Philippos was priest:

*theopropos*

Andrikos son of Alexandros, receiving the mysteries, ‘stepped in’. The hymnodes:

Fabius Antigenes, Epigonos (son of Epigonos), Alexandros (son of Alexandros), Serapion son of Clodius Zosimus, Rantos son of Asklepiades; *humnodidaskalos* and *kitharistēs* M. Peducaeus Alexandros.

## Commentary

There are a total of nine attested delegations from Lappa to Claros, of which this is the second. They are attested in consecutive years between 180/1 and 185/6 with the exception of 182/3 in the 96th–97th and 99th–101st prytanies of Apollo; then again a decade later in the 111st and 114th prytanies, and in two fragments several decades after that (Ferrary (2005:760)). In the 180s, Lappa was one of the most regular clients of Claros.

A noteworthy feature of #G3.3 is that the consultation by the *theopropos* is described in detail (see §6.4, p.101n).

**G4: Oliver (1989:no.124): Letter from Antoninus Pius to the Ptolemais-Barca about the Capitolia. AD 154**

Part of a long stele from Cyrene containing letters from Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, for which see SEG 28.1566, incorporating Reynolds (1978). It is also the source for Hadrian’s letter concerning Ptolemais-Barca, Cyrene and the Panhellenion, part of which was translated in §16.3, p.273.

For this letter, see Oliver (1978). I discuss it in §13.3, p.220.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἀ[δριανοῦ υἱ]ός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 υἱωνός, θεοῦ Νέρουα ἔγγ[ο]  
 νος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριαν[ός Ἀντωνε]ῖνος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος  
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξ[ου]-  
 80 σίας τὸ ιζ΄, αὐτοκράτω[ρ τὸ β΄, ὕπα]τος τὸ δ΄, πατὴρ πατρίδος,  
 Πτολεμαῖεῦσι Βαρκαίοι[ς]  
 χαίρειν. θ[αυμάζ]ω ὅτι μηδέποτε ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ διαπέμψαν[τες καὶ]  
 συνθύσαντες εἰς τὸν τῷ[ν Καπετω]λίῳ ἀγῶνα, νῦν πρῶτον ἀπεστείλατε,  
 οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ[τε ὅτι]

τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα καινοτομ[εῖν αἰτί]αν παρέχει ταῖς πόλεσι φιλονεικίας ἐγένετο  
 τοίνυ[ν ἢ συν]-  
 θυσία ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους [ἀνὰ τὸν ἄ]γῶνα. ἐπρέσβευεν Οὐαλέριος Παυσανίας  
 ὧ τὸ ἐφόδι[ον δοθή]-  
 85 τῷ εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσ[χηται. εὐτυ]χεῖτε

### *Translation (after Oliver)*

Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus [Anton]inus Augustus, [son] of divus [Hadrian], grandson of divus Trajanus Parthicus, great-grandson of divus Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the seventeenth time, imperator [twice, consul] four times, *pater patriae*, to the Ptolemais-Barcans, greetings. [I marvel] that you who in all the time gone by have never set a delegation or shared in the sacrifice have now for the first time sent representatives to the contest of the [Capitolia]. For you are not unaware that the making of such innovations brings upon cities the [charge] of contentiousness. Well, [the joint] sacrifice on behalf of the region did take place [during the] contest.

As ambassador Valerius Pausanias served, to whom let the travel money be paid, unless he promised to go at his own expense.

### *Commentary*

Ptolemais-Barca has sent a delegation to the Capitolia festival in Rome, established by Domitian in AD 86 (see Oliver (1978:159)), apparently to sacrifice on behalf of their *ethnos* (presumably Libya, excluding Cyrene). This unprecedented act seems to have been seen as a provocation to another city, almost certainly Cyrene. The rivalry between the cities dates back at least twenty years to when Hadrian responded to its claim to join the Pan-hellenion. The Emperor allowed the sacrifice to take place, but the tone ('sarcastic' according to Oliver) suggests he was not happy about it.

This is one of a very small number of delegations to Roman festivals attested. The terminology used for the delegation deserves attention. 'συνθύω' and 'συνθυσία' have parallels in the period (see §3.5, p.49). The delegate's mission is described by the verb πρεσβεύειν.

## **G5: I.Ephesos 891. Claudia Basilo and the Ephesian Olympics. Around AD 200**

Inscribed on a statue-base in the Civic Agora at Ephesos

Bibliography: *ed. pr.* D. Knibbe in Eichler (1965:105, no. 6); Robert (1974); see §9.1.

Κλ. Βασιλῶι  
 [ὕ]πατικήν  
 [θε]ωρὸν τῶν  
 [Ὀλ]υμπίων  
 [ή] πατρίς

### Translation

Her native city [honours] Claudia Basilo, woman of consular rank, *theōros* of the Olympia

### Commentary

Claudia Basilo belonged to a consular family from Synnada, on which see Müller (1980). Five other such decrees are known from Ephesos:

*I.Ephesos* 892, 7–11· Claudia Caninia Severa: priestess of Artemis, *prutanis*,  
 θεωρὸν τῶν μεγάλων Ὀλυμπίων

*I.Ephesos* 893, 7–9: [ - - -]a Marcell[ina?]: *prutanis*, priestess and θεωρὸν  
 τῶν με]γάλων Ὀλυμπίων

*I.Ephesos* 894, 6–8: Pei(naria?) Paula Aratiane: priestess of Artemis and  
 θεωρὸν τῶν μεγάλων Ὀλυμπίων

*I.Ephesos* 895, 7–9: Sempronia Secunda Papiane: θεωρὸν τῶν μεγάλων  
 Ὀλυμπίων

*I.Ephesos* 896, 5: X: θεω[ρὸν τῶν Ὀ]λυμπίων

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These lists represent a selection of the sacred delegations mentioned in the book, and are not complete. For reasons of space, I have not mentioned chronology or the number of delegations attested. Not have I stated whether the attested delegates are designated as ‘*theōroi*’.

The following symbols are used:

- (?) hypothetical
- ‡ non-Greek
- @ festival announcer
- \* source is a text (literary or non-literary) of questionable reliability
- ∞ inferred from acceptance of invitation or possession of *theōrodokos*
- \$ inferred from offering list, inventory or dedication

- ‡ inferred from awards of *proxeniā*, *promanteiā*
- \$ inferred on basis of numismatic evidence
- # inferred indirectly from other evidence

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